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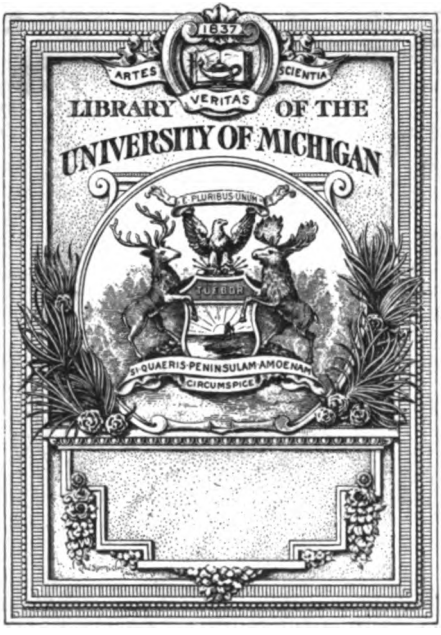

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1907

IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. I

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1908

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., September 10, 1908.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1907. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary.

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ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York; their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
Cambridge, Mass., September 3, 1908.

SIR: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to transmit herewith the annual report of the association for the year 1907. The manuscript includes a report by the public archives commission and one by the historical manuscripts commission, the latter consisting of a volume of the Diplomatic Archives of the Republic of Texas.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Corresponding Secretary.

Mr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

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CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying $3; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of $3. On payment of $50, any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a corresponding secretary, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER, 1907.

PRESIDENT:

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Professor, Yale University.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D.,
Professor, Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D.,
Professor, University of Wisconsin.

SECRETARY AND CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:

CHARLES H. HASKINS, PH. D.,
Professor, Harvard University.

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,
130 Fulton street, New York.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

In addition to the above-named officers.

(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D.,
President University of Michigan.

GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D.,
Professor, Yale University.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

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CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D.,
Quogue, N. Y.

HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.,
Toronto, Canada.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
Professor, University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
Professor, Yale University, Associate Judge of Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

(Elected Councillors.)

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D.,
Professor, Johns Hopkins University.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D.,
Professor, Columbia University.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M.,
Chief of Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D.,
Professor, Brown University.

MAX FARRAND, PH. D.,
Professor, Leland Stanford Junior University (now Yale University).

FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M.,
Professor, University of Kansas.

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TERMS OF OFFICE.

Deceased officers are marked thus †.

EX-PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884–1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885–1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886–1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887–1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888–1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889–1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890–1891.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891–1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893–1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894–1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895–1896.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1896–1897.
GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1897–1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1898–1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1899–1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900–1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901–1902.
HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902–1903.
GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1903–1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904–1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1905–1906.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D. 1906–1907.

EX-VICE-PRESIDENTS.

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884–1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884–1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886–1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887–1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888–1890.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889–1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890–1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891–1893.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1893–1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1894–1895.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1894–1896.
GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896–1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1896–1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898–1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1897–1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1899–1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1900–1901.
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†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1902–1903.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL. D., 1903–1904.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1903–1905.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1904–1906.

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SECRETARIES.

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884–1889.
A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—.
CHARLES H. HASKINS, PH. D., 1900—.

TREASURER.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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†CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884–1887.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884–1885.
EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884–1885.
FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., 1885–1887.
†WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885–1887.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886–1888.
†RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887–1888.
JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887–1891.
ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., 1887–1889.
GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888–1891.
†GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889–1896.
†JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889–1894.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL. D., 1891–1894.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., 1891–1897; 1898–1901.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1894–1895.
†JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894–1895.
HENRY MORSE STEPHENS, A. M., 1895–1899.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., 1895–1899; 1901–1904.
EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896–1897.
MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897–1900.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., 1897–1900.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., 1898–1901; 1903–1906.
WILLIAM A. DUNNING, PH. D., 1899–1902.
†PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899–1902.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1900–1903.
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL. B., 1900–1903.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901–1904.
GEORGE L. BURR, LL. D., 1902–1905.
EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, A. M., 1902–1905.
†EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903–1906.
GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904–1907.
REUBEN G. THWAITES, LL. D., 1904–1907.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS, PH. D., 1905—.
JAMES H. ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905—.
WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906—.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906—.
MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907—.
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907—.

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COMMITTEES—1908.

ANNUAL COMMITTEES.

Committee on the programme for the twenty-fourth annual meeting (Washington and Richmond, 1908).—J. Franklin Jameson, Charles M. Andrews, Charles H. Haskins, John H. Latané, and Ulrich B. Phillips.

Joint local committee of arrangements for the next annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.—Joseph B. Bryan, Edwin A. Alderman, Allen C. Braxton, J. Alston Cabell, A. Howard Clark, William E. Dodd, Worthington C. Ford, John B. Henderson, jr., J. Franklin Jameson, Carlton McCarthy, H. R. McIlwaine, Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor, Samuel C. Mitchell, Andrew J. Montague, Charles W. Needham, Thomas W. Page, Samuel S. P. Patteson, James B. Scott, Thomas J. Shahan, William G. Stanard, Claude A. Swanson, Lyon G. Tyler, and John L. Williams.

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Historical manuscripts commission.—J. Franklin Jameson, Worthington C. Ford, Herbert D. Foster, Frederick W. Moore, Thomas M. Owen, and James A. Woodburn.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Charles H. Hull, Edward P. Cheyney, John H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Williston Walker.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Charles Gross, George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, James W. Thompson, and John M. Vincent.

Public archives commission.—Herman V. Ames, Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl R. Fish, Herbert L. Osgood, Victor H. Paltsits, and Dunbar Rowland.

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, Appleton P. C. Griffin, William C. Lane, James T. Shotwell, and Wilbur H. Siebert.

Committee on publications.—William A. Dunning, Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles Gross, Charles H. Haskins, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson, and Ernest C. Richardson (all ex officio except the chairman).

General committee.—Evarts B. Greene, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, Charles H. Haskins, Frank H. Hodder, Susan M. Kingsbury, Franklin L. Riley, Lucy M. Salmon, Frank H. Severance, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, and Frederick G. Young.

Secretary of the conference of state and local historical societies.—St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on college entrance requirements in history.—Andrew C. McLaughlin, Charles H. Haskins, Charles W. Mann, James H. Robinson, and James Sullivan.

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I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 1907.

By CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Professor in Harvard University, Corresponding Secretary.

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.[a]

By CHARLES H. HASKINS, *Corresponding Secretary.*

The report of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association represents only a part of the work which the association is doing, in accordance with the terms of its act of incorporation by Congress, for "the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and history in America." The association maintains commissions on historical manuscripts and public archives; it offers prizes for historical monographs; it endeavors to bring together and assist the various state and local historical societies and to offer through special committees expert advice on the organization and methods of historical instruction; and it publishes each year, in addition to the proceedings of its meetings and the reports of its commissions, an important historical journal, the American Historical Review. The annual meeting affords a clearing-house for these varied forms of activity, as well as an opportunity for conference and personal acquaintance; but the greater part of the association's work lies outside of these meetings, in the organized labors of its officers and committees carried on throughout the year in all parts of the United States.

By the association's plan of geographical rotation the meeting of 1907 fell to the West, and was held in Madison, Wis., from December 27 to 31. Madison was also at the same time the meeting place of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; and the programmes of these various societies offered many papers and discussions of interest to the student and teacher of history. Only one joint session was held, the opening meeting, at which President J. Franklin Jameson, of the American Historical Association, read his presidential address on

[a] For a fuller account of the Madison meeting, see the American Historical Review, April, 1908.

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"The American Acta Sanctorum," and Mr. Frederick N. Judson, president of the American Political Science Association, spoke of "The future of representative government." President Jameson dwelt upon the importance of a study of the history of religion in America as a part of American social development, and especially as a means of understanding those sides of American life which have found little expression in formal literature, and he illustrated by a variety of examples the information to be gathered from out-of-the-way works of religious biography.[a] President Judson discussed the tendency to diminish the importance and dignity of the legislative, through constitutional enactment, judicial annulment, and executive encroachment, and considered possible measures of reform.[b]

The second session consisted of two conferences. One, presided over by Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, dealt with the relation of geography and history. "Geographical location as a factor in history" was presented by Miss Ellen C. Semple, of Louisville, Ky., and Prof. O. G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota, illustrated physiographical influences by the history of that State. In the active discussion which followed Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University, criticised sharply the idea of geographical control in history, and emphasized the human element. The conference of state and local historical societies, under the chairmanship of Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, discussed two topics of special interest to such societies—the organization of historical museums, and practical methods of cooperative work. As a result of the conference a committee of seven was appointed, with Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department of archives and history of Mississippi, as chairman, to canvass the matter of cooperation in the gathering of material from foreign archives.

The next session was devoted to papers on European history. The opening paper, by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth College, discussed the contributions to Puritanism made by five documents adopted by Geneva between 1536 and 1541. The place of Legazpi in Philippine colonization was set forth by Mr. James A. Robertson, of Madison, one of the editors of the great collection of materials on the Philippines. Prof. Roger B. Merriman, of Harvard University, presented a fresh discussion of Queen Elizabeth's treatment of the Catholics,[c] and Prof. James Westfall Thompson, of the University of Chicago, spoke of the economic factors in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[d] The concluding paper, read by Prof. Wilbur C. Abbott, of the University of Kansas, traced the beginnings of English political parties.

[a] Printed in the American Historical Review, January, 1908.
[b] Printed in the American Political Science Review, February, 1908.
[c] Printed in the American Historical Review, April, 1908.
[d] Ibid., October, 1908.

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The fourth session was given up to informal round-table conferences upon different fields of historical study. Mediæval history, modern European history, oriental history and politics, the constitutional history of the United States, and American history since 1865, were each the theme of a separate conference at which problems of interest to teachers and investigators were discussed.

Of the two remaining sessions, both devoted to American history, one centered about topics of economic history and the other dealt with the history of the West. Perhaps the most notable paper was the discussion of "Some problems of southern economic history," by Mr. Alfred H. Stone, of Dunleith, Miss., since published in full in the American Historical Review.[a] "Tennessee in the Jacksonian period" was the theme of Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of the South,[b] and the relation of the Pacific railways to the disappearance of the frontier was traced by Prof. Frederick L. Paxson, of the University of Michigan. Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, showed by a study of local evidence that the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 did not originate with the Republican leaders in Congress, but were the outgrowth of western sentiment. The materials for southwestern history in the archives of Mexico were described by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of Texas,[c] who is preparing a handbook of the Mexican archives for the Carnegie Institution. Miss Annie H. Abel, of the Woman's College of Baltimore, gave the history of the various proposals to form an Indian state, and Mr. John C. Parish, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, commented on the first fugitive slave case west of the Mississippi River.[d] A more recent phase of economic and political development was presented by Prof. Kendric C. Babcock, of the University of Arizona, in a paper on the proprietary towns of Arizona.

The proceedings of the annual business meeting are given below. Besides the maintenance of its existing forms of activity, the association voted to publish its prize essays as a separate series in case satisfactory arrangements could be made with a private publisher, and established a commission to propose a plan for future documentary historical publications of the United States Government. A committee was also appointed to consider certain questions relating to the study of history in secondary schools.

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[a] July, 1908.
[b] Ibid., October, 1908.
[c] Ibid., April, 1908.
[d] Article printed in the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1908.

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MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY BUILDING, MADISON, WISCONSIN, AT 3 P. M., DECEMBER 30, 1907.

President Jameson in the chair. In the absence of the secretary, his duties were performed by the corresponding secretary.

On behalf of the council the corresponding secretary reported that the council had held a meeting at New York, November 29, 1907, and three meetings at Madison, December 28 and 30, 1907, and that at these meetings reports from the various committees and commissions had been presented and considered and the usual appropriations made for the continuation of the work for the coming year. The council reported that in providing for the meeting of 1908, in accordance with the vote of the last annual meeting of the association, it has arranged that the meeting should begin Monday, December 28, at Washington, and should continue at Richmond from December 29 to 31. On recommendation of the council, the association voted that the meeting of 1909 should be held in New York City, in accordance with an invitation received from the authorities of Columbia University.

The association accepted the recommendation of the council in favor of the establishment of a separate series of prize essays in charge of a regular publisher and under the auspices of the association, in case suitable arrangements could be made without involving the association in any pecuniary liability. It was explained that such a series would include the successful essays under the terms of the Justin Winsor prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, which at present would ordinarily furnish one essay each alternate year.

The association further voted, on recommendation of the council, to establish a commission, not exceeding nine in number, to be appointed by the president of the association, to consider means by which documentary publications of the Federal Government might be more effectively conducted, and the council was authorized to appropriate from the treasury of the association an amount sufficient for the expenses of two meetings of such a commission.

This project has since been taken up in another and more official way by the action of President Roosevelt in appointing, in connection with the work of the committee on department methods, commonly called the Keep Commission, a committee on the documentary historical publications of the United States Government, composed of the same gentlemen who were to have served the association in this particular. The committee consists of Messrs. Worthington C. Ford, chairman, Charles Francis Adams, Charles M. Andrews, William A. Dunning, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Alfred T. Mahan, and Frederick J. Turner.

The council further reported that on request of the college entrance examination board it had appointed a committee to consider certain questions arising out of the report of the committee of seven on history in secondary schools, with special reference to the extent of the field to be covered in ancient history as a college admission subject, and that the committee expected to prepare a report in the course of the coming year.

The council reported that it had made an appropriation toward the expense of transcribing and editing items relating to the colonies in the registers of the privy council, 1603–1775, in accordance with a plan drawn up by Professor Egerton of the University of Oxford and approved by the authorities of the privy council.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts of $7,764, net expenditures of $7,032, an increase of $732 in the funds of the association, and total assets of $24,923.

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The report of the Pacific coast branch was transmitted by the secretary, Prof. C. A. Duniway, and Prof. E. D. Adams spoke briefly of the present condition of the branch.

Brief reports were made by the historical manuscripts commission, the public archives commission, the committee on bibliography, the committee on publications, the general committee, and the board of editors of the American Historical Review. The committee on history in elementary schools reported that its report was substantially ready for print and would appear in the course of 1908.

The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize reported that it had found it necessary to divide the prize between the monograph of Edward B. Krehbiel on "The interdict; its history and its operation with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and the monograph of William Spence Robertson on "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

The secretary of the conference on state and local historical societies reported on the work of the conference. It was also reported that the conference had instructed its chairman to appoint a committee to consider methods of cooperation on the part of the historical societies of the Mississippi Valley in work in archives lying out of the individual state concerned. The following were appointed as such committee: Dunbar Rowland, chairman, Worthington C. Ford, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Thomas M. Owen, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Reuben G. Thwaites.

The committee on nominations, consisting of Messrs. Herman V. Ames, Ephraim D. Adams, and Howard W. Caldwell, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, for which the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the association:

President.—George B. Adams, New Haven, Conn.

First Vice-President.—Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.

Second Vice-President.—Frederick J. Turner, Madison, Wis.

Secretary.—A. Howard Clark, Washington, D. C.

Corresponding Secretary.—Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge, Mass.

Treasurer.—Clarence W. Bowen, New York City.

Executive Council.—Charles M. Andrews, Baltimore, Md.; James H. Robinson, New York City; Worthington C. Ford, Washington, D. C.; William MacDonald, Providence, R. I.; Max Farrand, Stanford University, Cal.; Frank H. Hodder, Lawrence, Kans.

The following resolutions, proposed by a committee consisting of James H. Latané and Earle W. Dow, were unanimously adopted by the association:

"*Resolved:* That we, the members of the American Historical Association in attendance at the twenty-third annual meeting, desire to express to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin our hearty thanks for the use of its buildings and for the courtesy and forethought which prompted such extensive preparations for our entertainment and comfort.

"That we also express our thanks to the University Club and to those fraternities which placed their houses at our disposal.

"Finally, to the Woman's Club and to the citizens of Madison we wish to express our warm appreciation of the cordial reception and courteous hospitality which will make this visit to their beautiful and picturesque city a delightful remembrance.

"JOHN H. LATANÉ, *Chairman.*
"EARLE W. DOW."

On the motion of the treasurer, the association further expressed its special thanks to the chairman of the local committee of arrangements, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

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On behalf of the council the corresponding secretary announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on programme for the twenty-fourth annual meeting (Washington and Richmond, 1908).—J. Franklin Jameson, Charles M. Andrews, Charles H. Haskins, J. H. Latané, U. B. Phillips.

Local committee of arrangements for the same.—Joseph B. Bryan, E. A. Alderman, A. C. Braxton, J. Alston Cabell, W. E. Dodd, Carlton McCarthy, H. R. McIlwaine, Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor, S. C. Mitchell, A. J. Montague, T. W. Page, S. S. P. Patteson, W. G. Stanard, Claude A. Swanson, Lyon G. Tyler, J. L. Williams, A. Howard Clark, Worthington C. Ford, J. B. Henderson, jr., J. Franklin Jameson, C. W. Needham, J. B. Scott, T. J. Shahan.

Historical manuscripts commission.—J. Franklin Jameson, Frederick W. Moore, Worthington C. Ford, Thomas M. Owen, James A. Woodburn, Herbert D. Foster.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Charles H. Hull, Edward P. Cheyney, Williston Walker, J. H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Charles Gross, George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, John Martin Vincent, James W. Thompson.

Public archives commission.—Herman V. Ames, Herbert L. Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, Dunbar Rowland, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl R. Fish, Victor H. Paltsits.

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, A. P. C. Griffin, William C. Lane, W. H. Siebert, James T. Shotwell.

Committee on publications.—William A. Dunning, Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Ernest C. Richardson, Charles Gross, Charles H. Hull.

General committee.—Evarts B. Greene, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Henry E. Bourne, Charles H. Haskins, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, F. H. Hodder, F. L. Riley, F. G. Young, Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, W. E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, F. H. Severance.

Committee on college entrance requirements in history.—Andrew C. McLaughlin, Charles H. Haskins, Charles W. Mann, James Harvey Robinson, James Sullivan.

The meeting adjourned at 5 p. m.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Corresponding Secretary.

Report of Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer the American Historical Association.

RECEIPTS.

1906.			
Dec. 15.	Balance cash on hand		$4,018.07
1907.			
Dec. 16.	Receipts as follows:		
	2,147 annual dues, at $3	$6,441.00	
	1 annual dues	3.05	
	2 annual dues, at $3.09	6.18	
	12 annual dues, at $3.10	37.20	
	1 annual dues	3.12	
	2 annual dues, at $3.15	6.30	
	1 annual dues	3.25	
	2 annual dues, at $1	2.00	
	2 life memberships	100.00	
	Sales of publications	337.55	
	Royalty on "The study of history in schools"	17.85	
	Interest on bond and mortgage	800.00	
	Public archives commission refunded	6.14	
			7,763.64
			11,781.71

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DISBURSEMENTS.

1907.			
Dec. 16.	Treasurer's clerk hire, etc., vouchers 13, 45, 63, 87, 88, 163, 194	$265.25	
	Secretary's clerk hire, etc., vouchers 28, 48, 55, 71, 83, 146, 148	269.49	
	Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 15, 17, 22, 27, 40, 42, 51, 53, 70, 74, 85, 89, 90, 93, 142, 156, 169, 176	315.98	
	Corresponding secretary's expenses, vouchers 35, 39, 46, 65, 150, 157, 177, 178, 181	98.29	
	Pacific coast branch, vouchers 5, 6, 7	55.50	
	American Historical Review, vouchers 2, 11, 16, 26, 32, 37, 43, 47, 52, 58, 61, 67, 69, 72, 82, 91, 96, 131, 143, 175	3,857.50	
	Public archives commission, vouchers 18, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 34, 36, 44, 60, 64, 66, 80, 144, 151, 155, 162, 193	360.14	
	Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 50, 189, 190	93.56	
	Justin Winsor prize committee, voucher 20	100.00	
	Herbert B. Adams prize committee, vouchers 81, 86, 92	218.01	
	General committee, vouchers 168, 185	7.50	
	Committee of eight upon the study of history in elementary schools, vouchers 9, 21, 62, 68, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78	312.45	
	Publication committee, voucher 41	5.12	
	Committee on bibliography, voucher 141	200.00	
	Account annual report, 1905, vouchers 12, 54, 59	109.47	
	1907 catalogue, voucher 57	261.50	
	Expenses twenty-second annual meeting, vouchers 1, 8, 14, 19, 38	148.95	
	Expenses twenty-third annual meeting, vouchers 161, 179, 180	161.87	
	Expenses executive council, vouchers 3, 4, 29, 182, 183, 184, 187, 191, 192	107.14	
	Refund for publications, vouchers 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 145, 147, 149, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 188	46.50	
	Engraving certificates, vouchers 56, 94	1.50	
	Bank collection charges, vouchers 33, 49, 79, 84, 95, 115, 186, 195	11.04	
	Auditing treasurer's account, voucher 10	25.00	
			$7,031.76
	Balance cash on hand in National Park Bank		4,749.95
			11,781.71
Net receipts 1907			7,763.64
Net disbursements 1907			7,031.76
Excess of receipts over disbursements			731.88

The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth street, New York	$20,000.00	
Accrued interest from September 29, 1907, to date	173.33	
Cash on hand in National Park Bank	4,749.95	
		24,923.28
An increase during the year of		734.10

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, *December 16, 1907.*

We, the committee, have examined the above report, accompanied with the report of the Audit Company of New York, and find the same correct.

F. A. SAMPSON,
RALPH C. H. CATTERALL,
Committee.

[The Audit Company of New York, 43 Cedar street.]

Mr. CLARENCE W. BOWEN,
Treasurer the American Historical Association,
130 Fulton street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request, we have examined the cash records of the American Historical Association for the twelve months ended December 16, 1907. The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed "Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the twelve months ended December 16, 1907."

We found that all receipts and disbursements as shown by the books had been accounted for and that the files were complete.

A mortgage for $20,000, drawn to the American Historical Association on property situated at 24 East Ninety-fifth street, New York City, was examined, together with bond and property deeds, which, with all papers in connection therewith, were found intact and in order.

Very truly yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
E. D. PEIRCE, *President.*
F. C. RICHARDSON, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, *December 19, 1907.*

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Report of The Audit Company of New York on the American Historical Association.

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE TWELVE MONTHS ENDED DECEMBER 16, 1907.

[Accompanying our report of December 19, 1907.]

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 16, 1906, certified check, as per our statement dated December 22, 1906		$4,018.07
Cash received:		
Dues—		
2,147, at $3	$6,441.00	
2, at $3.09	6.18	
1, at $3.05	3.05	
12, at $3.10	37.20	
1, at $3.12	3.12	
2, at $3.15	6.30	
1, at $3.25	3.25	
2, at $1	2.00	
	6,502.10	
Life memberships, 2, at $50	100.00	
	6,602.10	
Royalty on "The Study of History in Schools"	17.85	
Sale of publications	337.55	
Interest on bond and mortgage of $20,000 for one year, at 4 per cent (year ends September 29 each year)	800.00	
Refund of public archives committee	6.14	
Total receipts for year		7,763.64
		11,781.71

DISBURSEMENTS.

Treasurer's clerk hire for year		$265.25
Secretary's clerk hire for year		269.49
Corresponding secretary's expense		98.29
Twenty-second annual meeting		148.95
Twenty-third annual meeting		161.87
American Historical Review		3,857.50
Pacific coast branch expense		55.50
1905 report		109.47
Audit fee, account examination of treasurer's records		25.00
Postage and stationery		315.98
Bank collection and exchange		11.04
Engraving certificates		1.50
1907 catalogue		261.50
Refund on publications out of print		46.50
Committee expenses:		
Executive council	$107.14	
Committee on bibliography	200.00	
General committee expense	7.50	
Committee of Eight—study of history in schools	312.45	
Historical manuscripts committee	93.56	
Public archives committee	360.14	
Justin Winsor prize committee	100.00	
Herbert B. Adams prize committee	218.01	
Publication committee	5.12	
Total committee expense		1,403.92
Total disbursements for year		7,031.76
Balance, cash in bank, represented by certified check on National Park Bank of New York, dated December 17, 1907		4,749.95
		11,781.71

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PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES AT THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, MADISON, DECEMBER 27-31, 1907.

Persons not members of the association will be cordially welcome to the sessions.

Papers are limited to twenty minutes, and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker. Those who read papers or take part in the conferences are requested to furnish the secretary with abstracts of their papers or remarks.

FIRST SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 8 P. M.

[Joint meeting with the American Political Science Association.]

Address of Welcome: Dean Edward A. Birge, University of Wisconsin.

Annual Address: The American Acta Sanctorum. J. Franklin Jameson, president of the American Historical Association.

Annual Address: The Future of Representative Government. Frederick N. Judson, president of the American Political Science Association.

SECOND SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 10 A. M.

CONFERENCES.

1. On the Relation of Geography and History. Chairman, Frederick J. Turner, professor in the University of Wisconsin.
   - (*a*) Geographical Location as a Factor in History. Ellen Churchill Semple, Louisville, Ky.
   - (*b*) Physiography as a Factor in Community Life. Orin Grant Libby, professor in the University of North Dakota.
   - (*c*) Discussion, led by George L. Burr, professor in Cornell University; Harlan H. Barrows, instructor in the University of Chicago; Ulrich B. Phillips, assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin.
2. On the Problems of State and Local Historical Societies. Chairman, Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society.
   - (*a*) Report on the Year's Progress. Evarts B. Greene, professor in the University of Illinois.
   - (*b*) The Cooperation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives. Arthur G. Doughty, archivist of the Dominion of Canada.

     Discussion by Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Clarence W. Alvord, Illinois State Historical Library; W. B. Douglas, Missouri Historical Society.
   - (*c*) Scientific Organization of Historical Museums. Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College.

     Discussion led by Julian P. Bretz, instructor in the University of Chicago.
   - (*d*) Cooperation of Local Historical Societies. John F. Ayer, Bay State Historical League.

     Discussion led by Henry E. Legler, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

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THIRD SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 8 P. M.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

1. The Programme for a Puritan State. Herbert D. Foster, professor in Dartmouth College.

2. Legazpi and Philippine Colonization. James A. Robertson, Madison, Wis.

3. The Elizabethan Government and the English Catholics—Another Phase of the Question. Roger B. Merriman, instructor in Harvard University.

4. Some Economic Factors in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James Westfall Thompson, assistant professor in the University of Chicago.

5. The Beginning of English Political Parties. Wilbur C. Abbott, professor in the University of Kansas.

FOURTH SESSION, MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 10 A. M.

DISCUSSIONS OF SPECIAL FIELDS OF WORK.

1. Mediæval European history. Chairman, George L. Burr, professor in Cornell University; Charles H. Haskins, professor in Harvard University; James Harvey Robinson, professor in Columbia University; James Westfall Thompson, assistant professor in the University of Chicago; Samuel B. Harding, professor in Indiana University; Paul van Dyke, professor in Princeton University; Earle W. Dow, junior professor in the University of Michigan; Dana C. Munro, professor in the University of Wisconsin.

2. Modern European history. Chairman, Guy Stanton Ford, professor in the University of Illinois; Ralph C. H. Catterall, professor in Cornell University; Fred M. Fling, professor in the University of Nebraska; Charles A. Beard, Columbia University.

3. Oriental history and politics. Chairman, Archibald Cary Coolidge, assistant professor in Harvard University; Charles D. Tenney, president of Pei Yang College; Arthur I. Andrews, instructor in Simmons College; H. Morse Stephens, professor in the University of California; Paul S. Reinsch, professor in the University of Wisconsin; Kan-Ichi Asakawa, instructor in Yale University.

4. United States constitutional history. Chairman, Andrew C. McLaughlin, professor in the University of Chicago; William MacDonald, professor in Brown University; Edward S. Corwin, assistant professor in Princeton University; William E. Dodd, professor in Randolph-Macon College.

5. United States history since 1865. Chairman, James A. Woodburn, professor in Indiana University; Amos S. Hershey, junior professor in Indiana University; Carl Russell Fish, associate professor in the Univerity of Wisconsin; Frank H. Hodder, professor in the University of Kansas; John H. Latané, professor in Washington and Lee University; William Dudley Foulke, late of the United States Civil Service Commission.

BUSINESS SESSION, MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 3 P. M.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. Report of the council.
2. Report of the treasurer and auditing committee.
3. Report of the historical manuscripts commission.
4. Report of the public archives commission.
5. Report of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize.
6. Report of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.
7. Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review.
8. Report of the committee on bibliography.

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9. Report of the committee on publications.
10. Report of the general committee.
11. Report of the editor of Original Narratives of Early American History.
12. Report of the committee on history in elementary schools.
13. Election of officers.

FIFTH SESSION, MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 8 P. M.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY.

1. Tennessee Finances and Politics in the Jacksonian Period. St. George L. Sioussat, professor in the University of the South.

2. Some Problems of Southern Economic History. Alfred Holt Stone, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

3. The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier. Frederic L. Paxson, junior professor in the University of Michigan.

4. Discussion led by Frederick W. Moore, professor in Vanderbilt University; B. H. Meyer, Wisconsin Railroad Commission.

SIXTH SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 10 A. M.

WESTERN HISTORY.

1. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions from the Standpoint of Western History. Frank M. Anderson, professor in the University of Minnesota.

2. Material for Southwestern History in the Archives of Mexico. Herbert E. Bolton, adjunct professor in the University of Texas.

3. Proposals for an Indian State, 1778–1878. Annie Heloise Abel, professor in the Woman's College of Baltimore.

4. The First Fugitive Slave Case West of the Mississippi River. John C. Parish, State Historical Society of Iowa.

5. The Proprietary Towns of Arizona. Kendric C. Babcock, president of the University of Arizona.

PRESENT ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The following list enumerates the present leading activities of the American Historical Association:

(1) The annual meeting of the association, held during the Christmas holidays in the East or the West or the District of Columbia in triennial succession.

(2) The annual report of the secretary of the association concerning the annual meeting and its proceedings, with the papers, bibliographies, and other historical materials submitted through the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for publication by Congress.

(3) The preservation of historical exchanges, books, pamphlets, reports, and papers of the association in the National Museum, at Washington, D. C., in the keeping of the secretary of the association and the curator of its historical collections.

(4) The historical manuscripts commission of six members, established in 1895, and now receiving from the association a subsidy of $300 a year for the collection and editing of important manuscripts; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, chairman.

(5) The public archives commission, established in 1899, for investigating the public archives of the several States and of the United States, and now receiving a subsidy of $500 a year for the expenses incident to preparing its reports; Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman.

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(6) The committee on publications, to pass upon papers and monographs submitted to the association for publication; Prof. William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, chairman.

(7) The committee on bibliography, to advise the executive council and to cooperate with the American Library Association and the Bibliographical Society of America upon matters of bibliographical interest; Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, of Princeton University, chairman.

(8) The general committee, representing the local interests of the association and its relations with state and local historical societies; Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, chairman.

(9) The "Justin Winsor prize" of $200 awarded biennially for the best unpublished monographic work based upon original investigation in American history; Prof. Charles H. Hull, of Cornell University, chairman of the committee.

(10) The American Historical Review, published quarterly, and subsidized by the American Historical Association, whose executive council elects the board of editors; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, managing editor.

(11) A series of reprints of the chief original narratives of early American history, published by authority of the association; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, general editor.

(12) The "Herbert Baxter Adams prize" of $200, awarded biennially for the best unpublished monograph based upon original investigation in European history; Prof. Charles Gross, of Harvard University, chairman of the committee.

(13) The committee of five on history in secondary schools; Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, chairman.

(14) An annual conference of state and local historical societies, held in conjunction with the meeting of the association; Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, chairman; Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of the South, secretary.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

The Justin Winsor Prize Committee.—Charles H. Hull (chairman), Cornell University; Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania; Williston Walker, Yale University; John H. Latané, Washington and Lee University; Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee.—Charles Gross (chairman), Harvard University; George Lincoln Burr, Cornell University; Victor Coffin, University of Wisconsin; James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago; John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each of $200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of awards on or before October 1 of the given year, e. g., by October 1, 1907, for the Adams prize in European history and by October 1, 1908, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

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II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental or insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject-matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusion, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted, or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. If possible, the monograph should be typewritten; but in any case it should be presented to the committee free from erasures, interlineations, and other evidences of revision, though obvious mistakes of the typewriter should, of course, be corrected. If the work is not typewritten it must be written carefully and legibly on only one side of the sheet, and must be in form ready for publication.

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph will be published by the American Historical Association. The author will be given 25 copies of his work bound separately in paper and 25 bound in cloth; but in case he desire additional copies for personal distribution, or to present as part of the requirement for the doctor's degree, he shall pay the cost of striking off the extra copies. Separate copies of the monograph, bound in cloth, may be obtained of the secretary by anyone desiring them, at a cost of 50 cents each.

IX. Under the rules of the Government the successful competitor can purchase copies of his work from the Public Printer, and put them on sale at such price as he may see fit. Any competitor may make such use of his manuscript

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as he desires, even while it is in the hands of the committee, provided that in case he receive the award he defer its publication by any one else than the association until after the appearance of the report of the association containing the work in question. He must, however, relinquish all right of copyright in his essay, since the copyright of material published by the Government is forbidden by statute.

[It is not clear that the mode of publication described in Section VIII can be maintained. Another mode is under consideration, and in the meantime no positive promise of publication can be made to competitors.]

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Charles H. Hull, Ithaca, N. Y., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. Charles Gross, Cambridge, Mass.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded as follows:

In 1896 to Herman V. Ames, for his work entitled "The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

In 1900 to William A. Schaper, for his work entitled "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina;" with honorable mention of the work of Mary S. Locke on "Anti-Slavery Sentiment before 1808."

In 1901 to Ulrich B. Phillips, for his work entitled "Georgia and State Rights;" with honorable mention of the work of M. Louise Greene on "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in Connecticut."

In 1902 to Charles McCarthy, for his work entitled "The Anti-Masonic Party;" with honorable mention of the work of W. Roy Smith on "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

In 1903 to Louise Phelps Kellogg, for her work entitled "The American Colonial Charter: a Study of Its Relation to English Administration, chiefly after 1688."

In 1904 to William R. Manning, for his work entitled "The Nootka Sound Controversy;" with honorable mention of the work of C. O. Paullin on "The Navy of the American Revolution."

In 1906 to Annie Heloise Abel, for her work entitled "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded:

In 1905 to David S. Muzzey, for his work entitled "The Spiritual Franciscans;" with honorable mention of the work of Eloise Ellery on "Jean Pierre Brissot."

In 1907 to Edward B. Krehbiel, for his work entitled "The Interdict; its History and Operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III.," and to William Spence Robertson, for his work entitled "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America."

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II. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

By CLYDE A. DUNIWAY,
Professor in Leland Stanford Junior University, and Secretary of the Branch.

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By C. A. DUNIWAY, *Secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch.*

The fourth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on Friday, November 29, and Saturday, November 30. The first session, on Friday afternoon, in the parlors of the Hotel Stewart, was opened by President W. D. Fenton, of Portland, Oreg., with brief remarks upon the significance of holding a meeting of the branch at this time in the new San Francisco.

Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, read a paper on "The Relation of the United States to Latin America,"[a] giving an analysis of the causes of the failures of the United States and Latin-American peoples to understand each other. Both the institutional inheritance and the economic environment of the people of the United States have produced inevitably a democratic society. In Latin America, on the contrary, efforts to realize democratic ideals have had to contend against an inherited monarchical tradition, sustained by sympathetic intercourse with their nondemocratic European kinsfolk. The people of the United States have shown an intolerant pride in comparing the political results attained in their own country with successive revolutionary absolutisms existing in Latin America. The resentment of people of Spanish and Portuguese descent against northern assumptions of superiority has been unfortunately strengthened by differences of manners, inasmuch as the representatives of the United States have too little respect for the ceremonious side of conduct. Lack of economic intercourse has operated to intensify prejudice until a real practical problem has appeared for the maintenance of better relations between the United States and Latin America.

Prof. Henry L. Cannon, of Leland Stanford Junior University, read a paper on "Some inherent difficulties in the study of history." Commenting upon the importance to the student of history, in the general sense, of complementary sciences, such as physiography,

[a] For the paper in full, see p. —.

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ethnology, economics, political science, Mr. Cannon gave interesting examples of the persistence in historical literature of various theories no longer held as tenable by specialists in the particular sciences involved.

The next paper, by Mr. John Jewett Earle, of Oakland, dealt with "The sentiment of the people of California with respect to the civil war."[a] His study of what may be called the "war history" of California, based upon contemporary newspapers and reports of military authorities, revealed many incidents of interest. He discussed the existence of bitter partisan hostility between a majority of the people, supporting the Federal Government, and a large and active minority, sympathizing with the Confederacy. Scurrilous abuse of the Government at Washington abounded in newspapers. Organized secret societies entered into plots to carry the State out of the Union, either for the purpose of establishing an independent republic or with the intention of uniting with the Confederacy. These plots were checkmated by the vigilance of the authorities of the State, aided by national military forces. In California, as elsewhere, arbitrary measures in restraint of the freedom of the press and of the liberty of individuals were freely resorted to for the suppression of sympathy with secession. The sentiment of loyalty to the Union prevailed over forces leading to disunion, but only through the use of vigorous coercive measures.

Prof. C. A. Duniway, of Leland Stanford Junior University, gave an account of the "Political and civil disabilities of the negro in California, 1849–1861." Beginning with constitutional disability of denial of the elective franchise, California was shown to have enacted a series of "black laws" such as were characteristic of most free States of the same period. Negroes were not permitted to hold office, to serve as jurors, to give testimony in civil or criminal cases to which a white person was a party, to practice as attorneys, to attend the ordinary public schools, to intermarry with whites. Their petitions to the legislature were either not received or summarily rejected. Propositions to prohibit their immigration were seriously advocated by governors and supported by political parties, on one occasion failing of adoption only by a disagreement between the houses of the legislature on certain points of detail. By citation of reports of cases in inferior courts, especially from newspapers and pamphlets published by the colored population of the State, these various disabilities were proven not to have been dead-letter statutes. Furthermore, persistent agitation by state associations and local conventions of colored people were of no avail in modifying the policy embodied in these laws until after the rise of a new spirit of democracy engendered by the civil war.

[a] For the paper in full, see p. —.

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The annual banquet of the branch was held at 6 o'clock at the Hotel Jefferson, with Prof. H. Morse Stephens presiding.

The Friday evening session began with the annual address by the president, Mr. W. D. Fenton, of Portland. The paper was an appreciative sketch of the career of Senator and Colonel E. D. Baker. His prominence in the group of public men of Illinois of whom President Lincoln became the greatest leader, his distinguished success in the practice of his profession, his power as a popular orator, and his connection with the history of California and Oregon were presented largely through quotations of the testimony of Baker's associates and political antagonists.

The Friday evening session began with the annual address by the president, Mr. W. D. Fenton, of Portland. The paper was an appreciative sketch of the career of Senator and Colonel E. D. Baker. His and Indian war there was in progress in the American colonies a domestic struggle quite comparable in many respects to the contest between the colonies and Great Britain. There were two sharply differentiated elements in the colonies, represented roughly by the coast and the frontier. The men of the coast were in control of the government and looked down upon the men of the frontier; they were fearful of the results if the control of government should ever pass into the hands of the latter; acordingly, they managed affairs in their own interests without regard to the welfare of the frontiersmen. Several examples were taken to show that the frontiersmen were complaining of the same grievances and infringements of their rights at the hands of the men of the coast as the men of the coast were complaining of against Great Britain. In several instances the men of the frontier issued declarations of independence modeled on the national declaration. This state of affairs continued long after the Revolution was over. In the course of time the frontiersmen were able to get redress of grievances, but in practically every instance these adjustments in the colonies were obtained only by forcing them from the men in control. The conclusion reached was that the doctrines of liberty and equality have not been, in most cases in the United States, voluntarily applied either in national or state polity; their application has been extorted. The enjoyment of these privileges has only been achieved by a struggle, of which the Revolution was but a single stage, and a factor, perhaps the most potent of all, in this struggle has been the frontier, or the West.

Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, gave an account of a large collection of materials for a history of the earthquake and San Francisco fire of April, 1906, provided through the foresight of the relief committees of San Francisco. Copies of proceedings of civil and military authorities of all grades, first-hand

[a] Since printed in the Yale Review for May, 1908.

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reports of firemen and police, narratives of the personal experiences of some three thousand private citizens, had been supplemented by thousands of newspaper clippings and by files of some eight hundred newspapers from all parts of the world for several weeks after the catastrophe. The completeness, variety, and interest of this mass of material gives a basis for an unusually satisfactory account of a great public disaster and the method in which the crisis was met by the people.

The first part of the Saturday morning session, under the chairmanship of Prof. Thomas R. Bacon, of the University of California, was devoted to discussion of the teaching of history and government in schools. Mr. E. M. Cox, superintendent of schools of Santa Rosa, presented the subject of "State text-books in history." He declared that a state text-book system is not desirable. Such a system prescribes uniformity for schools where uniformity hinders good teaching. Books adapted to city pupils of certain grades are not suitable for country-bred children enrolled in the similar school years. Analyzing evidence which he had received from teachers of Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, and California, he concluded that prevalent divergent testimony of praise and criticism for the books adopted in these several States proved the unwisdom of adopting any single text-book for the schools of a State.

Miss Agnes E. Howe, of the San Jose State Normal School, continued the discussion, maintaining that the personality and training of teachers is of far more consequence that the matter of text-books. Given a good teacher, one who has the ability to select alternative texts best adapted to the needs of the school, good results will be had from the teaching.

Prof. G. H. Roberts, of the University of California, then made a plea for the study of local and municipal government in schools. He urged that the customary emphasis upon the constitution of the central government, to the neglect of the institutions having the closest connection with the welfare of the individual, leaves the people in a state of ignorance which is one source of the conspicuous failure of municipal government in the United States. He would have the teaching of this subject dwell less upon the structure of institutions and more upon their activity, their politics.

Introduced by Prof. H. Morse Stephens, four gentlemen who have been making investigations in the Bancroft Library gave brief descriptions of the original material to be found in the library. Prof. J. R. Robertson, of Pacific University, characterized the documentary material of the Mexican period in California, especially the copies of pueblo archives and the collections of letters and memoirs of Mexican local authorities. Mr. W. C. Westergaard, of the Chico State Normal School, described a collection of official documents and newspapers

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from the Danish West Indies for the period 1788–1840. Mr. R. W. Kelsey and Mr. Julius Klein, both of the University of California, gave interesting accounts of the Thomas O. Larkin letters and documents, and of the very large body of material illustrating the economic history of the Pacific coast.

The regular business session of the branch followed. The report of the secretary-treasurer showed that there had been little change in the affairs of the branch for the past year. Unsettled conditions in California, the State furnishing the majority of memberships, explained this circumstance. The executive committee announced the appointment of Prof. E. D. Adams, of Leland Stanford Junior University, as the representative of the branch to attend the meeting of the executive council of the American Historical Association in Madison. Prof. H. Morse Stephens was appointed alternate. A formal resolution was passed empowering the executive committee to appoint such special committees as may be desirable for the interests of the branch. The committee on nominations, Prof. J. N. Bowman, Mr. J. J. Earle, and Mr. P. J. Treat, reported the following list of officers, who were duly elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. James D. Phelan, of San Francisco; vice-president, Hon. J. M. Guinn, of Los Angeles; secretary-treasurer, Prof. C. A. Duniway, of Stanford University; additional members of the executive committee, Hon. F. V. Holman, of Portland; Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of Berkeley; Prof. Max Farrand, of Stanford University.

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III. REPORT OF CONFERENCE ON THE RELATION OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

By FREDERICK J. TURNER,
Professor in the University of Wisconsin, Chairman of the Conference.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE RELATION OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

By FREDERICK J. TURNER, *Chairman.*

The conference was largely attended and served to open a line of discussion of much importance to the association. The chairman, in his introductory remarks, called attention to the relative lack of study of the relations between geography and history in the United States in spite of the fact that this country affords one of the most important fields, if not the most important, for the study of the interactions between man and his environment. Society is here in the process of formation, and settlement is so rapidly extending across dissimilar geographical provinces that such conferences seem peculiarly desirable and worthy of being repeated.

In the first paper Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, of Louisville, Ky., discussed "Geographical location as a factor in history."[a]

Her main conclusions were as follows: The location of a country is the supreme geographical fact in its history. The dispersion of people over a wide, boundless area has a disintegrating tendency, while the opposite result follows concentration within a restricted national base. A people situated between two other peoples generally form an ethnical and cultural link between the two. The unifying effect of vicinal location is greatly enhanced if the neighboring people are grouped about an inclosed sea. An even closer connection exists between adjoining nations united by ties of blood and economically dependent upon one another because of a contrast in physical conditions. The two chief types of continuous location are the central and the peripheral. The former means opportunity for widening territory and the exercise of a widespread influence, but it also means danger; the latter means a narrow base but a protected frontier along the sea. All nations strive to combine both a central and a peripheral location. An admirable combination of the two is in the United States; but our country has paid for its security by an historical aloofness and poverty of influence. The accessibility of the maritime periphery tends to raise it in culture, wealth, densi of population, and often in political importance, in advance of

[a] Since printed in full in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, XL

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center. It blends diverse over-sea influences and passes them on to the interior. Each inland frontier has to reckon with a different neighbor and an undivided influence of varying historical importance. Location is the geographical factor in history most subject to the vicissitudes attending the anthropo-geographical evolution of the earth—the transfer of the seats of civilization.

The second paper, by Prof. Orin Grant Libby, of the University of North Dakota, dealt with "Physiography as a factor in community life." To differences in physiography rather than to those of education and religion he ascribed the early national leadership of Virginia and the provincialism of New England. But his principal illustrations were drawn from North Dakota. Here the Mandans, in the rich and sheltered valley of the Missouri, developed a civilization superior to that of any other Indians of the Northwest, while the Chippewa or Ojibway tribe, migrating from the Great Lakes to that portion of the Turtle Mountain Plateau, lost many of their arts and degenerated to a lower plane of culture. The method and character of the white occupation of the State was predetermined by its physiography. Its double drainage system—the Missouri and Red rivers—made it a battle ground of rival fur companies and of contending nationalities, whose rivalry for the Indian trade led to Lord Selkirk's settlement near Winnipeg, which brought the first white settlers into the State. The results of these physiographic conditions and the consequent fur-trade occupation of the State were the perpetuation of nomadic life and the delayed development of agriculture, due to the presence of the buffalo herd; the long retention by England of the Red River Valley and the establishment of forts by the United States Government; the numerous half-breed population, due to the long occupation of the State by Indian tribes and resident trading companies; and the ignoring of international boundary lines in favor of larger physiographic boundaries.

The discussion of the morning's papers was opened by Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell, who warmly recognized the worth of anthropo-geography, and the eloquence of Miss Semple's paper, but argued that geography, though a factor in history, is only a factor, and that no more in history than in mathematics can the outcome be inferred from a single factor alone. Though all that man does and is be but the product of himself into his environment, it must never be forgotten that he, too, is a factor, and oftener the active than the passive, the multiplier than the multiplicand. Recognition of this is often obscured by an ambiguous or inexact use of words. Thus "location" may denote either an act or the result of an act; it may mean a placing or a place. When Miss Semple tells us that "the most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe," we are in

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danger of forgetting that she speaks, not of a condition, but of an achievement, for what has made the story of the colonists other than that of the aborigines is not geographical position, but their European birth and training, their ships and their compass, the friends they left behind, the habits which engendered their trade, the purposes which brought them hither, and the plans which were here born of it. To impute action or causation, influence or control, to things which are inert is a figure of speech which gives vigor to style, but which always involves a fallacy; and when to nature is imputed what is planned and achieved by man, the sufferer from the fallacy is history.[a]

Dr. Harlan H. Barrows, instructor in the University of Chicago, defended a position intermediate between that of Miss Semple and that of Professor Burr.

Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Wisconsin, presented a concrete example of the use of geography in interpreting history. Exhibiting two maps of the Southern States, with counties, one showing the location of Whig and Democratic majority votes in the presidential election of 1848, the other showing the local preponderance of whites and negroes in the population according to the census of 1850, he pointed out a significant relation and lack of relation between the two maps in their several great regions. South Carolina did not appear in the political map, because there was no popular election there of presidential electors. The States from Georgia and Tennessee to Texas, the newly settled lower South, showed a great geographical coincidence of Whig and negro (slave) majorities. In North Carolina this relation was exactly reversed, while in Virginia and the border States no relations at all were traceable between the black belts and the Whig or Democratic majorities. He explained this by saying that the national parties of the period had been formed by the merging of state parties or local factions, and the bases of these latter had been various in the several regions. In the cotton belt the basis had been largely social—the aristocratic planters against the Democratic remainder—while in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky the basis had been questions of economic and political policy. When the wave of Jacksonian democracy swept the country it had carried all with it who had no special reason to oppose it. In the cotton belt, newly developed, the plantation system was a strong enough social stratifying factor to project the line of social cleavage conspicuously into politics. In Virginia the plantation system was too much on the wane to be a prominent factor. In North Carolina the lines of political cleavage had been and were now largely determined by the plantation system; but, curiously, as a result of some obscure hap-

[a] Professor Burr's general position has been developed more fully in the report of the twenty-second meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association.

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pening in the period of the merging, the planting element joined the Jacksonian movement, while the small farmers of the pine barrens and the mountains cast their alliance with the Whigs, who were elsewhere and generally aristocratic. The speaker concluded with a discussion of the southern Whigs as a coalition of incongruous elements: United States bank champions in the border States; advocates of federal canals and turnpikes in the upper Potomac, James, and Kanawha valley, and elsewhere where such works were actually needed; and protectionist sugar planters in Louisiana—all of these tending to Clay's National Republican doctrines—and on the other hand the cotton planters, who favored free trade; the nullifiers, who were the extremists among them; and the Wise and Tyler element of states-rights men, whose feelings and doctrines had been outraged by the force bill.

Prof. George B. Adams said that it had always seemed to him that the chief difficulty with the geographers was a failure to regard in their thinking the old philosophic distinction between causes and conditions. Most of the matters which they rightly call upon us to include in history are conditions, not causes. It is a difficult thing to built a water mill where there is no waterfall, but it is not the waterfall which grinds the wheat.

Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, spoke in favor of more attention to political geography in schools and colleges and lamented the lack of proper charts and maps for this study. Prof. N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri, enforcing this idea, spoke as follows:

Any interpretation of history from one view point is necessarily a mistake, and so a geographical or physiographical interpretation will leave out of account many factors of importance, just as an economic or a sociological interpretation would. What is really needed in the teaching of history and historical geography is closer correlation of the two subjects in the work of the class room, so that the important features of physical geography are emphasized in their historical bearings, while through constant references to localities on maps and charts the position of important peoples and places becomes familiar to the students. The lack of a good atlas of political historical geography with names in English has recently been supplied, but we are still without adequate historical maps and charts for English and European history save such as are produced in Germany and France.

Prof. Ralph Tarr, of Cornell, president of the Geographical Association, spoke briefly in support of the importance of studying the relations between geography and history, and Miss Semple spoke briefly on some of the points brought out in the discussion, explaining and enforcing her position.

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IV. REPORT OF CONFERENCE ON THE WORK OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By EVARTS B. GREENE,
Professor in the University of Illinois, Secretary of the Conference.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE PROBLEMS OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By Evarts B. Greene, *Secretary.*

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Mr. Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society. Among the state societies and institutions represented were the following: The state historical societies of Oregon, North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Pennsylvania; Washington University Historical Society; American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.; Chicago Historical Society; Buffalo Historical Society; Swedish-American Historical Society; Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Alabama Department of Archives and History; Illinois State Historical Library; Connecticut State Library.

The following annual report was presented by the secretary:

A Report on the Progress of State Historical Societies.

It is the purpose of this report to outline briefly the progress of state historical societies in the United States during the past year. The material has been gathered mainly from statements sent by various organizations in response to a circular letter covering the following points: 1. Legislation of the year affecting the organization of state historical work; 2. Legislative appropriations in aid of historical collections, research, and publication; 3. Other additions to income; 4. Notable changes in the administration of historical interests in the State (not covered by 1); 5. Notable additions to collections, buildings, and equipment; 6. Publications of the year; 7. Significant new enterprises already begun or projected. Two additional statements are necessary to explain the scope of this inquiry. In the first place, it has seemed best for the purposes of a brief report like this to limit it in the main to state organizations; secondly, since the line between state historical societies and historical departments is often rather shadowy, the latter have been included as well as the former. Answers to the circular were received from most of the really efficient state organizations, though, as usual with such inquiries, there were some gaps.

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The returns received indicate clearly the growing liberality of state legislatures toward historical work. This is especially true of the Middle West. The annual appropriation for the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan is $4,000. In Wisconsin the appropriation for the State Historical Society has been increased from $20,000 to $25,000. In Iowa there has been an advance in the annual appropriation from $7,500 to $12,000. Minnesota has an annual grant of $20,000. In Illinois the total appropriation has been largely increased and the special item for collecting and publishing documentary material has been advanced from $5,000 to $10,000 for the present biennial period. In Nebraska the total biennial appropriation has been increased from $10,000 to $15,000, and an additional sum of $25,000 has been appropriated to begin the erection of a special building for the society.

The southern legislatures, taking into account their smaller resources, are making an equally satisfactory showing. In North Carolina the annual appropriation for the state historical commission was increased from $500 to $5,000, in addition to the provision made for printing under a general state contract. In Mississippi the appropriations of the last legislature for the department of archives and history aggregated $15,000. In 1907 the Alabama legislature made a total appropriation for the years 1907, 1908, 1909, and 1910 of $25,000, not counting the incidental expenses of printing and stationery. This was an increase of $8,000 over that made by the legislature of 1903 for the preceding quadrennial period. In Texas part of the provision for state historical work comes through the State University, which, within the last year, has been given over $1,000 for indexing and transcribing manuscript material relating to the history of the Southwest. In the main, the hope of state historical societies, at least in the West and South, seems to lie in state appropriations rather than in private gifts or bequests.

The growth of interest in local historical work is shown also by a decided building movement. The Maine Historical Society has just dedicated a new building with stack accommodations for 30,000 volumes, and the New York Historical Society has a building nearly completed, at a cost of $400,000. In the West, Iowa has recently voted $40,000 for the completion of a historical building, and there are well-developed building movements in various stages of advance in Nebraska and other States, both east and west.

Progress has also been made through a more effective organization of the various agencies for historical investigation and publication. In New York the appointment of Victor H. Paltsits as state historian may be taken in itself as an adequate guaranty that the work of that office will now be conducted in accordance with the best standards of historical scholarship. The State of Maine has just established the

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same office and the governor has appointed Rev. Henry S. Burrage, of Togus, as the first state historian. In North Carolina the scope of the historical commission has been enlarged and provision made for the appointment of a salaried secretary. In Wisconsin the legislature has authorized the transfer of archives from the various state offices to the custody of the State Historical Society, "which is to arrange, classify, and index them, and furnish authentic copies when needed." Similar legislation has been enacted in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Iowa. In Alabama the department of archives and history announces as part of its programme for the immediate future "the complete organization, classification, and cataloguing of the entire body of our state archives from 1818 to the present time."

In many States of the Union the relations between the state historical department and the state historical society have never been clearly defined, and the failure to define clearly their respective functions has given rise to some embarrassment. This has been the case, for instance, in Illinois. In 1889 the legislature organized the board of trustees of the State Historical Library, whose members are state officers appointed by the governor. This board, organized primarily for the purpose of building up a collection of printed and manuscript material, has in recent years interpreted its functions liberally and undertaken, with the authority of the legislature, the work of publication. On the other hand, the State Historical Society, organized ten years later, represents in the main the element of private enterprise, though its secretary is also secretary of the library board, and its *Transactions* are paid for from funds administered by the State Historical Library. This will be recognized as a situation similar to that existing in many other States.

At the last meeting of the legislature various proposals for reorganization were offered. One of these proposed the appointment of a state historian; another contemplated a close consolidation of the library with the society, giving to the society at least partial control of the membership of the library board; it was also proposed that a state archivist be appointed responsible to the library board. None of these measures was enacted, but a largely increased appropriation made it possible for the library board, on the initiative of President E. J. James, of the state University, to develop its plans for bringing the work more nearly in line with expert opinion. In 1905 the board appointed an advisory commission consisting of one representative each from the historical departments of the following institutions: University of Illinois, University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Illinois College, Eastern Illinois Normal School, and Northern Illinois Normal School. It was made the function of this advisory commission to prepare for consideration by the board plans for securing, collecting, and publishing documentary material relating

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to the history of the State. It is, of course, the privilege of the board to accept or reject the advice thus given; but in the main the plans proposed by the commission have been followed. With the enlargement of the work, however, it became evident that another permanent expert officer was needed. This need has just been provided for by the appointment of Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, who has been relieved of part of his academic duties for this purpose.

It can hardly be claimed that all the funds at the disposal of the various state historical societies or departments have been or will be judiciously expended. Nevertheless, there has been within recent years a marked change for the better in the character of the annual publications, with growing emphasis on the safeguarding and publishing of fundamental documentary material. The past year has been marked by the completion or projection of some important publications, only a few of which may be noted at this time. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society the final volume of the Bowdoin and Temple papers has been issued. The Connecticut Historical Society has begun the publication of the Papers of Jonathan Law, governor of the colony from 1741 to 1750. In North Carolina the historical commission has in press a Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina from 1800 to 1868. "All the correspondence of the governor's office from 1789 to 1868 has been placed at the disposal of the commission and will ultimately be published." In the Gulf States perhaps the most notable enterprise is the publication of the colonial archives of Mississippi during the period of the British dominion. The first volume of the series is now in course of preparation.

The States of the Middle West have been especially active. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society announces two important undertakings: One is the publication of hitherto unprinted Schoolcraft manuscripts to be issued in the next volume of the Pioneer Collections; the second is the reediting of the Margry Papers, issued some years ago, but, as is generally known, in such form as to give reasonable ground for criticism. The Margry introductions, omitted in the published volumes, will be included in this new issue. It is announced that "every paper in the entire six volumes will be carefully compared with the originals in the archives at Paris." The French text is to be accompanied by translations. In Illinois the principal event of the year has been the issue of a second volume of the Illinois Historical Collections, containing the Cahokia Records illustrating conditions in the Illinois country from the coming of George Rogers Clark in 1778 to the visit of St. Clair in 1790. The somewhat extended introduction contains the first adequate account of the Virginia administration in the Illinois country. The board

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has accepted the plan formulated by the advisory commission for the publication of a definite series to be filled out according to a logical plan, though the chronological order will not be strictly followed. It is proposed to mark the coming anniversary year by a memorial volume on the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which is now being prepared by Prof. E. E. Sparks, of the University of Chicago. Other volumes which it is proposed to publish soon will include a collection of the Clark Papers, the Kaskaskia Papers of the Virginia Period in somewhat the same form as the Cahokia Records just published, and the letters of the Illinois governors prior to the civil war. The Wisconsin Historical Society has in preparation a volume on The Revolution in the Upper Ohio Valley. This, like the previous volume on Lord Dunmore's War, is to be published with the cooperation of the Sons of the American Revolution. The Iowa State Historical Society continues its valuable Journal of History and Political Science, besides a number of other publications, including two volumes of the Iowa Biographical Series. The Minnesota Historical Society expects to publish during the year 1908 two volumes of collections dealing, respectively, with the lives of the governors of Minnesota, and the archæology of Minnesota. In these and many other States the foundations are being laid for future publications by transcripts from local and foreign archives.

This general survey of the work done in the various States of the Union gives reasonable ground for encouragement, though in some of the States the conditions are evidently less satisfactory. Prosperity, however, brings some dangers of its own which need to be carefully considered. Large sums have been appropriated by many of the State legislatures, often with the expectation of definite returns in a comparatively short time. It is, of course, always important to show tangible results from the expenditure of public funds; but there is some danger that departments and societies, in their desire to show these tangible results, may occasionally be led into hasty action. Politics also is an unfortunate influence which can not yet be left wholly out of account. Under these conditions the need of a clear consensus of opinion as to the policy of these organizations seems especially desirable. A few points seem, in my judgment, to call for special emphasis.

1. In some States the organization of state historical work has been put on a substantial basis by the publication of a comprehensive bibliography of printed matter, with special reference to the sources. This should undoubtedly be done soon in all the States if the work of research is to be economically directed.

2. After such a bibliographical survey it will be possible to determine the most serious gaps in the documentary collections, which should then be filled in systematically, not necessarily in chronological

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order, but at least in accordance with some logical plan. There is perhaps no part of the country in which this task is now being more consistently planned than in some of the Southern States.

3. Another necessary preliminary to the judicious publication of documentary material is a survey of manuscript depositories both within and without the State. Without such a survey the first volumes published on any particular period or phase of State history are bound to be one-sided and fragmentary.

4. In this survey of manuscript material, and in its subsequent transcribing and publication, there is urgent need of more effective cooperation among the state societies than has existed hitherto. Without it there will be, as in the past, unnecessary waste and duplication. This is seen clearly enough in the colonial documents published by some of the older States of the Union. Some of the best known depositories of state papers have been gone over repeatedly by agents of different States, each one taking out from its context the particular fragment or group of documents with which his own State was most obviously concerned. There may very well be some systematic apportionment of different parts of the field to individual societies, even though the material in that field may be of interest to more than one. The department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has already rendered substantial service to the cause of cooperation and stands ready to go much farther. The spirit of cooperation is undoubtedly growing; what is now needed is general agreement upon a definite working plan.

5. The carelessness with which many of these state publications have been edited has been frequently noted. In many instances volumes have been issued which will have to be done over again if the material which they present is to be safely used by scholars. This means, of course, a serious waste of public funds. Such mistakes will probably become less frequent as the years go on; but if they are to be wholly avoided great stress must be laid upon the service of expert and conscientious editors. Our university men have not yet done what they may do to secure the establishment of genuine scientific standards in this respect.

6. Finally, it is desirable that where there are several historical agencies in the same State they should either be consolidated or arrange among themselves a well-considered distribution of functions. This is necessary not only to prevent waste, but to exclude the possibility of unnecessary friction.

It was to promote cooperation among the States and among different agencies in the same State that this conference was originally organized. Let us hope that it may become more and more an exchange in which the ideas and experiments of one State may be utilized for the service of all the others.

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Mr. Dunbar Rowland, of the Mississippi department of archives and history, presented the following paper:

The Cooperation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives.

If there is a characteristic which differentiates the new school of American historians from the old it is the more extensive use of original historical materials. The exclusive use of printed sources is no longer permissible among scientific historical writers of the present day. While it is not intended to make invidious comparisons, it is quite generally believed that the American investigators of to-day are making a more extensive use of the archives of the English public record office concerning colonial affairs in North America than the historians of the mother country.

In the past a few American historians have had access to the archives of England, France, and Spain, but such private investigations are expensive and can be made only by the favored few. If these invaluable sources are to come into general use it must be through transcripts collected by well-equipped and thoroughly organized historical agencies, such as state departments of archives and history and state-supported historical socities, aided and advised by the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. If this great work is well done there must be the fullest cooperation on the part of the States interested in it.

It is entirely unnecessary to dwell upon the value and importance of foreign archives in a conference like this, and I shall therefore address myself to the practical side of the subject.

The State of Mississippi is interested in the archive collections of the three great colonizing countries of Europe, and is having transcripts made in England, Spain, and France. The work is being done through the state department of archives and history, and was inaugurated in the summer of 1906 after a personal study of the materials made by the director of the department.

There are seven great foreign repositories of historical materials in which the States of the Union have a vital interest—two in England, two in France, and three in Spain. Many of the States are interested in two of these, some in more, and some in all. The English archives relating to American history are deposited mainly in the public-record office and the British Museum. There are, of course, other valuable collections in England which will bear investigation, and the same may be said of France and Spain. In France possibly the most valuable collections for American history are in the ministry of the marine and the Bibliothèque Nationale. The

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great repositories of Spanish archives concerning American history are in Madrid, Seville, and Simancas. In a paper like this I shall not be able to dwell upon the history, extent, and character of these great collections.

BRITISH ARCHIVES.

It is very generally conceded that Great Britain has the most extensive, carefully collected, and best public records in the world. The English have wisely established the policy of concentrating the historical archives of the country in one central repository. This was brought about by what is known as the public-record act of 1838, which provides for placing the archives of the nation in one worthy and suitable building, under the custody of the master of the rolls. This great plan was finally accomplished by the erection of the public-record office, Chancery lane, London. To this splendid edifice have been transferred thousands of tons of the most precious historical treasures of England.

The three great sources of American colonial history in the public record office are (1) the records called Colonial Papers; (2) the papers of the committee of privy council for plantation affairs, later the board of trade and plantations, which was established in the reign of Charles II; (3) the papers of the secretary of state, known as "America and West Indies." These collections of well-preserved historical materials of the first class are enough to arouse all the enthusiasm of the investigator. Generally speaking the documents may be classified as;

(*a*) Copies of letters, commissions, and instructions from the board of trade, or from the secretary of state, for the settlement, development, and government of the colonies.

(*b*) Original papers of the colonial governors to the home Government.

(*c*) Entry books, containing copies of letters from the secretary of state to the governors of the colonies.

(*d*) Admiralty dispatches from the colonial naval stations to the secretary of the Admiralty.

(*e*) Military papers dealing with military posts and general conditions.

(*f*) Minutes of the councils and general assemblies of the colonies.

(*g*) Acts of the colonies.

(*h*) Journals of the board of trade.

(*i*) Registers of grants and sales of land.

(*j*) Manuscript maps and plans; reports of explorations, giving descriptions of the flora, fauna, and geology of the colonies; methods of agriculture; manners, customs, and fighting strength of Indian

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tribes; treaties with Indians; settlement of boundary disputes, and other interesting materials too numerous to mention.

FRENCH ARCHIVES.

The historical archives of France have been carefully collected and preserved, but there is a difference in method from that which prevails in England. While the English have established a central repository, for the purpose of concentrating in one place all important national archives, the French have allowed the public records of the nation to remain in the various departments of the Government in which they originated. Both nations have shown the same appreciation of the importance of preserving and systematizing historical materials which contain the story of two great colonial civilizations.

The archives of the ministry of the marine relating to American history may be classified for present purposes as;

(*a*) Royal charters, proclamations, orders, permissions, and decrees, relating to the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the Mississippi Valley.

(*b*) Ministerial correspondence, letters sent and letters received, including plans and instructions for the equipment of fleets on voyages of discovery and location of settlements.

(*c*) General correspondence of the colonial governors relating to the settlement and government of the colonies and the daily administration of affairs.

(*d*) Codes, regulations, lists of colonists, and rosters of troops, officers, and sailors.

(*e*) Civil acts, notarial, judicial, and ministerial.

(*f*) Reports of explorers, traders, trappers, and military officers relating to description of the country and trade with the Indians; papers concerning the organization of companies for the development of the country.

(*g*) Documents dealing with land grants, trading and mining rights.

(*h*) Accounts showing the sums expended in the exploration of the country.

(*i*) Papers relating to the establishment of missions by the Jesuits.

(*j*) Manuscript maps and plans.

SPANISH ARCHIVES.

It is sufficient for the purpose of this discussion to state that the great repositories of Spanish archives relating to American history are in Madrid, Seville, and Simancas. The same general classification which has been given the English and French materials applies to the Spanish archives. While these documents are not of the same

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general interest to all parts of the United States as those having English or French origin, they are of the greatest possible value to the States of the South. The Spanish materials contain the very beginning of the exploring and colonizing forces operating in America, which founded a great colonial empire before England and France realized the possibilities of trade and commerce with the New World. The English, French, and Spanish historical materials are therefore the best fields for the activities of American historical agencies in the collections of transcripts.

SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS.

In making arrangements with foreign archivists for transcripts it is necessary that great care be used in designating the documents which are to be copied. If care is not exercised, a large sum might be easily expended on transcripts that are not wanted or that have already been copied or printed. In order to avoid this danger, full, complete, and explicit written instructions should be given. In placing an order for transcripts of Spanish archives relating to Mississippi history, which are deposited in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, the following instructions were given for the guidance of the archivists, and as they may be of some service in new transcript undertakings, I give them in full:

Suggestions for making an investigation of documentary historical material of Louisiana and West Florida, concerning the State of Mississippi, United States of America, deposited in the archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain.

1. The investigation should cover that period of time extending from 1779 to 1798–1813 (a part of our State being evacuated in 1798 and part in 1813), or from the beginning to the end of the Spanish occupation. It will also be well to include a period of two years immediately preceding the military operations of Galvez in order that full details may be obtained.

2. Papers in general relating to Biloxi, Natchez, Mobile, Pass Christian, Fort Charlotte, Dauphine Island, Baton Rouge, Los Nogales or Walnut Hills, Manchac, Fort St. Louis, Yazoo, and Fort Tombecbe, as well as to any sort of settlement on the east bank of the Mississippi River, or in the territory included between the river, 31° and 35° north latitude, and east to the Chattahoochie River.

3. Correspondence of the officers commanding at the posts designated in No. 2, including correspondence or instructions to them from the captain-general or from the home government; papers from or to Callett, Treveno, Miro, Piernas, Dauligny, Grand Pré, Gayoso de Lemos, Espeleta, Folch, Lanzas, and Minor, etc.; and the correspondence of the several governors of Louisiana and West Florida, including O'Reilly, Unzaga, De La Torre, Galvez, Miro, Carondelet, and Casa Calvo.

4. Papers concerning the surrounding Indian tribes in any way, such as treaties and trade with, purchase of land from, and bestowal of presents on, including Creeks, also written "Cricks" and "Crekes;" Talpuches; Chicachas, also written "Chicasas;" "Choctas," etc.; also all correspondence and dealings of Alejandro McGillivray, Bowles, and other representatives of the Indians in

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their relations with the Spaniards and the Americans, so far as the scene of such dealings was laid in the territory described in No. 2.

5. Papers dealing with explorations by land or water, especially of such rivers as the Mississippi, from the mouth to 35° north, the Pearl, Iberville, Yazoo, Mobile, Tombecbe, St. Catherine, Homochitto, and Big Black, also the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, being now the southern coast of Mississippi and Alabama, also the interior to the north between the Mississippi River on the west, the Chattahoochie River on the east, and the thirty-fifth degree of latitude on the north.

6. Papers relating to the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida and to the boundary commission (Comisión de Límites).

7. Maps of any part of the coast or rivers, posts, forts, settlements, or boundaries of the territory described in No. 5.

8. Land grants in the same territory described in No. 5, giving only grantor, grantee, where situated, and quantity of land granted.

9. Descriptions of the country by traders, explorers, hunters, trappers, or others passing through the territory under consideration.

10. Orders, proclamations, or letters from the home government relative to the exploration, settlement, and regulation of the territory.

11. Do not copy documents that have been printed or reproduced by photographic process.

COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL AGENCIES.

If the work of securing transcripts of foreign archives proceeds entirely along independent lines, there must necessarily be quite a waste of energy and money. How to prevent such waste by intelligent, systematic cooperation is the question. It seems that very many of the problems may be solved by the affiliation and cooperation of the States having a common object. To illustrate: The entire Mississippi Valley has a common interest in the archives of France, but it would be entirely unnecessary and very unwise for a State to attempt to secure transcripts of all materials concerning the valley of the Mississippi which are deposited in French repositories. It is very necessary, however, for each State to secure copies of the documents which bear directly upon its history. In addition to such a series of documents, it will be found necessary also for each State to have certain papers which are fundamental, such as charters and organic acts. While duplication is to be avoided, it is necessary to a certain extent. To avoid unnecessary duplication is one of the problems to be worked out. If each State confines itself to those documents which are of the first importance to its history, the problem of duplication will, in a large measure, be solved. To accomplish this it is necessary that a careful preliminary study of the series of documents from which transcripts are desired should be made, and such a study can only be made by one having wide knowledge of local state history supplemented by an archivist who fully understands his collections. This preliminary study is of the first importance.

The next step to be taken is the preparation of a calendar of those documents which have been found to be essential to the State making

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the investigation. This calendar should be carefully studied for the purpose of indicating the papers to be transcribed. These calendars should be printed in the reports of the departments and societies and transmitted to the Carnegie Institution of Washington and to the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. By this means these great historical agencies could act as clearing houses for the local departments and societies throughout the Union. By means of such reports a common source of information would be provided which could be drawn upon at any time.

TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS.

I take it that this conference is intended to be only the beginning of a movement which has for its object the ultimate collection of all European sources of American history by either national or state agencies. From a national standpoint this undertaking is being admirably conducted by the Library of Congress and the Carnegie Institution, and many States are doing good work along local lines. In working out the problem from the standpoint of the States, the following tentative suggestions are offered for the consideration of the conference:

1. In the collection of documents concerning national history the historical agencies of Washington should have an exclusive field.

2. All the States should supplement the national collections by securing the documents which deal primarily with the local history of each State.

3. In order to secure the best results there should be worked out a plan for the fullest cooperation of the States having common interests.

4. In securing transcripts a thorough study of the collections to be used should be made by one having special fitness for the work.

5. Each collecting agency should confine itself strictly to materials which are primarily essential to the history of the State which it represents.

6. The States should report promptly and fully to a central agency on all transcripts collected.

7. This conference should refer this entire question to a committee of five appointed at this meeting with instructions to report at its next annual session.

The work of collecting from foreign archives the materials of American history is one of the most important undertakings which can engage the attention of the historians of the country; and if this conference can give additional impulse to such a movement, it will have accomplished much for the advancement of scientific history.

Mr. Rowland's paper was discussed at considerable length by Prof. C. W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, who presented various possible methods by which the field of historical work might be ap-

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portioned among the historical societies of the Mississippi Valley; and more briefly by Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington; by Mr. C. S. Paine, of the Nebraska Historical Society, and by Mr. R. G. Thwaites. Mr. Paine referred to the recently organized Mississippi Valley Historical Society as affording a practical method of securing cooperation. As a result of this discussion it was voted, on motion of Mr. Rowland, that a committee of seven be appointed by the chairman of this conference for the purpose of formulating and reporting at the next annual meeting a plan for the cooperation of state historical societies and departments in the collecting and publication of historical materials in the form of transcripts or original documents, and that the committee be authorized to report fully and completely upon the subjects referred to it. The chairman subsequently appointed the following committee: Dunbar Rowland, chairman, Mississippi department of archives and history; J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution; Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois; Thomas M. Owen, Alabama department of archives and history; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Iowa State University; R. G. Thwaites, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Worthington C. Ford, division of manuscripts, Library of Congress.

Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, of Vassar College, next presented a paper of great interest on "The scientific organization of historical museums." Miss Salmon called attention to the fact that while in Europe the museum is a well-recognized means of historical instruction, especially for the study of Kulturgeschichte, in this country stress has been laid upon the collection of material which possesses merely a curious or antiquarian interest. She urged upon historical societies and state authorities greater care in preserving as completely as possible and in their natural relations such remains as we still have of past economic and social conditions. The paper was discussed by Dr. J. P. Bretz, of the University of Chicago, who described plans which were being made by the historical department of that university for a museum which would be dominated by the aim of furnishing scientific instruction. The lateness of the hour prevented an adequate discussion of the questions raised by Professor Salmon and Doctor Bretz, but it is hoped that the subject may be resumed at a subsequent meeting. At the request of the writer, the publication of Professor Salmon's paper is deferred for the present.

Mr. C. W. Ayer, secretary of the Bay State Historical League, was unable to present in person his paper on "The cooperation of local historical societies," but it was read by the secretary. Mr. Ayer described briefly the activity of the local historical societies of Massachusetts and called attention to the rapid increase in the number of such organizations during the past twenty years. The Bay State

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Historical League now includes about one-half of the eighty local societies of the State. For the purpose of promoting common interests the league holds delegate meetings at frequent intervals, usually on the invitation of some society.

It was thought that the delegates at these meetings were likely to gather useful information regarding the methods employed in the more efficient organizations. The hope was expressed that through the habit of cooperation thus established it would be possible for the town organizations of Massachusetts to work together on such topics as "Movement to the Western Reserve," "The acts and correspondence of the committee of safety," or "The building of Kansas."

At the close of Mr. Ayer's paper the conference adjourned, to meet next year with the American Historical Association at Richmond.

In concluding the report of this conference mention should be made of the meeting held on the same day which resulted in the definitive organization of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society.

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V. REPORTS OF SPECIAL CONFERENCES ON MEDIÆVAL EUROPEAN HISTORY, ON MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY, ON ORIENTAL HISTORY AND POLITICS, ON AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, AND ON UNITED STATES HISTORY SINCE 1865.

By the respective Chairmen of the Conferences:

GEORGE L. BURR,
Cornell University.

GUY S. FORD,
University of Illinois.

ARCHIBALD C. COOLIDGE,
Harvard University.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN,
University of Chicago.

JAMES A. WOODBURN,
University of Indiana.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON MEDIÆVAL EUROPEAN HISTORY.

By GEORGE L. BURR, *Chairman.*

The "round-table" conference on mediæval history was opened by the chairman, who spoke of the peculiar difficulties attaching in America to the study of mediæval history because of the modernness of our environment, and stated as the question for special discussion, How should mediæval history be written and taught for Americans?

The first speaker, Professor Robinson, of Columbia, deprecated over-attention to the middle ages, urging the growing importance of history as it approaches our own time, and ascribing to the influence of German patriotic writers the vicious perspective which has given undue emphasis to the early mediæval centuries. Over these, from Gregory the Great to Abelard, he would pass very lightly, beginning modern history with the twelfth century and treating all that follows as a steady development, with stress upon those phases only which have a bearing on later history.

Professor Munro, of Wisconsin, demurred to so large a sacrifice of mediæval history to modern and would not carry modern history farther back than the fourteenth century. While he could not skip the early middle ages, he would emphasize the continuity of history and those things in mediæval history which could be made to bear on modern, and would avoid stress on what is so peculiar to it as to make it remote from our sympathies.

Professor Haskins, of Harvard, urged the worth not only of continuity but of contrast. He spoke of the importance of the study of mediæval history as furnishing a background for the ordinary American student by familiarizing him with a set of institutions and ideas which, while widely different from those of his own time, are yet vitally related to them by the course of historical development. He also spoke of the importance of emphasizing different sides of history in the same course in order to enlist by as varied an appeal as possible the interest of a wide range of students.

Prof. Paul van Dyke, of Princeton, who was unable to be present, sent a brief paper, read by the chairman, which deprecated a gulf between our study and the life of men around us, and urged that

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the student be helped to learn enough of the events and characters of the middle ages to get some view of their differing institutions and ideals without losing the sense of fellow-feeling with his remote ancestors that trains him to perceive how all men of all generations are akin.

Professor Dow, of the University of Michigan, held that Americans, like the peoples of Europe, have reason to be curious concerning the middle ages and are not to be satisfied by expositions either of political history simply or of institutions or culture as such. They must have a various-sided knowledge of those times and see events and institutions in their relations with real life.

Professor Thompson, of the University of Chicago, thought the institutional nature of mediæval history should be emphasized, and the students made to perceive how factors and forces of the middle ages condition modern life—the structure of society, the authority and organization of the church, the racial problems of the present. It should be remembered that "the roots of the present lie deep in the past," and the essentially constructive and progressive development of the middle ages should be so kept in mind that their history may not seem to the student isolated and remote or without present-day value and interest.

Professor Harding, of the University of Indiana, defended the study of the differences between mediæval and modern history, but pressed the need of a sympathetic attitude toward the ideas and institutions of the middle ages, of concrete and specific presentation, and of unwearying watchfulness to prevent misconception by reader or auditor. He would make much use of the individual.

Professor Shotwell, of Columbia, who in absence was represented by his colleague, Professor Robinson, feared lest in our eagerness to prove history a mental discipline we may be making it less a study in human affairs than a philosophical laboratory. Thus, in mediæval history our students should not be expected to take interest in legal technicalities, e. g., in feudalism, before they have the visual image of a castle or a domain. A great change came into our text-books with the new discrimination between vital movements and transient, but the straightening of the perspective does not solve the question of presentation.

In the general discussion which followed valuable further suggestions were made by Professor Scott, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Professor Richardson, of Beloit College, and Professor Flick, of the University of Syracuse.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

By GUY STANTON FORD, *Chairman.*

Prof. Ralph C. H. Catterall, of Cornell University, opened the conference with a ten-minute discussion of the topic: What kind of work in European history should American students attempt? Professor Catterall urged that American students should continue intensive monographic work. He indicated the advantages their detachment gave them in treating matters toward which the attitude of the European scholar was more or less consciously partisan. Material for such special work on this side the Atlantic might best be accumulated by various libraries specializing in certain fields. He then indicated, by way of illustration, what might be found on the French Revolution in the library of Cornell University.

The discussion indicated that in the present situation of European history in this country most of those discussing the paper felt that the need was for more synthetic work embodying the results of the special work already done—more of what the French would call "high popularization."

Prof. Fred M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, urged the claims of modern European history as a field in which seminar methods could be applied with the same rigidity and success as in the mediæval or American field, and gave interesting illustrations of the treatment of selected problems in the field of the French Revolution. In the absence of Professor Fling his paper was read by Professor Christofelsmeier, of Nebraska.

Prof. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, speaking to the topic, An American Magazine for European History, inclined strongly to the view that the time had not come for such an organ, but pointed out the field there was for a periodical which presented the best available material on current European politics and international affairs.

Two neglected phases or fields of European history were emphasized by Prof. Harry G. Plum, of the University of Iowa, and Prof. Ephraim D. Adams, of Leland Stanford Junior University. Professor Plum dwelt on the economic backgrounds of European history, drawing his illustrations from the period of the Reformation, the Thirty Years' war, and the revolutionary period, with special refer-

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ence to the part played by secularization and indemnification in those eras. Professor Adams vigorously presented certain American history topics having connections with European and English history as fields which could be and should be treated by those who knew the trans-Atlantic conditions which were fundamental to their proper interpretation.

The conference was closed by the paper of Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Bryn Mawr, read in his absence by Professor Eckhart, of Missouri. His temperate criticism of the tendency in recent text-books of European history to dangerous generalizations, easy explanations of "present tendencies," and overconfident prophecies about future developments was approved in the discussion which followed.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON ORIENTAL HISTORY AND POLITICS.

By Archibald Cary Coolidge, *Chairman.*

The conference opened with a paper by Dr. Arthur I. Andrews, instructor in Simmons College, which outlined the courses on Asiatic history given by American universities and colleges, emphasizing the scant attention devoted to the subject and especially the neglect of the later periods, and the lack of courses covering the whole field. Doctor Andrews spoke as follows:

The report here presented concerning the work in mediæval and modern Asiatic history offered by American universities during 1907–8 has been compiled from the latest catalogues obtainable, supplemented by correspondence or by consultation with those in charge of this work. In a number of cases the information accessible is defective as to accuracy or completeness, but enough has been secured to make clear the general situation.

Little attention is being paid to strictly Asiatic history, and that little is confined almost wholly to the larger universities. In the smaller colleges the temptation seems to be too great to consider the history of oriental nations as valuable only in its connection with western European politics, with very little attempt at studying the oriental history and civilization by themselves or for their own sake. I would also emphasize the comparative absence of any scheme of courses designed to cover the whole field of Asiatic history systematically and comprehensively. Such movements in this direction as I have observed have been referred to in the report. An effort has also been made to indicate as far as possible the courses confined exclusively to graduate students.

I make no claims of excellence for my classification save that it seemed the most satisfactory after various other arrangements had been tried. I have used the word "term" where the year of the university in question is divided into three parts; "semester" where it is divided into two. The number of hours given shows the amount of attendance in the class room expected each week. This affords a fair, though by no means an infallible, index of the importance of the course.

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COURSES IN MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN ASIATIC HISTORY.

A. General Asiatic history.

University of Wisconsin. Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis.

History 48; two hours, both semesters.

Europe and Asia.

Studies in the relations between the peoples of the two continents from earliest times to the present day.

(With this as a basis, graduate work is offered in Asiatic history, as will be noted below.)

Note also courses at Yale University, University of California, Cornell University, and Florida State College, which aim in from one to four years to cover nearly the whole field.

B. Western Asiatic history, including that of Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa.

I. Mediæval history.

(*a*) *On the life of Mohammed.*

University of Chicago. Prof. James Richard Jewett.

Semitic 202; four hours, one term.

Life of Mohammed; suras from the Quran.

Semitic 204; four hours, one term.

Rise of Islam; [now extended to include modern Islam.]

Yale University. Prof. Charles C. Torrey.

Semitic 12; two hours, one semester.

Suras from the Koran, with some work on the life of Mohammed.

University of California. Prof. William Popper.

Semitic 5b, Arabic; two hours through the year.

The Koran, with Commentary.

(Alternates with a purely linguistic course.)

(*b*) *Rise of Islam.*

Columbia University. Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil.

Semitic 104; two hours, one semester.

Rise of Arabian Civilization and Spread of Mohammedanism.

Yale University. Prof. F. W. Williams.

History B 7; two hours, both semesters.

Mediæval Asia and the Mohammedan Conquest. (Alexander to 1453.)

Omitted 1907–8.

Florida State College. Prof. Arthur Williams.

History 9; two hours, both semesters.

Mediæval Asiatic history to 1453.

Hartford Theological Seminary. Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell.

History 14; three hours, five weeks.

The Rise of Mohammedanism to the founding of the Bagdad Caliphate.

University of California. Prof. William Popper.

Semitic 25 A; two hours, both semesters.

The Mohammedan Conquest from Rise of Islam to the present day.

(Not given in 1907–8; alternates with a course upon the Modern Orient.)

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B. Western Asiatic history, including that of Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa—Continued.

I. Mediæval history—Continued.

(*b*) *Rise of Islam*—Continued.

Cornell University. Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt.

Semitic 8; two hours, both semesters.

Syria from the earliest times to the present day.

(Given in 1907–8.)

Plan for work at Cornell in Asiatic history:

First year: Assyria and Babylonia.

Second year: Egypt, and a Caliphate.

Third year: Asia Minor and Iran or Arabia.

Fourth year: India or Syria.

(The Semitic Seminar is sometimes historical, at other times chiefly linguistic.)

(*c*) *The Califates.*

Harvard University. Prof. Crawford H. Toy.

Semitic 14 hf.; one hour, both semesters (half course).

History of the Spanish Califate.

(Alternates with Semitic 15 hf., History of the Bagdad Califate; Moslem rule in Egypt and North Africa.)

McGill University. Rev. C. A. Brodie Brockwell.

Semitic 2.

History of the Califate.

(Offered but not yet given.)

University of Chicago. Prof. James Richard Jewett.

Semitic 193; four hours, one term.

(Given in spring, 1907.)

Mohammedan History to the Beginning of the Crusades.

(*d*) *Islam and the Crusades.*

Brown University. Prof. Wilfred Harold Munro.

History 3; three hours, one term.

Islam and the Crusades (two-thirds of the time devoted to the rise of Islam).

University of Chicago. Prof. James Richard Jewett.

Semitic 194; four hours, one term.

History of the Crusades from the Mohammedan standpoint.

(Given in spring, 1908.)

Semitic 195; four hours, one term.

History of the Crusades from the Western standpoint.

(Given in summer, 1907.)

University of Wisconsin. Prof. Dana Carleton Munro.

History 56; two hours, through the year.

Seminary in Mediæval History.

The Crusades.

(1907–8. First Crusade considered from Asiatic as well as European standpoint.)

Marquette College. Prof. W. F. Downing.

History —; two hours for two terms.

History of the Crusades and of the Ottoman Turks.

(*e*) *Byzantine History.*

University of California. Prof. William S. Ferguson.

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B. Western Asiatic history, including that of Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa—Continued.

I. Mediæval history—Continued.

(e) *Byzantine History*—Continued.

History 54 C; two hours, one semester.
The Byzantine Empire, Justinian to 1453.
(Offered, not yet given. Alternates with Later Roman Empire, 1907–8.)

University of Kansas. Prof. Carl Becker.
History XIII; two hours, second term.
The Later Roman Empire, 395 to 1453.
(Not given since 1907–8.)

University of California. Prof. Thomas R. Bacon.
History 94; two hours, both semesters.
History of Eastern Christendom.
Graduates only.

(f) *Hebrew History.*

Hebrew Union College. Prof. Gotthard Deutsch.
History 3; two hours.
History of the Jews and their religion from the consolidation of rabbinical law to the Crusades. (200–1096.)

II. Modern.

(a) *The Nearer Eastern Question and the Ottoman Turks.*

Harvard University. Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge.
History 19; three hours, both semesters.
History of the Nearer Eastern Question.
(Omitted 1907–8.) (Alternates with History 15, History of Russia.)

University of Wisconsin. Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis.
History 63; one hour, one semester.
The Eastern Question (since the fourteenth century).
Graduate work offered in connection with or following History 48—Europe and Asia.

Juniata College. Prof. Carman C. Johnson.
History V; four hours, one semester.
The Eastern Question in its various Phases since the Seven Years' War.

George Washington University. Prof. W. R. Manning.
History 23; three hours, one semester.
Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century.
(Alternately; not in 1907–8.)

Ohio State University. Prof. W. H. Siebert.
History 11; two hours, one term.
Eastern Question; nineteenth century.

Washington University. Prof. Marshall S. Snow.
History 8; three hours, one semester.
Nearer Eastern Question in General since 476.
(Offered 1906–7.)

Hartford Theological Seminary. Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell.
History 15; three hours a week for five weeks.
Rise and History of the Ottoman Turks.

(b) *Hebrew History.*

Hebrew Union College. Prof. Gotthard Deutsch.
History 4; two hours.
The Jews in modern times. (1701–1908.)

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C. Middle Asiatic history.

Columbia University. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

Indo-Iranian. (History 103); two hours, one semester.

History of India and Persia.

(Not given in 1908–9.)

D. Eastern Asiatic history.

I. General.

Yale University. Dr. K. Asakawa (ordinarily Prof. F. W. Williams).

History 92; two hours, both semesters.

Modern Asiatic History.

Harvard University. Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge.

History 18; three hours, second semester.

The Expansion of Europe. (The History of China and Japan especially.)

Florida State College. Prof. Arthur Williams.

History 10; two hours, through the year.

Recent history of India, China, and Japan.

University of Michigan. Prof. Richard Hudson.

History 21; two hours, one semester.

Europe in Asia and in Africa, with special attention to the relations of China and Japan with the Western powers.

History 21a; one hour, one semester.

Supplementary to history 21. (Europe in Asia and Africa.) Graduates only.

University of Wisconsin. Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis.

History 64; one hour, one semester.

Europe in the Far East.

(Graduate course to supplement History 48, Europe and Asia.)

Ripon College. Prof. Oliver J. Marston.

History 11; two hours, one semester.

China, Japan, and India in the Nineteenth Century.

Oregon Agricultural College. Prof. James B. Horner.

History —; five hours, one term.

History of Eastern Peoples (China, Japan, and India especially).

Bucknell University. Prof. H. T. Colestock.

History 23; two hours, one term.

The Modern Orient. Partly historical, but mainly present conditions.

University of Washington. Prof. E. S. Meany.

History 14; full course, one semester.

Development of countries bordering upon the Pacific.

Partly historical—considers China and Japan.

Des Moines College. Prof. Willard C. MacNaul.

History —; five hours, through the year.

History of Oriental Civilization in relation to Modern World (Russia in the East, India, China, Japan).

(Every other year as a full course—in 1907–8 as a half course.)

II. Special.

(*a*) *Japan.*

Yale University. Dr. K. Asakawa.

History 96; two hours, both semesters.

General Japanese History.

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D. Eastern Asiatic history—Continued.
II. Special—Continued.
(*a*) *Japan*—Continued.
Yale University—Continued.
History 97; two hours, both semesters.
Japanese Institutions.
Graduate only.
(Not given in 1907–8.)
(*b*) *China.*
University of California. Prof. John Fryer.
Oriental Languages 1; three hours, first half-year.
A history of China.
Oriental Languages 11; three hours, second half-year.
A history of the laws, government, and social conditions of China.
Oriental Languages 1A; three hours, first half-year.
The Commerce of China—historical features.
Yale University. Prof. F. W. Williams.
History 91.
The institutional development of China.
(Not given in 1907–8.)
(*c*) *Russia and the Far East.*
Drake University. Prof. Olynthus B. Clark.
History; two hours, one term.
Slavic Europe and the Far East (the nineteenth century only).
Ohio State University. Prof. W. H. Siebert.
History 16; two hours, third term.
Russia and the Far East (sixteenth century to the present time).

ADDITIONS AND CHANGES REPORTED UP TO NOVEMBER 18, 1908, AND RELATING TO THE WORK GIVEN IN 1908–9.

B. Western Asiatic history.
I. Mediæval.
(*a*) *On the life of Mohammed.*
University of Michigan. Prof. James A. Craig.
Arabic 2, two hours, one semester.
Suras from the Quran and the life of Mohammed.
D. Eastern Asiatic history.
I. General.
Yale University. Prof. F. W. Williams.
History 98 (B29); two hours, through the year.
Modern East Asiatic History: India, China, Japan, and Central Asia, especially since the seventeenth century.
(In place of History 92.)
II. Special.
(*a*) *Japan.*
Yale University. Dr. K. Asakawa.
History 73; two hours, through the year.
Institutional History of Japan.
Graduates only.
(In place of History 97.)

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D. Eastern Asiatic history—Continued.
II. Special—Continued.
(*a*) *Japan*—Continued.
Yale University—Continued.
History 102 (B31); two hours, through the year.
Japanese history. (Mainly modern times.)
(In place of history 96.)
(*b*) *China.*
Yale University. Prof. F. W. Williams.
History 101 (C47) two hours, through the year.
Chinese Culture and Institutions.
(Historical research.)

The second speaker, Professor Dennis, of the University of Wisconsin, urged the necessity of courses presenting a general survey of Asiatic history, and spoke of the close relation between oriental and Greek history. He pointed out the necessity of relating the history of Central Asia to that of Western Asia, and the earlier to the modern period.

Dr. Charles D. Tenney, ex-president of Pei Yang College, then read a paper on China, since published in the Washington (State) Historical Quarterly for January, 1908. Doctor Tenney pleaded for a careful study of Chinese institutions and history and deplored their neglect by western scholars. "The time has now come," he said, "when scholars who make any pretensions to broad learning must take seriously the study of oriental affairs, and especially the history and literature of that great empire that has dominated the Far East for ages. * * * Our domestic political questions look large to us because of their nearness, but if we could view the planet from a little distance off the present political and social movements of the Far East would dwarf all other current events as the Himalayas dwarf the New England hills. * * * When western scholars do once turn their attention to the Far East they will be surprised to learn how much there is of real intellectual interest in the study of the working out among the Asiatics of the social and moral problems that are common to the human race. Temperance legislation, old-age pensions, trade unionism, and many other of our most modern problems you will find have been discussed ages before they were ever thought of on this side of the planet."

A paper on Japan, by Doctor Asakawa, instructor in Yale University, was read by Dr. Hiram Bingham, in the absence of Doctor Asakawa. This paper also emphasized the immense value of a thorough study of the Orient, and it discussed briefly the various stages of spiritual and political development in Japan, pointing out the many interesting problems that the growth of the nation has presented. The material in western languages for historical study is scant, for but half a dozen important sources of Japanese history have

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been translated. "The historical sources in the original language are at present the only reliable material for a satisfactory investigation in any important field. To those who can use them I am happy to say that they will find in the Library of Congress and Yale University Library larger and better selected collections of Japanese historical material than at any other place out of Japan. The nature of the more than nine thousand works kept at the Library of Congress has been briefly described by me in the Librarian's annual report for 1907, and it is only necessary here to point out that they are particularly strong in the historical geography and in the history of the religions and of the general culture of Japan. The Yale collection, which consists of about an equal number of works, is especially rich in original sources and also in material on two branches of history, namely, institutions and art." Many of the above volumes were acquired for the libraries by Doctor Asakawa during a recent visit to Japan. This paper also is printed in the January number of the Washington Historical Quarterly.

Doctor Vickers, of Keio University, Tokyo, spoke of the difficulties attending the work of students in Japan, and Doctor Tenney, replying to a question from the chair, explained that Chinese historical sources were of a high authentic value, owing chiefly to the scientific spirit infused into the students from the study of Confucius.

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

By A. C. McLaughlin, *Chairman.*

At the beginning the chairman of the conference called attention to the purpose of the meeting, which was to consider, in the most informal way, problems of interest to students in constitutional history. The object of these conferences was to give those interested in special branches of investigation and study opportunity for exchange of views, which is not always offered by the more formal meetings of the association in which papers are read.

The first speaker was Prof. William MacDonald, of Brown University, who considered briefly the use of court decisions, particularly the decisions of the Supreme Court, in instruction in American constitutional history. It was his practice, he said, to require of students in such courses the reading of a number of important cases, such as Chisholm *v.* Georgia, Marbury *v.* Madison, McCulloch *v.* Maryland, the Dred Scott case, the Legal Tender cases, etc.; the cases being chosen not only for their importance in the development of constitutional law, but also because of the interest which they attracted or the political discussions which they stimulated at the time they were rendered. There was danger, he thought, especially at the present time, of overemphasizing the economic and social aspects of American history to the neglect of the part which law has played in determining the course of our development. Next to constitutions the course of public opinion in matters within the scope of governmental power is to be read in statutes, in treaties, and in the opinions of the courts; and the courts, particularly those of last resort, not only reflect public opinion but also mold it. The great decisions of the Supreme Court are more than technical expositions of legal doctrine; they register stages of social progress and afford points of departure for subsequent action of government and people. Since no constitutional question capable of judicial determination may be regarded as settled until the Supreme Court has passed upon it, a knowledge of the terms and character of such settlement is of fundamental importance for the historical student, and should be got, not by being told what the court decided but by study of the text of the decision itself, exactly as any other historical document is studied. Extended legal training is not necessary for profitable use of this

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class of material, although an elementary knowledge of constitutional law ought to be possessed by every student who works at constitutional history. On the other hand, care must be taken not to make the course in constitutional history a course in constitutional law. Another feature of importance is the valuable historical summaries which the decisions of the higher courts often contain, e. g., the decisions of the Supreme Court in the controversy between Georgia and the Cherokee Indians. As to the number of cases to be read that will naturally depend in each instance upon the character of the course. There are limits of time to be observed and various kinds of documents must be examined. In a course occupying three hours a week for a year Professor MacDonald said he had found it practicable to require the careful reading of fifteen or more representative cases. The principal difficulty he found was in obtaining enough copies of a case to accommodate the class. A collection of selected cases, chosen with reference to their usefulness in teaching constitutional history, would prove a great convenience.

In the general discussion that ensued some of the members of the conference questioned the possibility and desirability of using the decisions of the courts as freely as Professor MacDonald seemed to advise. In so many cases the decisions are merely formal, and in a good many instances the language is so technical that they do not seem to be best suited to the purposes of the class room where the classes are largely made up of undergraduate students. Moreover, in a great many instances a careful study of these cases from the reports seems to require a technical knowledge that many students do not possess. This phase of the subject was discussed by Prof. George W. Knight, of Ohio State University, and Prof. Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College.

Prof. William E. Dodd, of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, raised the question of Blackstone's influence on American legal and constitutional thinking. He suggested, mainly for the sake of arousing discussion, that the almost universal substitution of "Blackstone's Commentaries," which appeared in America in 1770, for "Coke on Littleton" as a text in the law schools and a profound influence on men like Madison and Marshall. He called especial attention to the decidedly "divine-right" tendency of Blackstone, to the sharp criticism of the Oxford professor by Bentham, and to Jefferson's frequent lament that "old tory" Blackstone had taken the place of the more republican Coke, one of Jefferson's motives in founding the University of Virginia being the correction of this abuse and the teaching of young men the true republican faith. The speaker insisted that here was an influence, hitherto little noticed, which contributed much to the general drift away from the radical democracy which dominated the early Revolution and to the strong movement toward a real

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national power during the years 1781 to 1789—an influence not less important, from the national point of view, in directing the thought of the later Chief Justice Marshall, who quoted more frequently from Blackstone than any other authority.

Mr. Dodd also spoke in a suggestive and entertaining way of certain political conditions in Virginia, in the years before the Revolution, which appear to have affected vitally the development of the political activities of Virginia for years.

The last speaker was Dr. Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton, who considered at some length the subject of "Natural law and constitutional decisions." At the close of Mr. Corwin's talk, the subject was further considered by Prof. Ernst Freund, of the University of Chicago. Mr. Corwin spoke as follows:

"What is the scope of the power of the courts to review legislation, particularly the legislation of the States, to which falls almost the entire doman of private rights and private law?

"Cooley, in his Constitutional Limitations, declares that a court can not overturn a legislative enactment because of its supposed violation of natural rights, the spirit of the Constitution, or the spirit of republican government. He has in mind particularly state legislation. A state constitution, he says, in contrast with the Federal Constitution, contains, not a grant of power, but limitations merely upon the otherwise unlimited power with which the state legislature was vested in its creation. Apparently, however, these statements do not mean all in law that they do in English. It does not follow, Cooley warns us in the ensuing paragraph, that in every case the courts before they can set aside a law as invalid must be able to find in the constitution [of a state] some specific inhibition which has been disregarded * * * prohibitions are only important where they are in the nature of exceptions to a general grant of power, and if the authority to do an act has not been granted by the sovereign to its representative, it can not be necessary to prohibit its being done. He also cites Justice Nelson's opinion that the vested rights of a citizen are held sacred and inviolable even against the plenitude of power in the legislative department. The truth is that Cooley is attempting to reconcile two lines of decisions which have issued from the American bench from the outset, the one of which rests upon the notion of legislative sovereignty, the other upon the theory of natural rights and the social compact. Which opinion has, on the whole, prevailed? The sovereignty view has forced a verbal recognition of the maxims with reference to the character of state constitutions and the limits of judicial power above quoted from Cooley. The other view has given us most of our whole vast system of constitutional limitations.

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"Judicial review was itself initially devised by the courts to keep the legislature not within the limits of written constitutions but within those of 'common right and common reason.' And once the power was established, the broader view of it was subscribed to explicitly by Chase and Paterson, of the early Supreme Bench, and by Hamilton, Wilson, Marshall, Story, Webster, and Kent. An interesting example of the prevalence of this view in the early decades of our constitutional history is furnished by the case of Wilkinson *v.* Leland, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1829. Webster was attorney for defendant in error. 'If,' says he, 'at this period, there is no general restraint on legislatures in favor of private rights, there is an end to private property. Though there may be no prohibition in the Constitution, the legislature is restrained from acts subverting the great principles of republican liberty and the social compact.' To this contention his opponent, William Wirt, responded by virtually accepting it. 'Who is the sovereign?' he inquired. 'Is it not the legislature of the State and are not its acts effectual * * * unless they come in contact with the great principles of the social compact?' This, however, he proceeded to show to the court's satisfaction the act in question did not do. Yet even in deciding the case for the plaintiff, Story took occasion to assert once again that 'the common principles of justice and civil liberty' of themselves comprise an enforceable restriction upon legislative power.

"Not, however, from the study of isolated decisions in which the doctrine of natural rights is more or less determinative can one obtain anything like an adequate impression of the part that this doctrine has played in the history of our constitutional jurisprudence. The great importance of the doctrine lies in the use that has been made of it by the courts in devising new limitations upon legislative power. The doctrine of the Dartmouth College case rests upon this foundation. Likewise the doctrine that the power of eminent domain can be exercised only for purposes which the court will recognize as public purposes; also the doctrine that a tax must be for a public purpose and that the courts are to judge of whether the purpose of a given tax is public or not. The doctrine that the legislature can not delegate its power was at first purely a legislative principle, but was transformed into a constitutional limitation by the courts by the aid of arguments deduced from the theory of the social compact and the idea of republican government. The doctrine that a tax must be for a public purpose rests upon an extension to the power of taxation of the analogous limitation upon the power of eminent domain. The power of eminent domain has another limitation also. When property is taken under it, compensation must be rendered for it. By an invocation of the doctrine of the social com-

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pact and natural rights this limitation was extended in the Wynehamer case (13 N. Y.) to the police power.

"The doctrines that I have mentioned were, with the exception of the doctrine of the Dartmouth College case, all inventions of the State courts and were contrived before 1860. The addition of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution some years later made the United States Supreme Court, it eventually transpired, the final bulwark of private rights. By the slaughterhouse decision and Munn *v.* Illinois, that court declined with a considerable show of finality the new field of jurisdiction which the fourteenth amendment opened up to it. In 1883, however, the court reversed its attitude, in the Butchers' Union *v.* The Crescent City Co., the decision in which was founded, at least in case of four of the justices, upon a novel conception of the phrase 'due process of law.' Originally this phrase signified simply a rule of law operative in futuro. The phrase to-day seems to signify that private rights constitute contract relationships, the obligation of which is not to be impaired by legislative enactment without good reason. The logical inference from this doctrine, the lineage of which is apparent, is that the court and not the legislature is the final judge of sound policy in legislation. Recent decisions, for example in the case of Lochner *v.* The People of New York, prove that the court has not hesitated to make the deduction. The doctrine of reasonable rates, which was invented in 1890 to check railroad-rate regulation by the States, rests upon the same way of thinking. In this case the court, which, in Munn *v.* Illinois, had classified rate making as an item of the police power, now subjected it to the limitations upon the power of eminent domain. On the other hand, the precedent of the Wynehamer case, which was viewed favorably in Bartemeyer *v.* Iowa, was rejected in Mugler *v.* Kansas.

"As an illustration of how firm a hold the idea of natural rights has upon the Supreme Court to-day, its decisions in the Insular Cases are most interesting. On the one hand, the court was reluctant to tie the hands of Congress in dealing with newly acquired territory by the many specific limitations that would become applicable were the territories in question admitted to be parts of the 'United States.' On the other hand, the court could not entertain the idea of unlimited legislative power even within this limited field with any degree of complacency. The limitation was therefore found in natural rights.

"So much by way of summary statement of specific doctrines that the courts have set up as constitutional limitations upon the foundation of the natural-rights theory. Even yet perhaps we have not come to the most important phase of the subject. Each one of these doctrines went through a course of evolution. Often it was originally set up candidly as an extraconstitutional limitation. But there was always at hand the conservative jurist to frown, if only through the

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medium of a dissenting opinion, upon such contrivances. The result was that his colleagues hastened to meet his views, at least to this extent: they brought the new-found limitation within some phrase of the written constitution, which henceforth, of course, bore a much altered significance.

"The phrases with the greatest possibilities seem to have been due process of law and legislative power. The court, confronted with the argument of legislative sovereignty, in the absence of constitutional prohibitions, raises the question: But what is legislative power? No answer has been vouchsafed to this oft-repeated conundrum, but, practically, legislative power to-day is the power of the legislature to enact laws which the courts approve of. The notion strikes hands with that of due process of law, as above defined. Other terms of vast latent potentiality are liberty and property. Originally the former meant simply the right of freedom under the law from physical distraint, the violation of which gave rise to an action for false imprisonment. To-day it means freedom of contract within the limits set by such laws as the courts believe to be sound in policy. The term property has been similarly extended.

"Perhaps the total result of judicial action in this respect can best be stated by saying that the courts to-day seek generally to impose upon legislation the common-law restraints upon individual action.

"The position of the courts in the United States is unique, but this position represents a gradual achievement. The doctrine of natural rights and the social compact has been the great weapon in the hands of the courts in effecting this achievement. By its aid the power of judicial review was established in the first place, and by its aid that power has been given ever-increasing scope till legislative power finds itself becoming constantly entangled in an ever more baffling network of constitutional limitations. Recently a new cry for state rights has been raised. There is, of course, no conflict between the legislative rights of the States and those of the nation. The issue raised is between legislative and judicial power."

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REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON UNITED STATES HISTORY SINCE 1865.

By JAMES A. WOODBURN, *Chairman.*

The chairman had arranged that this field of study should be considered both from the standpoint of the university and college teacher and from that of the investigator and historical writer. Various phases were mentioned of recent development in America that might offer attractive rewards to the historical student and writer. Among these were certain aspects of the labor movement; immigration; the race problems; industrial combinations; problems of transportation; the development of party machinery; foreign and diplomatic relations; progress in American mining, manufacturing, forestry, and irrigation; and certain notable religious movements and worthy organizations and influences making for civic betterment. Some of these topics and others were discussed by those who took part in the conference.

Prof. Amos S. Hershey, of Indiana University, read a brief paper on "The United States as a peace power." He showed that America's influence had always been for peace from the time of Jay's treaty to the Hague conference. But in recent years our efforts have been more notable and more far-reaching. The efforts of the late Secretary Hay toward preserving the territorial integrity of China and in favor of the "open-door" policy in that country; the work of President Roosevelt in favor of peace between Japan and Russia; the important part played by the United States at the Hague conference in advocacy of general arbitration and the erection of a high court of justice for international questions; the return of a large part of our indemnity to China, showing a worthy freedom from duplicity and avarice; these were discussed as marking America's growth as a peace power.

Prof. Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, dealt with the period from the standpoint of the university teacher. He considered it a profitable field for class-room work. The passions engendered by the civil war are sufficiently cooled to enable students to approach the period of reconstruction in a proper historical spirit; the spirit of fairness and of the historical judicial mind may be cultivated by studies in this field, and the undergraduate may find many suitable subjects for theses. Professor Fish outlined in a suggestive way various methods that he had tried in the teaching of this period.

Prof. Frank H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas, spoke of the Johnson-Grant correspondence, whose deeper significance had seemed

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to escape the notice of historians. Professor Hodder thought that the quarrel indicated in this correspondence was the most important factor in inducing General Grant to cast his fortunes with the Republican party and to accept its offered nomination to the presidency. Up to that time Grant had never voted any other than the Democratic ticket, and it appeared that he might be led to throw the great weight of his influence against the radicals in reconstruction. The quarrel with Johnson became a decisive factor in the course of political events.

Prof. John H. Latané, of Washington and Lee University, spoke of America as a world power, especially since 1898. He discussed at some length the later aspects of the Monroe doctrine and its applications and interpretations, and he showed that our diplomatic history since 1865 is one of the richest of fields in easily accessible sources. Passion and prejudice have marked our internal affairs in this period, but these drawbacks are absent in the study of recent foreign relations.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke, formerly of the United States Civil Service Commission, spoke of the beginnings and progress of civil service reform since the civil war. He contrasted the patronage and merit systems and outlined the progress of the reform, in spite of obstacles and opposition, since the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883. The reform had become fixed and final, partly through the operation of this law, but largely because successive Presidents who believed in the cause had enforced and extended the application of the merit system. Mr. Foulke spoke of the movement for civil service reform as one of many influences in recent years that had been making for the betterment of American civic life, and he gave a suitable word of praise to President Roosevelt for the influence of his teaching and example in this direction. Fields of civic activity suitable for study were pointed out, and it was suggested that in the matter of civil service reform some student might yet do for this country what Mr. Dorman B. Eaton had done for Great Britain.

In the discussion that followed Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, spoke of the field as a rich one for the study of party practice and the development of party machinery. The subject of party politics and the nearness of the field to our present life offer all the greater opportunity for overcoming prejudice and one-sidedness, which should be the constant aim of the historical student and teacher. Professor Caldwell, of the University of Nebraska, took a similar view, and he gave it as his experience that in the study of recent history the university undergraduate had been found to be teachable, open minded, and well disposed. The problem of securing historical-mindedness has been found to be no more difficult for this near-by period than in the study of earlier times.

The conference lasted two hours and a half, and was attended by from 30 to 50 persons.

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VI. PROPOSALS FOR AN INDIAN STATE, 1778–1878.

By ANNIE H. ABEL,
Associate Professor in the Woman's College of Baltimore.

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PROPOSALS FOR AN INDIAN STATE, 1778-1878.

By ANNIE H. ABEL.

The recent admission to statehood of Oklahoma, with its mixture of red, black, and white inhabitants, marks the definite abandonment of an idea that had previously been advocated at intervals for more than a hundred years. This idea was the erection of a State, exclusively Indian, that should be a bona fide member of the American Union. Its first appearance dates back to the treaty of Fort Pitt, negotiated with the Delawares in 1778. In the sixth article of that document[a] commissioners from the Continental Congress stipulated that friendly tribes might, with the approval of Congress, enter the Confederacy and form a State, of which the Delawares should be the head. The permission thus granted was entirely a matter of military expediency; yet it was never acted upon, very probably because the Indians had no adequate conception of its significance, were unprepared to take the initiative, and the white men disinclined to do so.

Seven years later the twelfth article of the treaty of Hopewell[b] outlined an arrangement, somewhat similar in its ultimate purpose, for the Cherokees, who were told that they should "have the right to send a deputy of their choice whenever they" should "think fit to Congress." The commissioners who inserted this provision laid no stress whatever upon it in the official journal of their proceedings,[c] consequently we are obliged to infer that no great departure from existing practices was in contemplation. The Indians seem not to have thought it worth while to make any at all, perchance because the arrangement may not have meant anything more than the occasional sending of an agent to represent their interests, and certainly would not necessarily have elevated them as a community to statehood but only as individuals to citizenship, a condition of affairs that may have been suggested by the proposition of the would-be "State of Franklin" earlier in the same year.[d]

In 1787 Alexander McGillivray, a half-breed, a chief, and decidedly the most influential man among the Creeks, originated a scheme of his own for effecting a change in the political status of his people. He communicated it to James White, the United States superin-

[a] 7 United States Statutes at Large, 14.
[b] Journal of Congress, IV: 628.
[c] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I: 40–44.
[d] American Historical Review, VIII: 283.

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tendent for the southern district, who thought it "something so singular" that he should "be excused for relating it circumstantially" to General Knox. It was as follows: "Notwithstanding that as the guardian of the Indian rights I prompt them to defend their lands, yet I must declare I look upon the United States as our most natural allies. Two years I waited before I would seek for the alliance I have formed. I was compelled to it. I could not but resent the greedy encroachments of the Georgians, to say nothing of their scandalous and illiberal personal abuse. Notwithstanding which I will now put it to the test whether they or myself entertain the most generous sentiments of respect for Congress. If that honorable body can form a body to the southward of the Altamaha, I will be the first to take the oath of allegiance thereto; and in return to the Georgians for yielding to the United States that claim, I will obtain a regular and peaceable grant of the lands on the Oconee, on which they have deluded people to settle under pretense of grants from the Indians, you yourself have seen how ill founded."[a] Presumably McGillivray had in mind an Indian State, but his suggestion proved just as futile as those that had gone before.

The basis for these various plans and, indeed, for some that preceded and for many that followed lay in a tacit acknowledgment of Indian sovereignty. Each European nation that gained a foothold in the New World had to reckon with the Indians, and often against its better judgment to treat with them as independent entities. The only way to insure its own safety and its own advancement was to seek their alliance, guarantee their integrity, and admit their territorial claims, even while asserting a preemptive right of its own. The various projects for an Indian neutral belt from 1761 to 1814 were all in line with the doctrine of Indian sovereignty, as were also the several schemes of Vergennes,[b] Milfort,[c] and Bowles.[d] Moreover, in those years when the Indian tribes could figure so prominently and effectively as friend or foe their rights were at a premium, especially during the Revolutionary and Confederacy eras and during the critical period that followed, when Spain, France, and Great Britain, taking advantage of the weakness of the United States, were independently intriguing for the control of the Mississippi Valley.

With the final settlement of that question as determined by the purchase of Louisiana came a new suggestion for the adjustment of Indian relations with the United States Government. This comprehended the setting aside of the larger part of the Louisiana territory for Indian occupancy, involving the removal and colonization of

[a] American State Papers, Indian Affairs I: 21.
[b] Atlantic Monthly, vol. 93, p. 809; American Historical Review, X: 253.
[c] Atlantic Monthly, vol. 93, p. 811.
[d] Ibid., p. 681.

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all the eastern tribes that could be induced to exchange lands and to emigrate.[a] The plan of colonization was not a new one, since General Knox had formulated it years before,[b] but that of removal perforce was, there having previously been no government land that could be used for the purpose. It is very doubtful whether, in thus providing a home for the Indians, Jefferson had in mind an Indian Territory of such a character as would develop into an Indian State. He spoke of a temporary asylum only; yet he had the opportunity to plan a great State since the objections that stood in the way of any such political edifice within the chartered limits of the old Thirteen did not hold in the West. The Federal Government could do as it pleased with territory that it had bought with federal funds. Notwithstanding this, the plan came to nothing. Even if it had been enthusiastically advocated by the party in power, it is problematic whether the Indians, as strongly intrenched as they were in their ancestral domains, could have been induced to move. Some of them asked instead for citizenship,[c] and certain statesmen, notably William H. Crawford,[d] supported the idea. In his opinion incorporation was the only feasible plan.

During Monroe's second term Indian affairs in Georgia reached a climax, whereupon the administration, as the best way out of a most serious difficulty, revived[e] the old plans of removal and colonization and later improved upon them to this extent, that it advised the introduction of a governmental system.[f] Taking various documents together, departmental reports and presidential messages, we gather that this was its general scheme, the formation of tribal districts with a civil administration in each and the *union* of the *whole* in prospect. Eventual statehood was not specifically mentioned, but, by Calhoun at least, was broadly hinted at,[g] and would have been the natural out-

[a] Ford's Jefferson, VIII: 241–249.

[b] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I: 52–54.

[c] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, I: 72; The Writings of Thos. Jefferson, library edition, XVI: 434–435.

[d] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II: 27, 28.

[e] Special Message, March 30, 1824, Richardson II: 234–237.

[f] Annual message, December 7, 1824, Ibid. 261; special message, January 27, 1825, Ibid., 280–283.

[g] "* * * *. There ought to be the strongest and most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs, as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity, without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens. To such assurance, if there should be added a system by which the government, without destroying their independence, would gradually unite the several tribes under a simple but enlightened system of government, and laws formed on the principles of our own, and to which, as their own people would partake in it, they would, under the influence of the contemplated improvement, at no distant day, become prepared, the arrangements which have been proposed would prove to the Indians and their posterity a permanent blessing. It is believed that if they could be assured that peace and friendship would be maintained among the several tribes; that the advantages of education which they now enjoy would be extended to them; that they should have permanent and solemn guaranty for their possessions, and receive the countenance and aid of the government for the gradual extension of its privileges to them, there would be among all the tribes a disposition to accord with the views of the government * * *." (Gales and Seaton's Register, I, Appendix, pp. 57–59.)

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come. Who originated the idea it is impossible to determine. The chances are the Rev. Jedidiah Morse deserves some credit, for his observations in the Northwest and his investigations into Indian conditions generally had led him three years before to say most positively: "Let this territory be reserved exclusively for Indians, in which to make the proposed experiment of gathering into one body as many of the scattered and other Indians as choose to settle here, to be educated, become citizens, and in due time to be admitted to all the privileges common to other territories and States in the Union * * *."[a]

Congressional action along this same line is rather interesting as showing how clearly defined was the idea that the Indian country to the westward should constitute a regular Territory, and that for the red men only. On the former point the House resolution of December 27, 1825,[b] was especially explicit, and on the latter, an earlier one of December 17, 1824.[c] There was no mistaking the character of the Territory. It was to be "of the same kind and regulated by the same rules" as other "Territories of the U. S." Inferentially, then, it was to be a State in embryo, which Smyth, of Virginia, seems to have deemed constitutionally impossible.[d] Benton, of Missouri, was evidently of a different opinion, and in his capacity as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs applied to Calhoun to draft a bill that should accord with the recommendations of the President. Calhoun did so,[e] and the bill passed the Senate on the 23d of February,[f] but it failed to meet with the concurrence of the House of Representatives.

Under John Quincy Adams the matter came up again, and this same Senate bill was taken by the House,[g] amended by its Committee on Indian Affairs, and referred to Secretary Barbour for suggestions.[h] Now Barbour, as we learn from Adams's diary, had been, like Adams himself, an advocate of incorporation; but about this time, when the Creek controversy was confronting him, he changed his views and henceforth not only supported removal in its most extreme form—i. e., by individuals set free from tribal connections—but also the establishment of a great territorial government west of the Mississippi. In cabinet meeting Adams, Rush, Southard, and Wirt all expressed doubts of the plan, but all finally approved, having nothing better to propose.[i]

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[a] Report, Appendix, p. 314.
[b] House Journal, 19th Cong., 1st sess., p. 97.
[c] Niles's Register, vol. 27, p. 271; House Journal, 18th Cong. 2d sess. p. 56.
[d] Abridgment of Debates, VIII: 221; Gales and Seaton's Register I: p. 38.
[e] Indian Office Letter Books, Series II, No. 1, pp. 334–335.
[f] Gales and Seaton's Register, I: 639–645, 649.
[g] Id., XIII, Part 2, Appendix, p. 55.
[h] Miscellaneous Files, Indian Office MS. Records; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II: 646.
[i] Diary of J. Q. Adams, February 7, 1826.

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Barbour's suggestions, in answer to the appeal of the House committee, took the form of "a project for a bill," which presented an Indian Territory in broad outline and supplied, what earlier measures had lacked, an administrative machinery.[a] The creation of the Territory was not to be immediate, but discretionary with the President. In due time John Cocke, as chairman of the committee, reported a bill embodying all the essential particulars of the "project," with some minor additions,[b] but the House did not act upon it. It is worthy of mention that in none of the documents was there any provision for a Delegate in Congress, although we know, from the correspondence that took place between Barbour and Thomas S. Hinds, of Kentucky, that the subject was discussed.[c]

The first session of the Twentieth Congress resumed the consideration of the plan for organizing an Indian Territory, but never got beyond the resolution-making stage. Southern men were too anxious for prompt removal to care to dillydally with the details of a governmental system. Yet it is significant that the one resolution that unmistakably pointed toward an Indian State came from a southern man, from Representative Mitchell, of Tennessee, December 17, 1827.[d] Another southerner, however, Wilson Lumpkin, of Georgia, took exception to it because, as he remarked when arguing for a substitute, it looked too far ahead.[e] The administration none the less continued to work in that direction; and when Porter succeeded Barbour as Secretary of War he took up the subject,[f] but with an interest rendered somewhat personal by local considerations. McKenney[g] and the

[a] Gales and Seaton's Register, II, Part 2, Appendix, pp. 40–43; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II: 646–649; Niles's Register, vol. 29, p. 431.

[b] Reports of Committees, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Vol. IV., No. 474, pp. 76–78.

[c] Thomas S. Hinds to Barbour, February 23, 1826, and March 9, 1826, Miscellaneous Files, Indian Office MS. Records; McKenney to Hinds, January 28, 1828, Indian Office Letter Books, Series II, No. 4, p. 258.

[d] Gales and Seaton's Register, IV, part 1, p. 820.

[e] Ibid., p. 1585.

[f] Ibid., Vol. V, appendix, pp. 7–10; Niles's Register, Vol. 35, p. 249.

[g] A letter from McKenney to Porter, January 31, 1829, reveals something of the plans of the two men, McKenney and McCoy:

"* * * remarks on former grants by Treaty to Indians * * * and to the outlets guaranteed to them, to which objections are taken, would be applicable if those grants had been made in relation to a Colony, in which relation McCoy considers the subject, but being based on the existing relations of the Indians to the U. S. and to one another, as Tribes, the extent of country granted to each Tribe, was no less a demand of theirs, than was the outlets as these are defined. It was to comply or not effect the object of Congress in providing the ways and means to negotiate those Treaties. In any new relations which it may be thought proper to adopt for the organization of a plan suited to the improvement of those Tribes West of the Miss. or who may go there, the existing geographical relations of each to the other would as a matter of course have to be so arranged as to fall in with the plan of colonizing the whole, and to harmonize in all respects with such new relations. But this could not have been effected until the system to which it must have had reference existed. It does not yet exist.

"It is my decided opinion, which I respectfully submit, that nothing can preserve our Indians, but a plan well matured and suitably sustained, in which they shall be placed under a Government, of which they shall form part, and in a Colonial relation to the

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Rev. Isaac McCoy [a] were both active in the same enterprise, but Congress was unresponsive. Indeed, new complications arose which made it almost impossible for certain sections to view the matter judiciously. The Cherokees, fully alive to earlier recognitions of Indian sovereignty, emphasized their own independence of Georgian jurisdiction by establishing a republic upon the model of the American. In 1827 they adopted a constitution.[b] They hoped that progressive action of this sort would save them from further encroachments. It really hastened their downfall.

During Jackson's presidency Indian removal became a prominent political issue; but if it is to be regarded as akin in any sense to colonization, the act of 1830,[c] which made it a part of the national policy, was legislation ill advised, ill considered, and incomplete. Under it the whole body of eastern Indians were to be taken, if possible, west of Missouri and left there totally unorganized. Each tribe, it is true, was to retain, presumably, its own native government; but had not that government already proved its insufficiency by revealing traits incompatible with economic development in the United States? Professions of a desire to civilize the Indians necessarily presupposed admittance at some future time to citizenship. The Cherokees, as we have seen, had already adopted Anglo-Saxon institutions and *all* the tribes *might* be *induced* to do the same. No more fitting time for making a change in their political status could have been found than this when a change of homes was to be made and the old associations cast aside. Removal was in itself iconoclastic. Why not have gone a step farther.[d]

Dissatisfaction with the chaotic state of affairs in the Indian country in the West came largely from the red men themselves. The United States Government had been so untrue to its promises in the past that it was obliged to give strong assurances of good faith in the future. Notwithstanding this, it was not quite ready to organ ize a regular Territory for its wards or to allow them a Delegate in Congress, even though the Choctaws in negotiating the treaty of

United States * * *. In a Colony, of course, the existing divisions among the Tribes would be superseded by a General Gov't for the whole; and by a parcelling out of the lands among the families * * *. It does appear to me that as a first step in this business of Colonization, a general arrangement should be made in regard to the lands and the limits—a Gov't simple in its form, but effective, ought to be extended over those who have already emigrated * * *." (Indian Office Letter Books, Series II, No. 5, pp. 288–291.)

[a] Diary of J. Q. Adams, January 22, 1827.

[b] Niles's Register, Vol. 33, p. 214; U. S. Ex. Docs., 23d Cong., 2d sess., Vol. III, No. 91; Cherokee Phoenix, February 28, 1828; Diary of J. Q. Adams, February 6, 1828.

[c] United States Statutes at Large, 411–412.

[d] Secretary Eaton seems to have been decidedly in favor of establishing an Indian Territory. See Report, November 30, 1829, American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. IV, pp. 154–155.

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Dancing Rabbit Creek had expressly asked for one.[a] Things came to such a pass, however, that Congress was obliged in 1832 to authorize[b] the appointment of a commission[c] to investigate intertribal disputes and to take the sense of the emigrants upon the question of their own government.[d] The commission reported in favor of oganization.[e] Then began an interesting scene in Congress. During several sessions both Houses reported bills[f] having in view

[a] 1. Art. 22. The chiefs of the Choctaws have suggested that their people are in a state of rapid advancement in education and refinement, and have expressed a solicitude that they might have the privilege of a Delegate on the floor of the House of Representatives extended to them. The commissioners do not feel that they can, under a treaty stipulation, accede to the request; but, at their desire, present it in the treaty, that Congress may consider of and decide the application. 2. The Choctaws had drawn up an instrument of cession and removal earlier—that is, in the spring of 1830—and had specifically arranged therein for their ultimate admittance to statehood. (Niles's Register, vol. 39, p. 19.)

[b] Act of July 14, 1832.

[c] Cass in recommending this emphasized the policy of self-government. (Report, February 16, 1832, Indian Office Letter Books, Series II, No. 8, pp. 264–291.)

[d] Instructions to the commissioners, July 14, 1832. (Ibid., No. 9, pp. 32–41.)

[e] Reports of Committees, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Vol. IV, No. 474, pp. 78–103.

[f] The series began in 1834 with a bill (House bill No. 490) drafted by the commissioners of 1832. This bill was ably discussed in the House of Representatives June 25, 1834, but met with considerable opposition and was eventually postponed to the next session of Congress. (Niles's Register, vol. 46, p. 317; House Journal, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 833; Gales and Seaton's Register, Vol. X, part 4, p. 4763 et seq.) It was accompanied upon its introduction into the House by a most elaborate report (Reports of Committees, 23d Cong., 1st sess., Vol. IV, No. 474) which had been prepared by Representative Horace Everett, of Vermont, and is a mine of historical and statistical information. The bill came up again the next session, but was lost in the House. (Gales and Seaton's Register, Vol. X, part 4, p. 4779.)

In 1836 both the Senate and the House considered a bill covering the subject. That in the Senate (No. 159) was championed by Tipton, of Ohio, and was accompanied by a report slightly less exhaustive than that of Everett two years before. (Senate Docs., 24th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. III, No. 246; Senate Journal, p. 220; McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, 1837, p. 68.) No important action was taken upon it, however, and in the following December Senator Tipton introduced another bill of like tenor (No. 15), which met with a like fate. (Senate Journal, pp. 31, 42, 59, 160, 236.) The House bill (No. 365) was reported by Everett February 19, 1836. It differed from his earlier bill in one very important particular by making the prospective delegate simply a sort of resident agent instead of the equivalent of a regular territorial Delegate. C. A. Harris, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, nobly supported the project of organization, as is well attested by his report to the Acting Secretary of War, B. F. Butler, December 1, 1836. (Gales and Seaton's Register, XIII, part 2, appendix, pp. 53–65.)

In 1837 the indefatigable Everett introduced a third bill (No. 901), the principle of which found vigorous support in the arguments of Representative Cushing (House Journal, 24th Cong., 2d sess.; Gales and Seaton's Register, Vol. XIII, part 2, pp. 1516, 1532), and in 1838 a fourth (No. 495) (House Journal, 25th Cong., 2d sess., p. 330). In this latter year the Senate also showed great interest in the matter and succeeded in passing a bill (No. 75) touching it. "The bill was sent to the House for its concurrence. The House had a bill of its own before it, similar in its provisions to the Senate's bill. Both bills were reported to the House by the Committee of Indian Affairs, having passed to that stage, when they could properly be called up for the final consideration and action of the House. In this place, unfortunately for the subject, the bills were left behind by the press of other matters. From the large majority in favor of the bill in the Senate it is fair to infer that had a decisive vote been taken in the House it would have become a law." (McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, 1838, p. 11.) For a history of No. 75 in its various stages, see Niles's Register, vol. 54, pp. 123, 155, 156, 157, 172, 218; Senate Journal, pp. 87, 367, 378, 380–381, 383, 385; House Journal, p. 947.

In the third session of the Twenty-fifth Congress Senator Tipton tried once more to get a bill for the organization of an Indian Territory passed. For that purpose he reported No. 23 on the 10th of December, 1838, and it was passed by the Senate on the 25th of February, 1839. (Senate Journal, pp. 35, 57, 272; Niles's Register, vol. 55, p. 247; Congressional Globe, p. 216.) The House did nothing with it.

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the establishment of an Indian Territory—*all failed.* The trouble was that the several bills were regarded as administration[a] measures and therefore as not wholly or primarily philanthropic. The earlier ones were intended mainly to lead the Cherokees into compliance with the policy of removal.[b] They were supported by the Georgia delegation and opposed by such men as Clay, Calhoun, and John Quincy Adams. The chief arguments against them were, that they contemplated military rule for an indefinite period, left too much to the discretion of the President, and by holding out offices to *principal* men only catered to the prejudices of *chiefs*, who feared that the

[a] In the earlier years of his presidency, Jackson paid little or no attention to Indian territorial organization. On the contrary, he rather advocated the continuance of tribal conditions in their entirety. (Message, December 8, 1829, Richardson, II: 458; message, December 6, 1830, ibid., p. 520.) As McKenney confessed to H. L. White, February 26, 1830, so much emphasis had been placed upon "removal" that it was no wonder the public had got the impression that the policy of the Government was "merely a question of removal." (Indian Office Letter Books, Series II, No. 6, pp. 292–294.) As a matter of fact, it was not until after the commission of 1832 had made some investigations that Jackson advised a possible reorganization of the Indian political system. (Message, December 3, 1833, Richardson, III: 33.) Subsequent events showed that his main objects then were to reduce the expense of the Indian service (Message, December 1, 1834, ibid., p. 114) and, by the formation of a sort of Indian confederacy under the control of the United States, put a check upon intertribal quarrels and hostilities (Message, December 7, 1835, ibid., pp. 172–173). It must be noted, however, that Secretary Eaton had recommended the formation of an Indian Territory very much earlier, viz, in his report of 1829.

Van Buren naturally succeeded (Richardson, III: 391, 499, 500–501) to this policy, advised thereto by Secretary Poinsett, who said, in his report of December 2, 1837:

"The only duty of the government which remains undischarged is the formation of a suitable territorial government, and their admission to such a supervisory care in the general legislation as is granted by the laws to other territories of the United States, and for the exercise of which they appear to be sufficiently prepared.

"The subject is confessedly difficult and embarrassing; but the bill introduced into congress at the last session, and partially acted upon, would seem to offer a fair prospect of success, and to secure to these Indians the enjoyment of all the advantages of free government which the necessity of stretching over them the protecting arm of the Government will admit * * *." (Niles's Register, vol. 53, p. 336.)

[b] The Cherokee Nation, divided on the subject of removal, was also divided on that of territorial organization. One faction seemed very desirous of having the promise and the prospect of an Indian State (Memorial to Congress, 1834, Cherokee Emigration Papers, Indian Office MS. Records), and most probably that faction was the one that secured the article in the treaty of New Echota, which provided for a Delegate in the House of Representatives. Concerning that article, John Mason, jr., United States special agent to the Cherokees, 1837, said:

"There, Cherokees, in your new country, you will be far beyond the limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory; the country will be yours, yours exculsively. * * * There, finally, Cherokees, to give permanency to your institutions and to secure the peace and prosperity of your nation, you will be entitled to a delegate in the House of Representatives of the United States, and thus be considered a member of this great confederacy, with a full right to its protection and a full participation in all its advantages and blessings." (Ex. Docs., 25th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. V. No. 82, p. 5: No. 99, pp. 33–35.)

The sentiments of an opposing Cherokee faction were communicated to the House of Representatives by Secretary Poinsett May 21, 1838, with the following indorsement from himself:

"As the delegation [Messrs. Ross, Edw. Gunter, R. Taylor, Jas. Brown, Sam'l Gunter, Situwakee, Elijah Hicks, and White Path] expressed their fears that a form of government might be imposed which they were neither prepared for nor desirous of, the assurance is hereby repeated, that no form of government will be imposed upon the Cherokees without the consent of the whole nation, given in council, nor shall their country be erected into a territory without such previous concurrence." (Ex. Docs., 25th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. X, No. 376.)

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abolition of tribal governments would mean a diminution of their power. Some southern men took issue on the *color* line, announced themselves as opposed on principle to a prospective Indian State, and declared a negro State would be just as proper and to them just as acceptable.

The title of these several bills—the preservation of the Indians and the protection of the western frontier—offers a possible clue to the underlying motive of the Government. The motley crowd of Indians, predisposed, by reason of their being advanced each to a different stage of civilization, to quarrel among themselves, were a menace to the peace of adjoining States.[a] Many of them, being enraged at the grievous wrong that had been done them, were suspected of plotting revenge.[b] Remember, these were the years when the Texas question was beginning to be agitated. Should war with Mexico come on this or on any other pretext, the Indian might find his opportunity. Closer military supervision, therefore, under pretense of giving training in republican self-government, was deemed the wisest course. Strange to say, certain army men, consulted as to ways of fortifying the frontier, declaimed against the organization of the Indian Territory on the ground that the tribes would realize the force of the old saying, "In union there is strength."[c]

Action outside of Congress was almost as persistent as within, and slightly more successful. McCoy, who surveyed much of the Indian land, cooperated with the commissioners of 1832, and for years and years argued and pleaded for an Indian State. He it was who submitted the congressional measures to the tribes, and, in a majority of cases, secure their concurrence.[d] So interested was he, forsooth, that

[a] Niles's Register, vol. 54, p. 3; Ex. Docs., 25th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. VIII, No. 278, p. 20; Vol. IX, Nos. 311 and 434.

[b] Niles's Register, vol. 53, pp. 340, 384.

[c] In addition to the reports of army men, there is a good deal of material for and against organization which was collected by L. F. Linn and A. G. Harrison in the summer of 1837. G. P. Kingsbury, writing to the former of these two men from Fort Coffee, September 10, 1837, argued for a single superintendent, or governor, in the Indian country, and, in addition, said:

"Every two years there should be a general council or congress to consist of a delegation of all the different tribes of Indians. * * * This grand council will be considered a great event in the lives of the Indians, and their principal warriors will be very desirous of being sent as delegates to it. * * * In a short time, if such should be the policy of the Government, they might, at this general council, elect delegates to Congress, which would open a new field of ambition to them * * *."

Agent John Dougherty also recommended a single superintendent and had practically the same opinion about organization. "The expediency," said he, "of organizing an Indian Territory at this time, with a view to bringing the wild Indians under legal restrictions, is, in my opinion, very doubtful; before this can be done, they must be taught to work, read, and write, and be weaned from the chase." This course persistently followed would, in a few years, permit a beginning at self-government and render the Indians "capable of furnishing a representative in the United States councils * * *." (Ex. Docs., 25th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. VIII, No. 276.)

[d] McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, 1837, 1838; Niles's Register, vol. 53, pp. 67–68, 336; Richardson, III: 391; House Reports, 30th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. III, No. 736, pp. 7, 8.

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he worked in advance of actual instructions and so far anticipated matters as to lay off a federal district, beyond the State line of Missouri, which was to be the seat of the future Indian government. He claimed to have done this under the known sanction of Secretary Eaton.[a] It would seem that this approached the confederacy idea rather than the territorial, but the two ideas were always associated together in the debates of the time, and in practice could be only gradually disassociated. Both McCoy and Eaton must have realized this, for both had a practical knowledge of the Indians and knew perfectly well how impossible it would be to consolidate widely differing tribes without going through preliminary stages.

When the fraudulent treaty of New Echota was negotiated with the Cherokees, the idea of a Delegate in Congress was revived,[b] but it proved only an empty promise. Removal accomplished, all else was of secondary importance, so that as far as entrance to the American Union was concerned, this leading tribe of Indians was no farther advanced in 1835 than it had been in 1785. It had now two treaties to its account, in one particular of identically the same value, for both made representation dependent upon congressional action. Fifty years showed absolutely no progress in the matter of political concessions. Van Buren's Administration opened and closed

[a] "In 1832, when Secretary Eaton retired from office, he was about to instruct the Superintendent of Surveys, then in his employ, to set apart a portion of the unappropriated lands, in a central part of the contemplated Territory, for the Seat of Government of the Territory, should it become organized. It was thought advisable that a few miles square should be reserved from cession to any tribe, in which reservation all the tribes should have a common interest, on which should be erected all public buildings, and should be settled all persons whose offices made it necessary for them to reside at or near them. * * *Nothing further was done in relation to this matter, until 1837, when orders were issued from the Department of Indian Affairs to the Superintendent of Surveys, to select and report a place suitable for the above objects. The selection was accordingly made of a valuable tract, of about seven miles square on the Osage River. It is nearly equi-distant from the Northern and Southern extremities of the Territory, and a little over sixteen miles West of the State of Missouri." (McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, 1838, p. 18.)

[b] The influence which the promise of congressional representation had upon the negotiation of the treaty of New Echota may be inferred from Butler's report of December 3, 1836, which reads as follows:

"In the late treaty with the Cherokees East of the Mississippi, it is expressly stipulated, that they shall be entitled to a delegate in the House of Represenatives whenever Congress shall make provision for the same. It is not to be doubted that the hopes thus held out to these tribes [Choctaws and Cherokees] had an important influence in determining them to consent to emigrate to their new homes in the West * * * And, at as early a day as circumstances will allow, the expectations authorized by the passage above quoted from the treaties with the Choctaws and Cherokees should be fulfilled. Indeed, from the facts stated by the Commissioner, it is scarcely to be doubted that the Choctaws are already in a condition to justify the measure. The daily presence of a native delegate on the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States, presenting, as occasion may require, to that dignified assembly, the interests of his people, would, more than any other single act, attest to the world and to the Indian tribes the sincerity of our endeavors for their preservation and happiness. In the successful issue of these endeavors, we shall find a more precious and durable accession to the glory of our country than by any triumph we can achieve in arts or in arms * * *." (Gales and Seaton's Register, Vol. XIII, pt. 2, appendix, pp. 11–21.)

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with nothing done for Indian statehood.[a] Friends of the measure were bitterly disappointed. The Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, one of the commissioners of 1832 and the chief negotiator of the treaty of New Echota, voiced the sentiment of many when he made in 1839 his personal plea to Poinsett, virtually saying that he would never have worked so hard for removal had he not honestly believed that territorial organization would come with its completion.[b]

Occasionally during the next three decades individuals found time and opportunity to discuss the Indian situation. Meanwhile the great question of establishing a territory for the tribes found favor, or would have found favor had it been sufficiently agitated, with at least two of President Tyler's Secretaries of War, viz, John C. Spencer[c] and William Wilkins.[d] In the session of 1845–46 Congress took up the subject again, moved thereto by a stirring memorial from a missionary association. On that occasion the House Committee on Indian Affairs went so far as to report a bill[e] defining such a territory, but it was not acted upon. In 1848, the safety of Texas in view, Representative McIlvane, from the Indian Committee, made an exhaustive report,[f] quite on a par with Everett's and Tipton's of earlier years, in which he urged territorial organization, but he urged in vain. He also reported a bill "embracing the general principles of the bill of 1834."[g]

In 1851 James Duane Doty addressed[h] the President on the subject of making a very necessary change in the Indian political status, but Fillmore was most likely not altogether in sympathy with the project, for, as Representative, he had been uncertain whether to support or to oppose one of the territorial organization bills[i] and now shifted the responsibility of answering Doty's letter to the Secretary

[a] Van Buren, however, did in his first two annual messages recommend the establishment of some simple form of government for the emigrant tribes. See Richardson III: 391, 501.

[b] Miscellaneous Files, 1839–1841, Indian Office MS. Records; Abel, "Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," p. 393, note b.

[c] "The plan of something like a territorial government for the Indians has been suggested. The object is worthy of the most deliberate consideration of all who take an interest in the fate of this hapless race." (Report Nov. 26, 1842, Ex. Docs., 27th Cong. 3d sess., Vol. I, p. 189.

[d] "In the course of the progress under our moral enterprise, for their civilization, they must eventually attain the sagacity to look out for individual and social rights, and that degree of general intelligence to entitle them to the full extension of all the privileges of American citizens. When that time shall arrive there will be no obstacle to political association by reason of any natural or acquired repugnance to the blood of the original American." (Report Nov. 30, 1844, Ex. Docs., 28th Cong. 2d sess., Vol. I, p. 125.

[e] House Journal, 29th Cong., 1st sess., p. 995.

[f] House Reports, 30th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. III, No. 736.

[g] Ibid., pp. 11–14.

[h] See his letter, printed as an appendix to this article.

[i] Gales and Seaton's Register, Vol. X, part 4, p. 4779; Niles's Register, vol. 46, p. 307; House Journal, 23d Cong., 2d sess., p. 424.

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of the Interior,[a] who passed it on to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who ignored it. Doty argued more particularly for the property and political rights of the individual Indian and cited the experience of the Brothertown Indians in Wisconsin to prove his case.[b] In 1853 Schoolcraft manifested some slight interest in the general subject of Indian welfare, but opposed the formation of a Territory, since, like Doty, he deemed the political consolidation of the tribes impracticable.[c] To him a series of small colonies[d] from the Rockies to the Pacific,[e] presumably like the reservation farms of California, would be a better solution of the Indian problem. The fact is, the time was not propitious for organization. The United States Government was even then breaking away from the rash promises it had made in the twenties and thirties; for it was looking forward, as was evidenced in the consideration of the question of Wyandot citizenship, to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to the passage of which organization along the original lines, i. e., southward from the Platte, might have proved an insurmountable obstacle.

After the civil war, when the Federal Government was calling the Five Civilized Tribes to account for their recent alliance with the southern Confederacy,[f] it made a desperate effort to force territorial organization upon them; but they stood out firmly and unanimously

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[a] Alexander H. H. Stuart.

[b] It is well to remember that from the very earliest years of the United States Government individual ownership, or allotment in severalty, had been often suggested as preeminently the best way to bring about the civilization of the Indians. Naturally it would have involved incorporation or the extension of State laws over the tribes, since it was usually offered as the alternative of removal.

[c] "The colonization plan of 1825 is the best one if properly carried out. It has worked well and is only at fault because it is not from character of Indians fully carried out. They will not act together. They hate union. They distrust each other. They cling to tribal gov't—the bane of their whole system from first to last." (H. R. Schoolcraft to Robert McClelland, 1853—Schoolcraft Unbound Miscellaneous Papers.)

[d] "I think there is room for eight states inclusive of Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington between the Miss. and the Pacific & each of them should I think have an Indian district within it in their own latitude on which the Indians should be subject to our laws *civil & criminal*, to be administered, however, by specially appointed judges * * *." (Same to same, ibid.)

[e] Up to the time of the Mexican war suggestions were quite often made having in view the surrendering of the western territory to the Indians. Senator Dickerson, of New Jersey, once said that "the British Government would probably readily join with the Government of the United States in any measure that might be necessary to secure the whole territory claimed by both parties West of the Rocky Mountains to the present possessors of the soil." (Debate on the Oregon bill, February 26, 1825, Gales and Seaton's Register, I: 694–695.) About two months before Representative Smyth, of Virginia, had proposed "providing for two tiers of States west of the Mississippi and giving the Indians an unchangeable boundary beyond." (Abridgment of Debates, VIII: 211.) As a matter of fact, though, the pioneers had decidedly other views with respect to the occupation of the western country. Note, for instance, the following extract from a letter dated St. Louis, June 16, 1841.

"* * * Your name is well known in the mountains by many of your old friends who would be glad to join the standard of there country and make a clean sweepe of what is called the Origon Teritory: That is to say clear it of British and Indians * * *." (Miscellaneous Files, Indian Office MS. Records.)

[f] In no instance was an entire tribe in league with the seceding States; but that fact was not taken into account when the question of confiscating tribal lands came up.

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against it,[a] yet in their position as conquered rebels perforce had finally to accept a halfway measure in the shape of a general council.[b] The Indian understanding of this was well expressed in 1874 when territorial bills were before Congress and the Indians were memorializing against them. "We do hereby most solemnly and emphatically declare that the articles of the treaties of 1866, *do not authorize the formation* by *Congress* of a *Territorial government* of the *United States* over the *Indians* of the *Indian Territory*. On the contrary the agreements on our part in assenting to the establishment of said council was entered into for the very purpose of obviating the alleged necessity of such a Territorial government. * * * We held that that country was exclusively an Indian country, as contradistinguished from a Territory of the United States, and we treated upon that basis * * *."[c] The general council indicated was organized at Okmulgee, in the Creek country, in 1869,[d] and formed of itself a constituent assembly, drawing up and provisionally adopting a constitution, which, however, failed of ratification by the Indians.

With the incoming of Grant as President, no time was lost in urging territorial government for the Indians, notwithstanding the fact that the several treaties of 1866 had stipulated explicitly that the legislation of Congress in the direction of a civil administration for the Indian country should not interfere with or annul tribal organization, rights, laws, privileges, customs. The exigencies of the times demanded a change, however, and, as Grant said in his first annual message, economic growth, as seen in the building of large railways that brought the white settlements ever nearer to the red, made it expedient.[e] The application of the suggestion to the country south of Kansas was not specific until two years later (1871), when Grant recommended the establishment of a Territory there as a possible

[a] Protest of Southern Creek Delegation, March 18, 1866, Creek Files, 1860–1869, Indian Office MS. Records; Senator Patterson's Report, February 11, 1879, Senate Reports, 45th Cong., 3d sess., Vol. III, No. 744.

[b] Article VII, Seminole Treaty, March 21, 1866, 14 United States Statutes at Large, p. 758. Article VIII, Choctaw and Chickasaw Treaty, April 28, 1866, ibid., p. 772. Article X, Creek Treaty, June 14, 1866, ibid., p. 789. Article XII, Cherokee Treaty, July 19, 1866, ibid., p. 802.

[c] Memorial to President Grant, February 9, 1874, included in Patterson's Report, p. 376.

[d] The Indians chafed under the delay in organizing the general council, as is indicated by the following letter from Superintendent L. N. Robinson to the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles E. Mix, September 26, 1868:

"There is a general desire on the part of the various tribes in this Territory, for the speedy organization of the General Council provided for in their several treaties of 1866; and much impatience is manifested at the delay of such organization. Under the provisions of the treaties, the census of the tribes having been completed * * *, it is mandatory on the superintendent of Indian Affairs to 'publish and declare to each tribe the number of members to which they shall be entitled' and to appoint the time and place for the first meeting of said council.

"It is the generally expressed wish of the various tribes that I shall call such session to meet on the first Monday in December next, and that date meets my approval * * *." (Southern Superintendency Files, 1867–68.)

[e] Richardson, VII: 39.

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"means of collecting most of the Indians now between the Missouri and the Pacific and south of the British possessions into one Territory or one State."[a] That he had not a mixed State in mind is seen from his fourth annual message,[b] his policy being definite, to collect as many Indians as he could and protect them from the incursions of white men. Later messages in his second administration emphasized this point of view;[c] but sentiment in the country at large steadily drifted toward the exclusion of the old notion. Thus the resolutions of the National Commercial Convention at St. Louis in 1872[d] pointed unerringly toward a mixed State. Bills in Congress, for the most part, did likewise—hence the determined opposition of the Indians.[e] During this time also the separate organization of Oklahoma came to be talked of and no pretense was ever made that Oklahoma was to be exclusively Indian. After 1878 there was practically no thought whatsoever of allowing the aborigines a separate existence as an integral part of the Union, and the spasmodic efforts of a hundred years had failed.

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[a] Richardson, VII: p. 152.

[b] Ibid., p. 200.

[c] Ibid., pp. 252, 300.

[d] House Mis. Docs., No. 42, Vol. II, 42d Cong., 3d sess.

[e] The most prominent of the Indian protests against territorial organization are the following: The Cherokee delegation to E. S. Parker, January 14, 1870, Cherokee Files, 1869–70; the Creek delegation to President Grant, June 4, 1870, and inclosures, Creek Files, 1870–1872; the Cherokee, Muscogee, and Seminole delegations to the President and people of the United States, June 4, 1870, Southern Superintendency Files, 1869–70; memorial of the Choctaw Nation, referred January 31, 1872, Senate Mis. Docs., 42d Cong., 2d sess., Vol. I, No. 53; protest of the Cherokee and Creek delegations, referred March 3, 1873, House Mis. Docs., 42d Cong., 3d sess., Vol. III, No. 110; message of Will P. Ross, principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, November 5, 1873, Cherokee Files, 1872–1874; protest of the general Indian council, December 6, 1873, Senate Reports, 45th Cong., 3d sess., Vol. III, No. 744, pp. 379–381; message of William Bryant, principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, January 20, 1874, Choctaw Files, 1873–1876; memorial from the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles, April 22, 1878, House Mis. Docs., 46th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. I, No. 13; resolutions of the general council of the Choctaw Nation, November 5, 1878, Senate Mis. Docs., 45th Cong., 3d sess., Vol. 1, No. 52, pp. 2, 3; memorial of I. L. Garvin, principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, December 24, 1878, Ibid.; protest of the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw delegations, May 8, 1879, House Mis. Docs., 46th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. I, No. 13.

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APPENDIX.

Letter of James Duane Doty.

House of Representatives,
Washington, Jany 20th, 1851.

To His Excellency Millard Fillmore
President &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

The question of the necessity or propriety of the removal of the Indians now residing in various sections of the North Western States, *and who are partly or wholly civilized*, to the country West of the Mississippi river, is one of such importance to them, to the Government, and to humanity that you will pardon me, I hope, for asking its consideration at this moment.

For several years past it has been held, that the presence of those Indians who are civilized in the Country occupied by those who are wild, would have a beneficial effect upon the latter in civilizing and christianizing them also. The facts I believe do not confirm this opinion.

Ought we not therefore now—if not heretofore—to inquire what is the effect which this removal has *upon themselves?* My observation has been in regard to the Northern Indians, that it entirely checks their further advancement in the arts of civilized life, and tends directly to return them to the Hunter state.

The white man has ever promised this race since his first occupation of this continent, that when they became agriculturalists and adopted his habits, they should be entitled to enjoy the same civil and political rights equally with himself. The power to confer these rights, it is supposed, is with the Government of the United States; and believing the time has arrived when their condition, if not our own honor, demands the execution of this power, on their behalf I would respectfully apply for the preparation in the proper Department of a plan by which, under the authority of law, they may individually purchase and hold Real Estate, their blood be made heritable, and all the rights of Citizenship, in some form and at some period—depending perhaps upon their progress in civilization—be conferred upon them.

They have justly complained that under the present system, when they have obtained to a considerable extent the knowledge and habits of the Whites, and have lost the art and taste for the chase, they are excluded from the society of our citizens as members of the same commonwealth, and are not permitted to aspire to any of the stations under Government. Life, for them, has no longer any object: they have no social or political associations with us; they regard themselves with contempt, as they are regarded by those who continue in the Hunters state; and they sink in despondency.

The only exception to this view with which I am acquainted is that of the Brothertown Indians in Wisconsin, who, by authority of an act of Congress divided the land which they had previously held in common equally among the members of the Tribe, and received patents individually therefor from the President, became Citizens, and have since—and now exercise all of the rights and privileges of American Citizens. They hold offices in the Town and County

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under the State government, and some of them have been elected members of the Legislature and served in that station with great credit. Ten years have elapsed since this Act passed and yet there are very few cases of sales of their land to white men.

The following are the provisions of the *Constitution* of the State of *Wisconsin* on the subject of suffrage by persons of the Indian Blood:

* * * * * * *

It has been proposed to establish an "Indian Territory" beyond the white settlements to which the remnants of the numerous Tribes in the North Western States may be removed.

This can only be regarded as an effort to preserve the Indians as a distinct race—a continuation of the plan now pursued.

The country lying *west* of the Territory of Minnesota, between the Coteau de Prairie and Missouri river, appears to be the most favorably situated for this object. But even there to permanently insure their civilization, it will be necessary to grant the right to individual Indians, who are disposed to settle as agriculturists, to acquire, and to transmit to their heirs, the title to real estate. There can no longer be a doubt among men who have resided many years in the country occupied by the Northern Nations that no valuable or permanent improvement can be made in the condition of these people, unless this provision is made.

We cannot of course contemplate the formation of such a *State* without calculating its advantages to the Indians, and to the white men; as also its cost, and its future relations, to this government, and to the other States.

The question is therefore presented—whether it is best to permit them to remain in their native country to which they are strongly attached, or the country where they now dwell, with the prospective right to become citizens and to enjoy the same civil and political privileges as ourselves; or to occupy a STATE by themselves, disconnected with the Whites if possible, with their own government and laws,—but dependent upon the Government of the United States,—and forming a community which must be composed of Tribes not heretofore friendly with each other, and of Individuals some of whom are civilized and others not?

The interest which I feel in the welfare and improved condition of these People, arising perhaps from a very long residence and extensive personal acquaintance with them, must be my apology for the above suggestions which I have ventured to make upon the present and future condition of this Race.

With great respect, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's Most obedient servant

JAMES DUANE DOTY.

(Miscellaneous Files, 1851–1854, Indian Office MS. Records.)

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VII. THE PACIFIC RAILROADS AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICA.

By FREDERIC L. PAXSON,
Junior Professor in the University of Michigan.

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THE PACIFIC RAILROADS AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICA.

By FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Within recent years it has become a commonplace in American history that the influence of the frontier is the one constant to be reckoned with in accounting for the development of American life during its first century of independent existence. The frontier has been defined so as to describe the line dividing a western area, chiefly unoccupied by whites, and an eastern region given over to an increasing agriculture. In the face of an advancing population it has retreated rapidly from the fall line to the semiarid plains, where it finally disappeared in the decade of the eighties. Its influence did much in directing American life during its period, and since its passing new national problems and ideals have marked a change in both people and government of the United States.

The passing of the frontier is the phenomenon of the eighties, now generally accepted, yet like most matters of recent history not really demonstrated. Its best historian remarked, in 1893, that "now, four centuries after the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history."[a] Its passing is not, however, undemonstrated because of its difficulty, since the facts of the years from 1880 to 1885 throw themselves naturally into groupings whose logical key is this idea of the completion of the first period of national growth.

There have been two frontiers in the United States that have controlled periods of national thought by their duration. In the forties and early fifties a broad, sparsely settled frontier lay between the old East and the Missouri and Mississippi settlements. Wagon roads and canals connected the distant borders, but the resulting unity was so slight that the completion of the trunk-line railroads in the fifties worked a revolution in economic and intellectual conditions. Just how far the northern spirit that maintained the Union is the result of these developments in transportation no one has measured.

[a] F. J. Turner, The Significance of the Frontier in American History, in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, 227.

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The crossing of this old eastern frontier left but one difficult area in the United States. From the western boundary of Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa to the Pacific States stretched the great American desert with its deficiencies in rainfall and its scanty native population.[a] So long as this area remained intact the frontier continued to exert its dominant influence, but when it succumbed to the pressure of economic advance the frontier was gone forever. The years from 1869 to 1884 cover the final period in the life of the last frontier. The beginning of the end comes with the completion of the Union and Central Pacific railways in 1869; the period closes with the opening of the other Pacific railways in 1882–1884.

The great American desert became a reality in frontier life as early as 1819. Until this time the edge of the frontier had been east of the Mississippi River, and its people had depended on the East. But the settlement of Missouri brought population to the bend of the Missouri River by 1819, and within the influence of an overland trade that beckoned from the Spanish towns at Santa Fe. This Santa Fe trade was an important element in frontier prosperity from the erection of Fort Leavenworth in 1827 until the Mexican war.[b] In these years the route across the plains and along the Arkansas and Purgatory rivers was worn deeper and deeper.[c] In the middle of the forties the call of the Northwest drew another trail from Fort Leavenworth along the Platte, by South Pass, and down the Snake River into Oregon, while the diggings on the Sacramento tempted the Forty-niners across the Nevada desert and along the Humboldt into California. When the Mexican war was over Congress was facing a territorial problem on the Pacific coast that was made more difficult by the existence of the great frontier which divided the centers of American life. Yet already the overland trails, inadequate as they were, had revealed the possibility and early necessity of railroad routes extending from ocean to ocean.

When the agitation for a Pacific Railway commenced there were these two beaten tracks connecting the Missouri River and the Pacific. Trappers and explorers had pointed out the possibility of other routes,

[a] Popular imagination exaggerated the degree of aridity which prevailed in the desert. Maj. Stephen H. Long, who visited the Rocky Mountains in 1820, stated that the area was "almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence." (R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XIV, 20.) The accounts of the Long expedition occupy four volumes in Thwaites. Their unfavorable estimate helped to shape the popular imagination.

[b] Occasional trips to Santa Fe gave way about 1825 to fairly regular traffic. Congress in 1825 authorized the construction of a wagon road for its use. (H. H. Bancroft, Works, XVII, 333; J. W. Million, State Aid to Railways in Missouri, 1, 2.) A military post was established in 1827 at Cantonment Leavenworth, from which point the Sixth Infantry operated as escort to the caravans. (Report of the Quartermaster-General to the Secretary of War, 1827, 20th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 1, p. 79, and p. 48, insert "d." See also Secretary Eaton's Report, 1829, 21st Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 1, p. 30.)

[c] Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader, 2 vols., New York, 1845, is the classic account of the Santa Fe traffic. The book, often reprinted, is in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, XIX, XX.

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but the pressure of population along the easiest channels of communication had developed the prominence of the Missouri bend, between Independence and Council Bluffs, as the chief eastern point of departure.[a] Hence the two trails from Fort Leavenworth by the Platte and Arkansas carried most of the Pacific traffic that journeyed overland. By 1850 the systematic lobbying of Asa Whitney and his allies had educated the public to an acceptance of the railway idea, but the emergence of slavery sectionalism had made a choice among particular routes impossible.[b] Until after 1853 the only progress made was the survey of five available routes ordered by the army appropriation bill of that year,[c] and until after the elimination of southern influence, in 1861, no further step was taken. In all these years, while the old eastern transportation frontier was in process of demolition, the rivalry of New Orleans, Vicksburg, Memphis, Cairo, St. Louis, and Chicago, and their hinterlands kept the western frontier unbroken.

In the history of the frontier the Union Pacific Railway marks the beginning of the end. Chartered in 1862,[d] reendowed in 1864,[e] started on its race for lands and subsidies in 1866,[f] it finally completed a through track across the continent in 1869. The celebration of completion at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869, was not unnoticed even in its own day as a national act.[g] The public was generally conscious that a great event had taken place; cities devoted themselves to open demonstration; Bret Harte broke into song under its influence.[h] But in reality the frontier was not destroyed. From a narrow strip across the plains Indians had been pushed to one side and another and a single track had crossed the mountains, but north and south great areas remained untouched, for the demolition of the frontier had only just begun.[i]

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[a] For several years Fort Atkinson, at Council Bluffs, was the chief military post on the far western frontier. The erection of Fort Leavenworth, which was more conveniently situated for policing the trails, lessened its importance. In 1825 there were stationed at Fort Atkinson four companies of the First Infantry and ten of the Sixth. (Report of General Brown to the Secretary of War, 1825, 19th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 1, p. 10, insert "d.")

[b] The genesis of the Pacific railway idea is traced in J. P. Davis, The Union Pacific Railway, 1–110, and in E. V. Smalley, History of the Northern Pacific Railroad, 1–112.

[c] The reports on these surveys fill eleven large volumes. They were published as 33d Cong., 2d sess., S. Ex. Doc. 78. Cf. Tables of and Annotated Index to the Congressional Series of United States Public Documents, Washington, 1902, 551, note.

[d] 12 United States Statutes at Large, 489.

[e] 13 United States Statutes at Large, 356.

[f] 14 United States Statutes at Large, 79.

[g] Davis, Union Pacific Railway, 152; J. H. Beadle, The Undeveloped West; or, Five Years in the Territories, Philadelphia, 1873, 126; Sidney Dillon, The Last Spike, in Scribner's Magazine, XII, 253–259; Samuel Bowles, The Pacific Railroad Open, in Atlantic Monthly, XXIII, 493–502, 617–625, 753–762; H. H. Bancroft, History of California, VII, 570; Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer for 1871, 117.

[h] Bret Harte, What the Engines Said, in Poetical Works, 1882, 283.

[i] F. A. Walker, in North American Review, CXVI, 367.

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The effort that finally destroyed the continental frontier differed from all earlier movements in the same direction in that it was self-conscious, deliberate, and national. "The frontier reached by the Pacific Railroad, surveyed into rectangles, guarded by the United States Army, and recruited by the daily immigrant ship, moves forward at a swifter pace and in a different way than the frontier reached by the birch canoe or the pack horse."[a] The idea of communication as a proper public charge was slow in growth. Over the Cumberland road had been fought a great constitutional battle in the twenties.[b] Subsequent national aid had been granted for improvement schemes through the several States involved. But in the Pacific railways Congress now dealt directly and immediately with the object before it.[c] The financial settlement with the Pacific railways is so recent that the land grants are still in politics, but in 1862 10 sections of land and a loan of $16,000 in United States bonds per mile of track did not tempt capital into the forlorn scheme. Construction could not be financed until the act of 1864 had doubled the 10 sections into 20 and allowed the railway company to insert its own first mortgage, to the amount of the government subsidy, ahead of the federal bonds as a lien upon the property. With even this, responsible builders required so large a margin of profit that the construction of the road became a matter of noisome public scandal.[d] And in our own day a changed financial condition has made it difficult to understand the reasonableness of the original terms.

While the Union Pacific was under construction Congress provided the legal equipment for the annihilation of the entire frontier. The charter acts of the Northern Pacific, the Atlantic and Pacific, the Texas Pacific, and the Southern Pacific at once opened the way for some five new continental lines and closed the period of direct federal aid to railway construction. The Northern Pacific received its charter on the same day that the Union Pacific received its double subsidy in 1864.[e] It was authorized to join the waters of Lake Superior and Puget Sound, and to receive for its services 20 sections of public land in the States through which it ran and 40 in the Territories. No bonds were granted it, the Union Pacific experiment remaining the first and the last in this direction.

[a] F. J. Turner, in American Historical Association Report, 1893, 206.

[b] J. S. Young, A Political and Constitutional Study of the Cumberland Road, Chicago, 1902.

[c] J. B. Sanborn, Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways, in University of Wisconsin Bulletins, No. 30, is a comprehensive study of these grants. The Illinois Central grant of 1850, which started the policy of land grants for railways, is thoroughly treated by W. K. Ackerman, Historical Sketch of the Illinois Central Railroad, Chicago, 1890.

[d] The Contract and Finance Company, which operated for the Central Pacific, escaped public notice, but the Crédit Mobilier of the Union Pacific played a large part in the campaign of 1872. (J. B. Crawford, Crédit Mobilier of America; R. Hazard, Crédit Mobilier of America, Providence, 1881; J. F. Rhodes, History of the United States, VII, 1–18.)

[e] 13 United States Statutes at Large, 365.

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In the sumer of 1866[a] a third continental route was provided for in the South along the line of the thirty-fifth parallel survey. The Atlantic and Pacific was to build from Springfield, Mo., by way of Albuquerque, N. Mex., to the Pacific, and to connect near the eastern line of California with the Southern Pacific of California. Its subsidy of public lands was like that of the Northern Pacific.

The Texas Pacific was chartered March 3, 1871, as the last of the land-grant railroads. It was to build from the eastern border of Texas to San Diego, Cal., and was promised the usual grant of 20 or 40 sections. But since there were no public lands of the United States in Texas its eastern divisions received no aid from this source, while its more vigorous rival, the Southern Pacific, prevented its line from passing beyond El Paso. As usual, the Southern Pacific of California had been authorized to meet the new road near the Colorado River and had received a 20-section grant. It did better than its federal charter anticipated and organized subsidiary corporations in Arizona and New Mexico, which built rapidly and met the Texas Pacific at the Rio Grande.

To these deliberate acts in aid of the Pacific railways others in the form of local grants were made between 1862 and 1871, so that by the latter date all of the grants had been made, and all that the companies could ask for the future was lenient treatment.[b] For the first time the Federal Government had taken an active initiative in providing for the destruction of a frontier. It resolved in 1871 to treat no longer with Indian tribes as independent nations,[c] and used the Regular Army so vigorously that by 1880 "the majority of the wasteful and hostile occupants of millions of acres of valuable agricultural, pasture, and mineral lands [had] been forced upon reservations under the supervision of the Government * * * and the vast section over which the wild and irresponsible tribes once wandered [were] redeemed from idle waste to become a home for millions of progressive people."[d]

The new Pacific railroads began to build just as the Union Pacific was completed and opened to traffic. In competition with more promising enterprises in the East, they were slow in arousing popular interest. There was little belief in a continental business large enough to maintain four systems, and a general confidence in the desert character of the semiarid plains. Their first period of construction ended abruptly in 1873, when panic brought most transportation

[a] 14 United States Statutes at Large, 292.

[b] G. W. Julian, Our Land-Grant Railways in Congress, in International Review, XIV, 198–212.

[c] This determination was reached in a proviso in the Indian appropriation bill of March 3, 1871. (16 U. S. Stat. at L., 566.)

[d] Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882, Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan, commanding, Chicago, 1882, 119.

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projects to an inglorious end and forbade revival for at least five years.

Jay Cooke, whose Philadelphia house had done much to establish public credit during the war and had created a market of small buyers for investment securities on the strength of United States bonds, popularized the Northern Pacific in 1869 and 1870.[a] Within two years he is said to have raised thirty millions for the construction of the road, making its building a financial possibility. And although he may have distorted the isotherm several degrees in order to picture his farming lands as semitropical in their luxuriance,[b] he established Duluth and Tacoma, gave St. Paul her opportunity, and had run the main line of track through Fargo, on the Red, to Bismarck, on the Missouri, more than 350 miles from Lake Superior, when his failure, in 1873, brought expansion to an end.

For the Northwest the construction of the Northern Pacific was of fundamental importance. The railway frontier of 1869 left Minnesota, Dakota, and much of Wisconsin beyond its reach. The potential grain fields of the Red River region were virgin forest, and on the main line of the new road, for 2,000 miles, no trace of settled habitation existed. From the summer of 1870 activity around the head of Lake Superior dates. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railway was started to connect St. Paul and the lake at a point at which "a few papers signed in Philadelphia have made a great northwestern port and market possible—nay inevitable."[c]

At Thompson's Junction on this road the Northern Pacific made a connection, securing its entrance into Duluth by buying a half interest in the tracks it used and building its own line west across the Mississippi River at Brainerd.[d] The statute of 1864 made Lake Superior the eastern terminus, but the logic of trade brought to St. Paul in later years the terminus in fact.

The panic of 1873 caught the Northern Pacific at Bismarck, with nearly 300 unprofitable miles of track extending in advance of the railroad frontier. The Atlantic and Pacific and Texas and Pacific were less seriously overbuilt, but not less effectively checked. The former, starting from Springfield, had constructed across southwestern Missouri to Vinita,[e] in Indian Territory, where it arrived in the fall of 1871.[f] It had meanwhile consolidated with the old South-

[a] E. P. Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War, II, 74–377; Smalley, Northern Pacific, 134–177.

[b] Such a charge was made by Gen. W. B. Hazen, writing from Fort Buford, at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone, in the North American Review (CXX, 21), under the title "The great middle region of the United States and its limited space of arable land."

[c] J. T. Trowbridge, A Week at Duluth, in Atlantic Monthly, May, 1870, 605.

[d] Smalley, Northern Pacific, 187, 381.

[e] Beadle, who visited Vinita and the Indian country in 1872, has a picturesque description of this "thirty-fifth parallel route." J. H. Beadle, Undeveloped West, 351.

[f] Poor, Manual of the Railroads of the United States, 1875–76, 741.

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west Branch, of Missouri (recently renamed the South Pacific), so that from Springfield it could now get into St. Louis over its own tracks for most of the way. It had also, in 1872, leased for a long term the Pacific of Missouri, with its dependencies. But the panic forced it into default, the lease was canceled, and the Atlantic and Pacific itself emerged from the receiver's hand as the St. Louis and San Francisco.[a] Vinita was and remained its terminus for several years, and the completion of the road as a part of the Pacific system was in a different direction and under a still different control.

The Texas Pacific represented Texas corporations already existing when it received its land grant in 1871. It shortly consolidated local lines in northeast Texas, changed its name to Texas and Pacific,[b] and began construction from Texarkana and Shreveport to Dallas and Fort Worth, on its road to El Paso. At the former points it caught its eastern termini, as did the Atlantic and Pacific at Springfield, Mo. The St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern ran from Texarkana to St. Louis, while from Shreveport, down the Red River to New Orleans, the New Orleans Pacific finally undertook the construction of the lines. This borderland of Texas, Missouri, and Arkansas thus became a center of railway development; in the grazing country behind it the meat-packing industries shortly found their sources of supply, and in our own day the State of Oklahoma is its concrete memorial.

The failure of Jay Cooke & Co. in the autumn of 1873 started the general financial panic of that year and deferred for several years the extinction of the frontier.[c] It would have been remarkable had the waste and speculation of the civil war period and its enthusiasm for economic development escaped the retribution that economic law brings upon inflation. The Granger activities of the years immediately following the panic foreshadowed a period when the frontier demand for railways at any cost should give way to an agricultural insistence upon regulation of railways as the primary need. But as yet the frontier remained substantially intact,[d] and until its railway system should be completed the Granger demand could not be translated into federal activity. For nearly six years after 1873 the Pacific railways, like the other industrial establishments of the United States, remained nearly stationary.

In 1879 the United States emerged from the confusion of the crisis of 1873. Resumption marked the readjustment of national cur-

[a] Poor, Manual, 1873–74, 520; 1877–78, 826.

[b] Act of May 2, 1872, 27 United States Statutes at Large, 59; Poor, Manual, 1871–72, 548; 1876–77, 703; 1877–78, 345.

[c] E. W. Martin, History of the Grange Movement, 1874, 184; Smalley, Northern Pacific, 199.

[d] E. E. Sparks, National Development (Vol. XXIII in Hart's American Nation), 21–23, describes the distribution of population in this region.

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rency, reconstruction was over, and the railways entered upon the last five years of the culminating period in the history of the frontier. When the five years had ended five new continental routes were available for transportation and the frontier had departed from the United States.

Although it had no continental franchise of its own, the Southern Pacific led in the completion of these new routes and acquired an interest in three eastern termini as a result. The Northern Pacific in the same years completed its own main line, while the Burlington-Rio Grande combination introduced at once a rival to the Union Pacific and an additional continental route.

The Texas and Pacific had only started its progress across Texas when checked by the panic in the vicinity of Dallas. When it revived it consolidated with the New Orleans Pacific to get its entry into New Orleans,[a] and then proceeded to push its track across the State, aided by a state land grant from Texas, toward Sierra Blanca and El Paso. Beyond Texas it never built. Corporations of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, all bearing the same name of Southern Pacific, constructed the line across the Colorado River and along the Gila through the lands acquired by the Gadsden purchase in 1853.[b] Trains were running over its tracks to St. Louis by January, 1882, and to New Orleans in the following October. In the course of this Southern Pacific construction connection had been made with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe at Deming, N. Mex., in March, 1881. But lack of harmony between the roads thus meeting seems to have minimized the importance of the through route thus formed.[c]

The owners of the Southern Pacific opened an additional line through southern Texas in the beginning of 1883.[d] The Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio, of Texas, was the earliest road char-

[a] Poor, Manual, 1884, 852. The New Orleans Pacific was the assignee of the New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Vicksburg, to which a land grant had been made in 1871. Congress annulled a portion of the grant in 1887. Sanborn, Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways, 125.

[b] The Southern Pacific seized the Fort Yuma crossing of the Colorado River in spite of federal and Texas and Pacific protests. (45th Cong., 2d sess., H. Ex. Doc. 33.) It later induced the Texas and Pacific to transfer to it the land grants west of El Paso pertaining to the latter road, and insisted before Congress upon its right to receive the lands although the grants were voidable, if not void, because of the failure of the Texas and Pacific to build within the time limit prescribed. (48th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 27.) Congressional committees reported adversely to this claim of the Southern Pacific. (48th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. 62; see also the reports to the House in 1877, 44th Cong., 2d sess., H. Rep. 130, parts 1 and 2, and also 43d Cong., 2d sess., H. Mis. Docs. 6 and 36.) On February 25, 1885, Congress declared the whole Texas Pacific land grant forfeited. (Sanborn, Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways, 125; 23 U. S. Stat. L., 337.)

[c] Poor, Manual, 1884, 887; Commercial and Financial Chronicle, March 12, 1881, 276.

[d] Through trains to New Orleans were running by February 1. (Commercial and Financial Chronicle, September 8, 1883, 265; Railroad Gazette, January 9, 1883, 51, and February 2, 1883, 83, 84.)

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tered in the State.[a] Around this as a nucleus other lines were assembled,[b] and double construction was begun from San Antonio west, and from El Paso, or more accurately Sierra Blanca, east. Between El Paso and Sierra Blanca, a distance of about 90 miles, this new line and the Texas Pacific used the same track. In later years the Texas Pacific was drawn away from the Southern Pacific by its St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern connection at Texarkana into the Missouri Pacific System, and the combination route through San Antonio and Houston became the main line of the Southern Pacific.

A third connection of the Southern Pacific across Texas was operated before the end of 1883, over its Mojave extension in California and the Atlantic and Pacific from the Needles to Albuquerque. The old Atlantic and Pacific, chartered with land grant in 1866, had built to Vinita by 1871, and had stopped there. It had defaulted after the panic, gone into receivership, and emerged as the St. Louis and San Francisco. But even after its emergence it refrained from construction much beyond its Vinita terminus.[c] Meanwhile the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had reached Albuquerque, N. Mex. This road, building up the Arkansas through Kansas, possessed a land grant as far as the Colorado state line.[d] Entering Colorado, it had passed by Las Animas and thrown a branch along the old Santa Fe trail to Santa Fe and Albuquerque. At this last point it came to an agreement with the St. Louis and San Francisco by which the two roads should build jointly from Albuquerque, under the Atlantic and Pacific franchise, into California, and rapid construction had commenced in the period of revival.[e] The Southern Pacific of California had not, however, relished a rival in its State, while the Atlantic and Pacific charter privilege extended to the Pacific. Long before the new road, advancing from Albuquerque, reached its Colorado crossing at the Needles a Mojave branch of the Southern Pacific was waiting at that point, ready by its presence to force the invading road to make terms with it for admittance. And thus upon the completion of the Colorado and Rio Grande bridges the Southern Pacific obtained its third entry into the East. Pullman cars were running into St. Louis on October 21, 1883.[f]

The names of Billings and Villard are most closely connected with the renascence of the Northern Pacific. This line, with its generous

[a] It was organized in 1850 as the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado. (H. H. Bancroft, Works, XVI, 570.)

[b] Commercial and Financial Chronicle, August 25, 1883, 200.

[c] Railroad Gazette, May 11, 1883, 301; Commercial and Financial Chronicle, May 26, 1883, 588.

[d] Its 10-section land grant was based upon a grant by Congress to the State of Kansas, March 3, 1863. (Report of the Commissioner of Railroads, 1882, 268; 1883, 130.) It reached Albuquerque in April, 1880, and Deming in March, 1881.

[e] Report of the Auditor of Railroad Accounts, 1880, 52.

[f] Commercial and Financial Chronicle, October 20, 1883, 423; H. H. Bancroft, California, VII, 613; Railroad Gazette, October 26, 1883, 711.

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land grant, had stopped before the panic at the Missouri River. In Oregon it had built a few miles into its new terminal city, Tacoma. The illumination of crisis times had served to discredit the route which Jay Cooke had so effectively boomed in earlier days. The existence of various land-grant railways in Washington and Oregon made its revival difficult to finance, since its various rivals could offer competition by both river and rail along the Columbia Valley below Walla Walla. Under the presidency of Frederick Billings construction revived about 1879, from Mandan, opposite Bismarck, on the Missouri, and from Wallula, at the junction of the Columbia and Snake.[a] From these points lines were pushed over the Pend d'Oreille and Missouri divisions toward the Continental Divide. Below Wallula the Columbia Valley traffic was shared by agreement with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, which, under the presidency of Henry Villard, owned the steamship and railway lines of Oregon.[b] As the time for opening the through route approached the question of Columbia River competition increased in serious aspect. Villard solved the problem through the agency of his famous blind pool,[c] which still stands remarkable in railway finance. With the proceeds of the pool he organized the Oregon and Transcontinental as a holding company, and purchased a controlling interest in each of the rival roads. With harmony of plan thus insured, he assumed the presidency of the Northern Pacific in 1881, in time to complete and celebrate the opening of its main line in 1883. He tried to give to this event a national aspect, but there were now four other through lines in operation, and a keen observer remarked that the "mere achievement of laying a continuous rail across the continent has long since been taken out of the realm of marvels, and the country can never feel again the thrill which the joining of the Central and Union Pacific lines gave it."[d]

The land-grant railways completed these eastern connections across the frontier in the period of culmination. Private capital added another in the new route through Denver to Ogden, controlled by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and the Denver and Rio Grande. The Burlington, built along the old Republican River trail to Denver, had competed with the Union Pacific for the traffic of that point in

[a] Smalley, Northern Pacific, 229; Report of the Commissioner of Railroads, 1883, 135–144.

[b] H. Villard, Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier, 1835–1900, II, 284–289; Smalley, Northern Pacific, 258.

[c] Villard, Memoirs, II, 297; Smalley, 269; Henry Clews, Twenty-eight Years of Wall Street, 209–214.

[d] The Nation, September 13, 1883, 215, 218. The celebration was on September 8, and was graced by an oration by W. M. Evarts. (Villard, II, 311.) Villard was somewhat distrusted, Poor remarking that much of the popular reluctance to buy railroad stocks was due to his "visionary schemes of immense magnitude." (Railroad Manual, 1884, introd. iii. See also Railroad Gazette, September 14, 1883, 606; Commercial and Financial Chronicle, September 29, 1883, 331; Engineering News, September 15, 1883, 439; J. W. Johnston, Railway Land Grants, in North American Review, CXL, 280–289.)

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June, 1882.[a] West of Denver the narrow gauge of the Denver and Rio Grande had been advancing since 1870.

Gen. William J. Palmer and a group of Philadelphia capitalists had, in 1870, secured a Colorado charter for their Denver and Rio Grande. Started in 1871, it had reached its new settlement and health resort at Colorado Springs that autumn, and had continued south in later years. Like other roads, it had progressed slowly in panic years. In 1876 it had been met at Pueblo by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. From Pueblo it contested successfully with its rival for the grand canyon of the Arkansas,[b] and built up that valley, through the Gunnison country, and across the old Ute Reserve to Grand Junction. From the Utah state line it had been continued to Ogden by the Denver and Rio Grande Western, an allied corporation. A through service to Ogden, inaugurated in the summer of 1883,[c] brought to the Union Pacific for the first time, and for its whole business, a competition which it tried to offset by hurrying its own branches from Ogden, the Utah Northern and the Oregon Short Line, north into the field of the Northern Pacific.

The continental frontier, upon which the first inroad had been made in 1869, was thus completely destroyed in 1884. Along six different lines between New Orleans and St. Paul it had been made possible to cross the sometime American desert to the Pacific States.[d] No longer could any portion of the Republic be considered beyond the reach of colonization. Instead of a waste that forbade national unity and compelled a rudimentary civilization in its presence, a thousand plains stations beckoned for colonists and through lines bound the nation into an economic and political unit. That which General Sheridan had foreseen in 1882 was now a fact. He had written: "As the railroads overtook the successive lines of isolated frontier posts and settlements spread out over country no longer requiring military protection, the army vacated its temporary shelters and marched on into remote regions beyond, there to repeat and continue its pioneer work. In rear of the advancing line of troops the primitive 'dugouts' and cabins of the frontiersmen were steadily replaced by the tasteful houses, thrifty farms, neat villages, and busy towns of a people who knew how best to employ the vast resources of the great West. The civilization from the Atlantic is now reaching out toward that rapidly approaching it from the direction of the Pacific, the long intervening strip of territory, extending from the British possessions to Old Mexico, yearly growing narrower; finally

[a] Poor, Manual, 1883, 694.

[b] Poor, Manual, 1881, 790; 1883, 889; J. C. Smiley, History of Denver, 607.

[c] Railroad Gazette, August 3, 1883, 510; H. H. Bancroft, Utah, 759; Poor, Manual, 1884, 872.

[d] Cf. H. R. Meyer, The Settlements with Pacific Railways, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, XIII, 427–444.

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the dividing lines will entirely disappear and the mingling settlements absorb the remnants of the once powerful Indian nations who, fifteen years ago, vainly attempted to forbid the destined progress of the age."[a] Within two years after this utterance the frontier had finally disappeared, and with it had ended what Professor Turner has called "the first period of American history."

The significance of the frontier in American history has been considered at length in recent years. After 1885 the historical problem is the significance of the disappearance of the frontier. In the change of epochs problems change as well. National organization replaces sectional; state activities tend to give way to federal; corporate organization succeeds individualistic; public regulation supersedes private initiative; and the imperative need for the creation of material equipment is transmuted into an equal necessity for the control of the activities to which the former need gave birth.

[a] Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882, Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan, commanding, Chicago, 1882, 120.

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DISCUSSION OF DOCTOR PAXSON'S PAPER.[a]

By B. H. Meyer.

The paper on the Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier describes the primary waves of a movement, the secondary and tertiary waves of which are still in progress, emanating from the advancing railway systems like waves from a moving steamship.

It is well known that analogies do not walk on all fours. However, I desire to suggest an analogy in the hope that it may clarify and emphasize what I have in mind. The institutions of this country, taken collectively, may be represented by a cable system, each cable having as many separate wires as there are distinct institutions. These cables, like our institutions, extend through many States, the most of them from ocean to ocean and from Gulf to Lakes. For reasons which are generally recognized and which need not be recited here, state lines are convenient if not necessary boundaries of territorial units for investigation. I should like to see a great series of monographs, each covering one institution in one State, corresponding to one strand in the cable, for every State in the Union, which could be turned over to the national historian of our economic and other institutions. With such a huge collection of state sections of wires and cables before him, the national historian would become the grand chief cable-splicer, and he could present to all the world the completed institutional cable system as it has developed and exists throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

Unless a great army of state historians will prosecute its work diligently, we shall never have a complete national history. Railway history illustrates this point. In a general way it is known, for instance, that the inhabitants of certain cities opposed the physical union of continuous lines of railway, during early epochs of railway development, with sledge hammers, pitchforks, scythes, and similar weapons. The grotesque features of this type of mob opposition have been described for a few localities, but anything like a complete description of the events has not come to my notice, although many

[a] Remarks made after the reading of three papers in American economic history, by the chairman of the railroad commission of Wisconsin.

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States doubtless furnish ample material for a chapter on this subject. The historian of our political institutions would doubtless not consider it beneath his dignity to devote a chapter to violence at the polls, like lassoing voters of certain persuasions on election day in western New York during Monroe's administration, but to the historian of our railways the facts referred to are equally interesting, although neither may be of much fundamental importance.

During territorial days and the days of early statehood in Wisconsin numerous localities on Lake Michigan and on the Mississippi River vied with one another to become the termini of the proposed Milwaukee and Mississippi Railway, which was to constitute the first link in the great transcontinental chain. Milwaukee, the present metropolis of this State, was then rebuked for arrogantly assuming leadership when such important places as Belmont and Mineral Point, not to speak of Kenosha, Racine, Sheboygan, on Lake Michigan, Prairie du Chien, Potosi, and Snake Hollow, on the Mississippi River, had equal claim, in the opinion of the editors of those places, to the distinction of being leading towns in Wisconsin. The ambition of those days was not always limited by the facts of geography and actual possibilities of immediate development. A primitive editor of Fond du Lac held out to his readers the vision of teas and spices coming directly from China and Japan, which he regarded as a part of the West, over the transcontinental railway, which he desired to have constructed along the northern route. The real rivalry among our southern, middle, and northern transcontinental railways of to-day was then a theoretical rivalry of subjective possibilities of competing localities interested in their respective routes. Horace Greeley entered into the discussion of the relative merits of these routes, and in one editorial he strikes the climax of his argument by practically ignoring all others except the fact that the circumference of the earth in the higher latitudes is much smaller than at the equator and southern latitudes, and that therefore any man with the sense of a schoolboy might know that the northern route was the most desirable one. Incidentally it should be observed that this early dream of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railway being a link in a transcontinental chain is being realized to-day in the Pacific coast extension of the St. Paul System, of which the old Milwaukee and Mississippi has long been a part. During the present month of December the track has been marching westward at the rate of 2 miles and over per day. Secondary waves of frontier life are accompanying this march. While the frontier has gone, it is still here. The primary frontier has disappeared. The secondary frontier is the wave of conquest of our national resources on whose crest the frontiersman, of a different type, perhaps, but still a frontiersman, reigns supreme. That frontier still exists if we may rely upon the

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accounts of the men who are sharing that life. Those of our honored members who come from the ancient East, which once was the United States, and which for some years thereafter continued to play a predominating rôle in our national life, may not appreciate that this great West is only beginning to shake off the spray of the Atlantic. The vast empire west of the Mississippi River has not yet been "scratched," and even here in old Wisconsin we are only beginning to lay our permanent foundations. The rivalry of cities, territorial groups, and transportation routes suggested in these remarks represents cable sections which are waiting for the state historian, who in turn must dedicate them to the national historian, provided he himself does not act as chief cable-splicer. Historical accounts of events like these would be as fascinating as the greatest novel.

Another illustration is found in the rivalry between different means of transportation. The introduction of the Conestoga wagon was opposed by the owners of pack horses. Both of these interests united with the interests represented by plank roads, turnpikes, and canals in opposition to the railway. More or less of this rivalry has continued into our own times. Probably every State in the Union has material for a chapter upon this subject, yet in scarcely half a dozen of them has it been collected and wrought into a complete and accurate history. This is an important history—important not only because of the knowledge which it affords regarding our industrial development, but also because of the bearing of this history upon contemporary movements. The revival of our inland waterways has already been made a national issue. Before we enter upon a scheme of internal improvements, involving hundreds of millions of dollars, we should most assuredly inform ourselves with respect to the limitations and possibilities of that scheme. The past throws valuable sidelights upon this subject, both in the United States and in Europe. A mere sentimental appeal to waterways as a regulator of railway rates that would justify undertakings of greatest magnitude is nonsense. Waterways never have regulated railway rates. They have influenced them, sometimes to the extent of demoralization; but to influence is not to regulate. At no time in the history of internal improvements in the United States has it been more vital to obtain a technical basis for our projects than at present. First of all, engineers of highest attainment and absolute integrity must tell us whether a certain project is possible from an engineering standpoint, and as accurately as possible what it will cost to complete it. Next, we must have a careful survey of the commerce of the country with a view of determining how much it may reasonably be expected to gain from the contemplated improvement. Finally, having these facts before us, the people of this country may be left to decide for themselves whether they desire to have a certain improvement undertaken or not. Simply

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to proclaim that we want certain improvements, irrespective of the considerations named, is like wishing to ride in a Pullman coach to a distant planet. I am firmly convinced that this country has never faced a more critical situation with respect to internal improvements than that which is impending. It is to be hoped that State and national historians will unite in bringing to the citizens of this country the true and complete facts of history. Prophetic vision must be utilized not only in arousing enthusiasm for a scheme, but also in putting into proper perspective its limitations.

All of us could, no doubt, add many illustrations of special studies which must be undertaken before our national economic history, at least, can be made complete, and of which the three papers before us are excellent illustrations. I desire, therefore, to repeat that we need special intensive study—monographs, more monographs, and many more monographs—sections of cables for our chief cable-splicers. The monographs suggested all have more or less of a practical bearing, but it should be needless to state that all historical research, whether practical or not, is here referred to. Those special studies which partake of a more practical nature constitute the ground upon which the academic man meets the executive, judicial, administrative, or legislative man. I assume that the aim of our efforts is to learn to know the real world of the past and of the present in order that we may intelligently guide, in so far as guidance is possible, the future. We must look to the academic man and the scholarly publicists not connected with universities, like those represented in the membership of this association, to gather the many threads of the various phases of our national life and focus them upon a specific problem of to-day. Only in this way may we hope to act correctly regarding current questions. "The point of departure as well as the aim of our science is man" was the keynote of Roscher's first course of lectures at the University of Leipzig. Roscher's words are still the best touchstone of economic study. In order to vitalize our study and make it real the academic man and the man of affairs must act in closest cooperation with each other lest there be reared two independent structures, the one that of the academic man, separate and apart from the real world in which we live, and therefore lacking vitality and intrinsic worth, and the other that of the man of affairs, unsymmetrical, crude, and ill-adjusted because it lacks the touch of the hand of full knowledge.

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VIII. THE SENTIMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA WITH RESPECT TO THE CIVIL WAR.

By JOHN J. EARLE.

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THE SENTIMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA WITH RESPECT TO THE CIVIL WAR.

By JOHN JEWETT EARLE.

The attitude and conduct of the government, the press, and the people of the State of California during the momentous epoch of the great American civil war is a theme that has received meager and inadequate treatment. Those writers who have devoted themselves to narrating the story of that conflict have found so much to engross their attention in the events which transpired in those States which were the actual scene of strife, at the national capital, and in the great commercial, industrial, and financial centers of the East that they have overlooked the less portentous incidents which occurred in this far western Commonwealth; while the annalists of California, who have treated so exhaustively the Mission period, the discovery of gold and the consequent mining excitement, the struggle for order and the days of the vigilance committees, the opening of transcontinental railroad communication, the anti-Chinese agitation, and the development of the wonderful material resources of the State, seem also to have neglected and passed over as of little consequence what may be called the " war history " of California. And yet a study of the events of that period will reveal many incidents of interest to one who seeks familiarity with the history of this State, and a few episodes which, as matters of national concern, may not be deemed altogether inconsequential. It will afford few tales of violence, very few of bloodshed, and none at all of battles; but it will disclose the existence of bitter partisan hostility between the supporters of the National Government and the sympathizers with the Confederacy, of newspapers indulging in scurrilous abuse and vituperation of the Government at Washington and those intrusted with its administration, of well-organized secret societies with aims inimical to the Union cause, and of plots to carry the State out of the Union, either for the purpose of establishing an independent republic or with the avowed intention of uniting with the Confederacy,

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plots which were frustrated only by the eternal vigilance of the civil authorities of the State, and the strong arm of the national military forces.

Such interest in a struggle so far distant over issues in which California was not at all concerned may seem remarkable. It might be expected that a Commonwealth separated from the scene of conflict by hundreds of miles of sparsely settled territory and two great mountain ranges, receiving scant, frequently delayed, and often unreliable information as to the progress of the war, absorbed in the upbuilding of her nascent domestic industries, and not vitally interested in the question at stake in the contest, would have held herself aloof from the sectional animosities which were agitating the other side of the continent and would not have permitted the disturbance of her peace and tranquillity by dissension and strife over issues which affected her not. It might be supposed, moreover, that in a State where slavery had been constitutionally prohibited, where the propaganda of states' rights had never had a vital significance, whose people had no grievance against the National Government, and whose young but rapidly expanding interests would seem to have demanded stability rather than change, the population would have been practically a unit in loyalty to the Union cause and a desire to maintain without interruption its connection with the Federal Government. Yet, in spite of these conditions favorable to harmony, the peace and security of certain sections of the State were frequently menaced and occasionally disturbed by the existence and machinations of individuals and organizations in open and avowed sympathy with the South; and the presence of United States troops was found at all times necessary to prevent the outbreak of more serious disturbances.

The explanation of this seemingly anomalous situation is to be found in the cosmopolitan character of the population of the State. Three elements, at least, combined to contribute to the disorder. First, the immigrants from the South, who brought with them their proslavery and states' rights predilections, their love of their former home, and their prejudice against the North, and who, while realizing the futility of attempting to reintroduce slavery into California so long as that State remained a part of the National Government, would gladly have succeeded in effecting her secession from that Government and her union to the proposed slaveholding Southern Confederacy. Second, the adventurous, lawless element—the gambler, the cattle thief, and the desperado—men who had been attracted to California by the excitement and the opportunities of the "days of gold," and who saw better facilities for the pursuit of their vocations in times of commotion than in an era of peace. Third, the native Californians, ignorant, superstitious, bound by no ties to the Government of the Union, easily swayed and led by demagogues and

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intriguers, upon whom the former two classes operated with considerable success. In view of the existence and numerical strength of these elements in her population, it is not surprising that California was the scene of numerous plots and occasional outbreaks of disorder.

The manifestations of disloyal sentiment assumed two distinct phases. The first, having its origin in the year anterior to the commencement of actual hostilities in the East, was the advocacy, in the event of civil war, of the secession of California from the Federal Union and the establishment under her leadership of an independent and soverign Pacific republic; the second, a later development, was an open and avowed sympathy with the cause of the Southern States, attended by occasional overt acts expressive of such sympathy. These manifestations fall naturally into two consecutive periods, the former and more visionary being gradually merged in the latter and more practical as its futility became increasingly apparent.

During the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the war the project of the creation of a Pacific republic provoked considerable discussion in the press of the State, and was enthusiastically advocated by a number of prominent citizens, including United States Senator Milton S. Latham [a] and Hon. John C. Burch [b] and Hon. Charles L. Scott,[c] two members of the California delegation in the National House of Representatives. A number of newspapers of small circulation and inconsiderable influence [d] gave their support to the propaganda of the secessionists,[e] but overt acts on the part of the advocates of a Pacific republic were few and inconsequential and were the manifestations of individual enthusiasm and not the concerted acts of organized bodies.[f]

The project was, however, promptly and emphatically condemned by the accredited representatives of the people in the state legislature, both branches of which adopted the following resolution:

Resolved by the senate, the assembly concurring, That the people of California are devoted to the Constitution and Union of the United States, and will not fail in fidelity and fealty to that Constitution and Union now in the hour

[a] In speech delivered in United States Senate, April 16, 1860. (See Congressional Globe, 1859–60, pp. 1728, 1729.) A few months later, Senator Latham receded from his position in advocacy of the establishment of a Pacific republic. (See San Francisco Herald, Jan. 4, 1861.)

[b] In letter appearing in San Francisco Herald, January 3, 1861.

[c] In communication appearing in San Francisco Herald, January 17, 1861.

[d] Among others, the San Leandro Gazette, the Auburn Signal, and the Sonora Democrat.

[e] The arguments of the advocates of a Pacific republic were generally based upon opposition to the war, the apparent hopelessness of the struggle, the heavy burden of California's share of the enormous expense of the conflict, and the economic advantage to California of a position of neutrality after the Southern States should have succeeded in establishing their independence.

[f] In a few places, for example, Stockton and El Monte, the Bear Flag was raised by ardent advocates of a Pacific republic.

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of trial and peril; that California is ready to maintain the rights and honor of the National Government at home and abroad, and at all times to respond to any requisition that may be made upon her to defend the Republic against foreign or domestic foes.[a]

But many people were not content that the popular sentiment of loyalty should be expressed only by their representatives in the legislature. They desired an opportunity that they might themselves give utterance to their feelings and demonstrate conclusively that the great masses of the population were loyal and devoted to the Union and utterly discountenanced the proposed policy of secession. This feeling was manifested in "Union" mass meetings held throughout the State, in almost every city or town of any consequence and in many of the smaller communities,[b] at which assemblages patriotic speeches were made, national flags raised, resolutions of loyalty to the Government adopted, and Union clubs organized. The sentiment of the loyal majority of the population was so forcibly expressed that the futility of the secession movement was plainly apparent, and within a few months after the outbreak of the war all discussion of a Pacific republic ceased and the project passed into oblivion. Disloyalty was neither extirpated nor silenced, but its expression assumed a new and more dangerous form in the manifestation of sympathy with the Southern States and their cause and the formation of secret societies pledged to aid them in their struggle.

The manifestation of disloyalty appeared in many phases. It found utterance in the columns of a number of newspapers; it was voiced in public speeches, in toasts proposed in barrooms, in prayers offered from the pulpit, in celebrations of Confederate victories, and even in demonstrations of approval of the assassination of President Lincoln; and it took the form of the organization of societies in sympathy with the rebellion, and of open attempts, occasionally successful, to join the forces of the Southern States.

And as the aspects of the expression of unpatriotic feeling were many, so the means employed for the suppression of disloyalty were numerous and varied. The patriotic newspapers endeavored to create and maintain a vigorous public opinion on the side of loyalty; the regular judicial tribunals were sometimes called upon to punish transgressors of the laws against aiding and abetting those in rebellion; occasionally the people took matters into their own hands and discouraged the malcontents, either peaceably, by assembling at

[a] Statutes of California, 1861, p. 686.

[b] At San Francisco nearly 12,000 persons assembled at a Union meeting held on February 22, 1861. It was estimated that at a second meeting of similar character, held May 11, 1861, at least 25,000 were in attendance. (See San Francisco Herald, Feb. 23, 1861, and May 13, 1861.) During the month of May, 1861, the San Francisco newspapers contained reports of Union meetings held at Oakland, San Leandro, San Juan, Marysville, Vallejo, Eureka, Sonora, Los Angeles, Placerville, Weaverville, Napa, Visalia, and numerous smaller towns in various parts of the State.

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Union meetings and thus manifesting the prevalence of a patriotic sentiment which would tolerate no disloyalty, or forcibly, by visiting their displeasure upon some particularly audacious advocate of the cause of the Southern States. But by far the greater portion of this work of preserving order in the State, restraining the expression of hostility to the National Government, and frustrating attempts to afford the Confederates encouragement or assistance was left to the execution of the officers of the United States Army, who dealt with offenders with a stern determination not to tolerate disloyalty, and who were not embarrassed in their proceedings by the delays necessarily incident to the administration of justice in courts of law.

Sympathy with the cause of the Confederates found its most extensive and notorious expression through the news and editorial columns of numerous disloyal newspapers published in the State. It was the constant endeavor of a number of these publications to justify the Southern States in their attempt at secession; to demonstrate the impossibility of the effort to suppress the rebellion; and to render the war odious to the people, by belittling Union successes, by magnifying Union defeats, by preferring the most unfounded and absurd accusations of incompetence and dishonesty against the commanders and officers of the Union armies, and by indulging in the most vehement and bitter denunciation and vituperation of the President of the United States and his immediate advisers.[a] These utterances, tending, as they did, to engender distrust in the National Government, and to discourage enlistments in its armies, finally aroused the indignation, both of the military authorities and of the loyal people of the State; and the displeasure of both was visited upon a number of such papers. The editors of the Visalia Equal Rights Expositor and the Los Angeles Star were arrested and detained in custody for some time by the military authorities on account of the publication in the columns of their papers of objectionable articles;[b]

[a] The Visalia Equal Rights Expositor, September 6, 1862, referred to "the present ruinous, unrighteous, and unholy war;" October 18, 1862, characterized President Lincoln as "a narrow-minded bigot, an unprincipled demagogue, and a driveling, idiotic, imbecile creature;" December 13, 1862, denounced the President, his Cabinet, and Congress as "the most tyrannical and corrupt crew that ever polluted the earth with their presence;" and, referring to the emancipation proclamation, October 25, 1862, declared: "He will put a torch into the hands of every servant to burn down his master's house, a dagger in the grip of every footboy to stab to the heart the mistress that has given him food and shelter, a knife into the nurse's clutch to cut the throats of the children in her charge. * * * Carry the war not into the camp, the fortress, the river, and field, but into the fireside and the kitchen; teach every dependent to betray his employer, every menial to be an assassin, every footman to become a footpad." The Marysville Appeal, in September, 1861, referred to "a whining, running army that has disgraced our flag, lowered our cause, and dishonored republican chivalry all over the earth." The San Jose Tribune, in October, 1861, inquired: "How long will they (the American people) show themselves insensible to the galling military despotism that now tries to subvert our liberties and reduce us to a bondage more intolerable than that of the Ryots of India or the Boors of Indria?" Many other quotations might be given.

[b] Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, pt. 2, p. 277.

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these two newspapers, together with a number of others,[a] were denied the privilege of transmission by mail or express within the limits of the Department of the Pacific by General Wright, the commander of that department, on the ground of "treasonable utterances;" the office and equipment of the Visalia Equal Rights Expositor were completely destroyed by a party of soldiers who had been exasperated by the persistent support given by that paper to the rebellion;[b] in San Francisco an infuriated mob,[c] its passions aroused by the intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln, attacked and demolished the offices of six newspapers[d] which had for some time advocated the cause of the Southern States, opposed the policies of the Lincoln Administration, and indulged in personal abuse of the President; following this attack, General McDowell, commander of the Department of the Pacific, explaining his previous toleration of the papers on the ground of his aversion to the exercise of arbitrary military authority, caused the seizure, in the name of the United States, of the offices of four[e] of the publications.

The number of disloyal newspapers was never great; the patriotic papers were much more numerous, more extensively circulated, and more influential. After the issue of union or disunion had been squarely presented, and hostilities had been actually commenced, many formerly Democratic organs[f] gave the Federal Government their hearty and unwavering support and equalled the Republican journals in unsparing denunciation of the disloyal press.

The continued and persistent publication of the unpatriotic newspapers, however, in spite of the unmistakable preponderance of popular feeling in condemnation of their opinions and policies, and their wide circulation, notwithstanding the obstacles which the military authorities sought to interpose, indicate that there was an extensive demand for and approbation of the expression of such sentiments as were to be found in their columns, and that their opinions were approved and their utterances welcomed by those who subscribed for, and thus encouraged the publication of, such journals.

Not less intemperate and reckless than the criticisms and strictures of their newspapers was the speech of many of the disloyalists. A number of men prominent in public life suffered on account of imprudent remarks. The Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott, pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church in San Francisco, shocked many of his congre-

[a] The Stockton Argus, the Stockton Democrat, the San Jose Tribune, and the Visalia Post. See Marysville Appeal, March 1, 1862; San Francisco Alta, September 17, 1862; Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, pt. 2, p. 456.

[b] Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, pt. 2, p. 341.

[c] See full account in San Francisco Alta, April 16, 1865.

[d] The Democratic Press, the Monitor, the Echo du Pacifique, the News Letter, the Occidental, and L'Union Américaine.

[e] The first four named in note.[d]

[f] Among others, the Napa Reporter and the Mariposa Gazette, the latter an advocate of the election of Breckinridge.

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gation and offended all loyal citizens by repeatedly offering prayer for the two presidents and vice-presidents in the United States, and by other indiscreet public utterances of similar import. On Monday, September 16, 1861, at a meeting of the California Presbytery, he delivered an exceptionally offensive speech;[a] and on the following Sunday there occurred a popular demonstration of disapproval of such magnitude and of such threatening aspect[b] that the reverend gentleman deemed it expedient to resign his pulpit and depart from the city, in which, prior to the outbreak of the war, he had commanded universal respect and considerable influence. Judge James H. Hardy, of the sixteenth judicial district of the State, comprising the counties of Amador and Calaveras, was, in 1862, impeached by the assembly for utterances of sentiments of disloyalty and hostility to the Government of the United States and of sympathy with the Southern Confederacy;[c] and, after a protracted trial by the state senate, he was duly convicted by a vote of 24 "Guilty" to 12 "Not guilty," the penalty imposed being removal from his office.[d] Hon. C. L. Weller, chairman of the Democratic state committee, was arrested and detained in custody for some time by the military authorities on account of an incendiary address delivered by him at a political meeting in San Francisco during the presidential campaign of 1864; he was the most prominent of a large number of persons who were similarly treated during the course of the war for

[a] "Jefferson Davis," he declared, "is no usurper; he is as much a President as Abraham Lincoln is." Again, "There is no such thing as rebellion in this country, but only rightful revolution." Again, "Jefferson Davis is no more a traitor than George Washington was a traitor." (See San Francisco Alta and Marysville Appeal, September 19, 1861.)

[b] An effigy bearing the inscription "Dr. Scott, the Traitor" was hanged in the vicinity of his church. A crowd of two or three thousand people surrounded the entrance to the church, and hissed and hooted Doctor Scott as he entered and left the edifice. But for excellent police protection, it is probable that he would have been roughly treated. (See San Francisco Herald, September 23, 1861, and San Francisco Alta of same date.) The more conservative element of the population and the press regretted the incident.

[c] The following are the objectionable expressions referred to in the articles of impeachment and supported by evidence at the trial: A toast: "Here is to Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy." Nocturnal "Huzzas" for Jeff Davis. A reference to the flag of the United States: "That is an old woman's rag, and ought to be torn down." A toast: "Here is to the Stars and Stripes; as to the Constitution, there is none; the Constitution is gone to hell." A remark immediately after the adjournment of his court: "My court has adjourned, and I am now off the bench; my mother was born in the South, and I am a rebel, and I don't care a damn who knows it." A toast: "Gentlemen, I will give you the perpetuation of a Southern confederacy, and the sovereignty of Jeff Davis; and may his name be perpetuated in the same light they hold the immortal Washington." A public declaration: That he was a secessionist; and that, if a foreigner should come before him, holding the same sentiments that he entertained as a man toward the Constitution and Government of the United States, and applied for citizenship, he, as a judge, would not admit him to citizenship. Most of these remarks were made while the speaker was considerably under the influence of liquor.

[d] "Guilty" 17 Republicans, 7 Union Democrats; "Not guilty" 5 Union Democrats, 7 Breckinridge Democrats. Two Union Democrats who voted "Guilty" voted against the penalty of removal from office. A full report of the impeachment proceedings is to be found in Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, 1862, thirteenth session, part 2.

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the manifestation of disloyalty in many phases, the offense most frequently charged being the use of "treasonable language." The assassination of President Lincoln was made the occasion of public rejoicing by disaffected persons in various parts of the State, and numerous arrests by the military authorities followed.[a]

In general, the punishment of such prisoners was not severe. It consisted of a short confinement in a military prison, the administration of an oath of allegiance to the National Government, and, sometimes, the exaction of a bond as security for future good behavior. But the promptness and the certainty with which the penalty was inflicted, together with the possibility of the exercise of greater severity, were universally recognized and respected, and undoubtedly exerted a powerful deterrent influence upon many sympathizers with the Confederates, whose feelings, if unrestrained, would have found expression in treasonable speech and conduct; and the interference of the military authorities was generally acknowledged, alike by its supporters and by its opponents, to have been the most potent factor in repressing demonstrations by the disaffected and in preserving peace and order throughout the State.

Attempts of individuals and small parties from California to join the army of the Confederate States occasioned the officers of the United States army in California no little annoyance. Such attempts were occasionally successful, notwithstanding the vigilant surveillance of the officials, but a number of such efforts were frustrated. The most important instance was the capture, November 29, 1861, in San Bernardino County, by Major Rigg, of a party of 17 armed men, commanded by a notorious and violent secessionist named Dan Showalter, who were traveling in the direction of Texas, presumably with the intention of joining the Confederate forces in that State. No positive incriminatory evidence could be produced against any of the party, however, and after a confinement of some months its members were released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States.[b] Showalter subsequently succeeded in reaching Texas and enlisted in the Confederate army, in the service of which he ultimately attained the rank of colonel.

In March, 1863, in the harbor of San Francisco, a most daring attempt was made to equip the schooner *J. M. Chapman* for service as a Confederate privateer. A large quantity of cannon, arms, and munitions of war was secreted on board, a crew of twenty men was provided, letters of marque issued by Jefferson Davis were obtained, and an effort was made to have the vessel clear for Mexico under the pretence of conveying a cargo of machinery. On the eve of her

[a] Arrests were made at Colusa, Green Valley, Sacramento, Stockton, San Jose, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and numerous other places.

[b] Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, part 1, pp. 33 et seq., 699, 701, 704, 762–764.

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departure the suspicions of the military authorities were aroused, the vessel was seized and subjected to a rigorous search, and her true character and the intentions of her crew became at once apparent. Three members[a] of the party were subsequently brought to trial in the United States circuit court, before Judge Field, on the charge of "assisting, aiding, and comforting the existing rebellion against the United States," were duly convicted by a jury, and were sentenced to pay a fine of $10,000 each and to suffer imprisonment for a term of ten years.[b] After a few months' confinement, however, they secured their freedom by virtue of a proclamation issued by President Lincoln offering pardon upon certain conditions to certain classes of participants in the rebellion.[c]

A thorough and searching inquiry into the operations and purposes of the *Chapman* conspirators was conducted by the Federal authorities, and the evidence then adduced, corroborated by the discoveries of special investigators in other sections of the State, confirmed widely circulated and credited rumors by establishing conclusively the existence, theretofore strongly suspected, of well-organized secret associations of enemies of the National Government and sympathizers with the Confederate States. Two of these bodies, the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Knights of the Columbian Star, extended their ramifications into various parts of the State and possessed considerable numerical strength, their combined membership being estimated at several thousand persons.[d] Their organization was complex, there being small local lodges in various cities and towns, and a representative system of government by delegates for larger districts; the initiatory ceremonies and the system of grips and passwords were elaborate; the oaths were impressive and binding; the objects were hostile to the cause of the Union and inimical to the internal peace of California. In certain localities, where the popular feeling in their favor preponderated, they were a constant menace to the maintenance of law and order. Such associations were undoubtedly responsible for many of the disorders and outbreaks of disloyalty heretofore noticed, notably the *Chapman* episode. But they were at all times held in restraint, their projects were rendered abortive, and they were compelled to keep their proceedings shrouded in secrecy, in most places by the prevalence of an overwhelming public sentiment of abhorrence to such societies and

[a] Ridgley Greathouse, Asbury Harpending, and Alfred Rubery.

[b] Daily reports of the trial were published in the San Francisco Alta from September 29 to October 13, 1863.

[c] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. VI, p. 213.

[d] Detailed descriptions of these bodies and accounts of their proceedings can be found in Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, part 1, pp. 496, 556, 629, 759, 879; part 2, pp. 107, 130, 453, 521, 930, 938, 1018. The oaths are given in full at part 1, p. 556, and part 2, p. 938. What purport to be oaths subscribed by members of the *Chapman* crew were published in the San Francisco Alta of March 17, 1868.

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their aims, and in the few places where sympathy with the South was in the ascendancy by the constant presence and the unremitting diligence of the military authorities.

With reference to the geographical distribution of the disloyal element of the population of the State, it is to be noted that in the northern counties demonstrations of hostility to the National Government were infrequent, that such proceedings of the disaffected as were reported were not of sufficient magnitude to create alarm, and that any great proportion of the inhabitants entertained unpatriotic number or any secret organizations of unpatriotic citizens in that section of the State; that in the city of San Francisco, while there were occasional expressions of disloyalty, there were no indications that any great proportion of the inhabitants entertained unpatriotic sentiments or approved the manifestation of such sentiments elsewhere; but that in many of the southern counties the sympathizers with the Confederacy constituted a large and important part of the population, amounting in some sections to an actual majority, and that a large proportion of the entire population of southern California was permeated with a spirit of hostility to the Federal Government and of devotion to the Southern States.[a] At Visalia, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles the numerical strength and activity of the disloyalists occasioned much disquietude and alarm among the patriotic citizens and afforded frequent opportunities for interposition by the Federal troops, while San Bernardino appears to have been the principal stronghold of the secessionists in California.

The popular vote at national and state elections always indicated the existence of a substantial majority of loyal citizens. In the presidential election of 1860, 38,374 votes were cast for Lincoln, 38,023 for Douglas, 9,136 for Bell (a total Union vote of 85,893), while Breckinridge polled 33,975. In the gubernatorial contest of 1861 Stanford (Republican) received 56,036, Conness (Union Democrat), 30,944 (a total Union vote of 86,980), and McConnell (Breckinridge Democrat), 32,751. Two years later the vote for governor stood: Low (Union) 64,283 and Downey (Democrat) 44,622. In 1864 Lincoln received 62,141 votes for President, and McClellan 43,838.

Briefly to recapitulate: The position of California as a State throughout the civil war was one of loyalty to the Union; a considerable majority of her citizens approved of the course of the Lincoln administration in the prosecution of the war, and in the measures adopted to insure the success of the Federal Government; the opposition was numerically strong in some localities, especially in the

[a] Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. L, part 1, pp. 477, 496, 549, 554, 564, 565, 614, 629, 664, 878, 879, 997; part 2, pp. 236, 886, 447, 448, 453, 707, 927, 945, 955, 1219.

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southern counties, and was well organized with purposes inimical to the Government and the loyal population; the earliest manifestation of disloyal sentiment, the Pacific republic programme, was promptly discountenanced and disavowed, never assumed dangerous proportions, and was soon abandoned; the later expression, appearing in the form of sympathy with the Confederate States, was much more serious and occasionally threatened the peace and security of the State, but was effectually restrained by the preponderating popular feeling of loyalty, by the patriotism of the state officers, and by the prompt and decisive action of the national military authorities. After the hostilities in the East had ceased, even the bitterest opponents of the war and the most ardent sympathizers with the Confederacy must have rejoiced that California had been spared the horrors of civil strife; and in a few brief years all sectional animosities were put aside, the bitter enmities of the war times were forgotten, and the citizens of the State, Republicans and Democrats alike, were again working unitedly and harmoniously for the development of her natural resources and the promotion of her material prosperity.

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IX. THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO LATIN AMERICA.

By BERNARD MOSES,
Professor in the University of California.

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THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO LATIN AMERICA.

By Bernard Moses.

The relation of the United States to Latin America has been, to a certain extent, conditioned by the hereditary antagonism of the English and Spanish peoples. The English consciousness of being right, a consciousness that has characterized all dominant nations, has made Englishmen and their descendants careless of the ideals, aspirations, and social forms of the Spaniards and the Portuguese. They have sought to trade with them, whether in the Peninsula or in America, but they have not sought to understand them. When the Spanish colonists went toward the south and the English colonists toward the north the two branches of these peoples moved farther than ever apart. Our ancestors here in the north, left largely to themselves, became absorbed in the undertakings of their new circumstances. Their horizon shrank to the limits of their colonial existence. Their only far outlook was heavenward. The great colonial experiment which Spain was making on this continent lay beyond the reach of their vision. They forgot there was another people facing a practical problem similar to that which stood before them. Their forgetfulness and their ignorance of their neighbors' plans have become hereditary and have descended to this latest generation. We have studied the history of the English colonies and of the independent nation that succeeded them, and called it American history, apparently forgetting that, under this programme, half of American history was neglected.

In the isolation of our colonial or frontier civilization, with the mind intently fixed on the political organizations that were taking shape under the influence of the essential equality of our material conditions, it was natural that our ancestors, with somewhat of the mental narrowness and intolerance of successful reformers, should have been willing to leave out of view all social enterprises but their own. Thus, as a nation, we became advocates of a limited range of political ideas and seemed to believe in the universal applicability and universal efficacy of those ideas. In this frame of mind it did not seem important to know what Spain was doing; and the persistence of our ancestors' ignorance has been a principal factor in determining the relations between the United States and the republics of the south.

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Out of our ignorance have sprung false and unfriendly judgments. We have scoffed at their revolutions and made sport of their efforts to maintain republican institutions. We have had a certain intolerant pride in comparing the political results attained here and there, without properly estimating the difficulties to be overcome in the two cases. Our traditions derived from England made for political liberty. The predominance of agriculture as the common occupation of the colonial period and the essential equality of the inhabitants as to their wealth made democracy and democratic institutions not only possible, but even inevitable. The democratic institutions of the colonies and of the United States in the early decades grew out of our democratic society as naturally as a plant springs up and flourishes in its proper soil; and their appearance illustrates the fact that the form of the society practically determines the form of government that will be maintained in that society.

In sharp contrast with the English colonies, the colonizing Spaniards carried to the New World the traditions and even the form of a very different society. Practically all the forces, military, religious, political, that make for absolutism had operated in Spain; and the King sought to reproduce in America the society of Spain, with its titled nobility, its rigid hierarchy of ecclesiastics, and its economic monopolies. The society which thus took form was not democratic; it was a monarchical society, a society adapted to a monarchical form of government, a society in which all the traditions and unconscious tendencies went to the perpetuation of some form of monarchical rule. The English colonists moved forward, in the work of organizing governments, in the direction pointed out by their traditions, and created a government adapted to the form and spirit of their society. There was no conflict between their conscious purposes and the inherent tendencies manifest in the life of the colonies. The Spanish colonies, on the other hand, under the influence of the doctrine and example of the young republic of the north, and moved by the "rights of man" as proclaimed in France, formed a conscious purpose with respect to their governments directly at variance with the form which the forces involved in their society tended to produce. They consciously determined to found and maintain republics when all their traditions urged some form of monarchy.

The political development of the United States has generally proceeded along the line of least resistance. Our political fate has been determined by our inheritance and our environment. The inhabitants of the southern republics, on the other hand, have had an ideal the realization of which was not furthered by their inheritance, their environment, or their European associations. In the pursuit of this ideal, they have made a series of efforts to erect democratic governments on the basis of a monarchical society; and for two generations they have carried on a struggle against the inherent force of their

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traditions. In the course of this struggle revolution has succeeded revolution, often resulting in the establishment of some form of absolute rule; and the people, without the experience necessary for successful self-government, have been obliged to gather around one leader after another and submit to his monarchical authority. Thus while the inhabitants of the United States have been carried along by all the forces of their society, the people of Latin America, in approaching the point for which they set out, have had to swim against the current; yet through all the political storms of the last century they have persisted in the heroic determination to keep their states republics.

The fundamental differences observed in the history of these two peoples constitute the ground of their mutual misunderstandings. They are mutually repelled, moreover, by their unlike manners. The first effect to be noted in colonial life, as compared with the continued growth of the parent nation, is the arrested development of the community, which lasts until the colony acquires a sufficient population to give it national standing and a distinct social individuality. With this idea in mind, one is not surprised to find in some of the less populous Latin-American States, in the majority of them in fact, the point of view and the manners of Europeans in the eighteenth century, a disposition to lay great stress on a careful observance of somewhat elaborate forms of social intercourse. The inhabitants of the United States have, however, advanced beyond the period of colonial stagnation, and, with a certain disregard of form in their social intercourse, they find it difficult justly to appreciate a people that emphasizes the importance of the ceremonious side of conduct. The Latin-Americans, on the other hand, probably fail rightly to understand, and are likely to underestimate, a people to whom the qualities of the bully and the bluffer are especially attractive.

These familiar facts indicate some of the grounds of the unsympathetic relations that have existed between the United States and the Latin-American republics. To many persons it has not seemed important to know the real character of these republics or to inquire by what course they have come to their point of view. Such knowledge may not be necessary in the management of our purely domestic affairs, but in all acts that concern the inhabitants of Latin America it is desirable to know that they approach all political questions with minds on which many features of eighteenth-century thought and life still exert a powerful influence. Consciousness of superior strength may dispose us to pursue short and direct methods, perhaps in some cases abrupt methods, when a more considerate and respectful interchange of views would do less violence to their sentiments and be equally effective for our purposes. In fact, an understanding of their point of view would very naturally suggest this course as more likely

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than any other to lead to the desired end. If a diplomatic representative of the United States, in the presence of his colleagues, expresses to a minister of a small Latin-American nation his contempt for him, as has been done recently, war will not ensue, but the larger nation will not thereby have brought itself into more friendly relations with its weak neighbor. Twentieth-century abruptness in the presence of the formal politeness of the eighteenth century does not make for international harmony.

With some knowledge of the inhabitants of Latin America, of their view point, and of the elements of conduct on which they are inclined to lay stress, one may easily see that a certain carelessness on the part of the United States officials living among them would be readily misinterpreted. One may see, moreover, that this carelessness would be accepted to signify a lack of respect for the sentiments of those around them or an indifference that might be attributed to a consciousness of representing a superior power. But the basis of misunderstandings like this is merely the different attitudes of the two peoples toward the forms of social intercourse.

These two great groups have been kept apart, moreover, by the fact that as colonists their interests, economic and social, have run back over lines along which they or their ancestors have migrated. It is a general rule governing colonies that their chief foreign relations are established along these lines. Individual persons refer back to members of their families in the mother country. Traders keep up connections with the producers and the merchants of their own people, because their customers make demands for wares they have habitually used. Colonial trade runs naturally along national lines and not readily across them.

This tendency, in the instances under consideration, has been strengthened by the use of different languages in the two groups, and especially by the fact that neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese language is either a language of diplomacy or a language in which the important results of modern scientific or historical investigations are published. Neither is a language that we have to know in order to keep ourselves fully informed of the intellectual activities and progress of the world. The traditional prejudice with which we started has been intensified in the course of the history of civilization on this continent until at last a real practical problem has appeared, the problem of establishing and maintaining better relations between the United States and Latin America. In the solution of this problem there is something the scholar may do. Both in the North and in the South he can render an important service by helping to remove the ignorance of his countrymen with respect to their neighbors, specifically by contributing to the publication of a series of monographs on topics involving phases of the history, politics, or social conditions of one or another of the neighboring countries.

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X. LEGAZPI AND PHILIPPINE COLONIZATION.

By JAMES A. ROBERTSON,
Of Madison, Wis.

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LEGAZPI AND PHILIPPINE COLONIZATION.

By JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The most important result in the Orient of the Magalhães expedition, as succeeding centuries proved, was the discovery, in 1521, of the Archipelago of San Lazaro.[a] The two following Spanish expeditions of Loaisa and Saavedra, in 1525 and 1527, directed also, like their predecessor, to the rich spice-bearing Moluccas, cruised among, or gathered information regarding, various islands of the above group.[b] The exploration and colonization of these islands, known also under the somewhat vague appellation of "Western Islands,"[c] because reached by sailing west, were among the objects of the Villalobos expedition dispatched in 1542.[d] This expedition was distinctly ordered not to touch at the Moluccas,[e] in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Zaragoza, negotiated with Portugal in 1529. Almost the only positive result of this expedition was the bestowal of the name "Filipinas" (Philippines) on the Archipelago of San Lazaro, or the Western Islands, in honor of Felipe, then prince of Asturias, and later Felipe II of Spain.[f]

[a] The first name given to the Philippines by Magalhães because of their discovery on the Sabbath of St. Lazarus (March 17). According to the MS. known as the "Roteiro," the archipelago was also called "Vall Sem Periguo" ("Valley without Peril"). See Robertson's Magellan's Voyage Around the World, by Pigafetta (Cleveland, 1906), I, pp. 99, 105, 250; and Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898 (Cleveland, 1903–1908), XXXIII, pp. 103, 109, 324.

[b] For details of these two voyages see Navarrete, Colección de Viages (Madrid, 1837), V, pp. 5–190, with publication of original documents, pp. 193–498. These documents are very briefly synopsized in B. and R. (Blair and Robertson, op. cit.), II, pp. 23–43.

[c] Similarly the islands of the Far East were called the "Eastern Islands" by the Portuguese, who reached them by rounding the Cape of Good Hope.

[d] For details of the Villalobos expedition see Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía, V, pp. 117–209, XIV, pp. 151–165; and Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar, II, pp. 1–94. These documents are briefly outlined in B. and R., II, pp. 48–73.

[e] Y por que entre nos y el serenisimo Rey de Portugal, * * * hay ciertos asientos y capitulaciones cerca de la demarcacion y repartimiento de las Indias, é tambien sobre las Islas de los Malucos y especeria, vos mando que lo guardeis como en ella se contiene, y que no toqueis en cosa que pertenezca al serenisimo Rey. (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 19. See also B. and R., II, p. 54). This is a clear proof of assumption that the islands later known as the Philippines lay within the Spanish demarkation.

[f] Y porque habia pocos bastimentos con que fuese, se acordó que fuese la galeota á unas islas por donde habia andado, que llamamos Felipinas, del nombre de nuestro bien aventurado Principe, las cuales decian que eran muy bastecidas, y allí se comprasen bastimentos. "Relacion del viaje que hizo desde la Nueva-España á las islas del Poniente Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, por orden del Virey D. Antonio de Mendoza," by Garcia Descalante Alvarado, in Doc. Inéd. Amér. y. Ocean., V, p. 127. The name seems first to have been applied only to the group of the Visayas Islands, and was later extended to the entire archipelago.

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After the ill-fated Villalobos expedition no move was made by Spain to explore or colonize the Philippine Islands until the preparation and dispatch of the Legazpi expedition.[a] In this revived project Felipe was impelled by the hope of the riches to be acquired, by the glory of the extension of the Spanish name, and by the extension (to use the phraseology of the day) of the only true faith. The right of colonization and conquest rested, as in America, on the bulls of Alexander VI.[b] These bulls, with the later definitions of the Spanish-Portuguese negotiations,[c] empowered Spain to explore and colonize any heathen lands lying within its demarkation. The only proviso was the obligation to evangelize. The rights of the natives were not considered. The fact that they were not Christians deprived them of all right. The boon of the gospel, it was believed, far outweighed the hardships incident to their conquest.

The colonization of the Philippines offers some parallel to the Spanish-Portuguese struggle over parts of Brazil and adjacent territory. It was the colonization by Spain of territory lying within the demarcation of Portugal.[d] Just as it had been assumed at the time of the Villalobos expedition that the Western Islands belonged to Spain, so now, in the final instructions given to Legazpi, the Philippines were assumed to lie within Spain's demarcation, notwithstanding Urdaneta's protest that they were Portuguese territory.[e]

New Spain, by its favorable location and its Atlantic and South Sea ports, naturally became the fitting out place for the expedition; and, accordingly, Felipe II, after some previous correspondence

[a] B. and R., II, pp. 77–160, contains a résumé of the Legazpi documents of Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II and III. See also B. and R., II and III, for many documents touching the Legazpi expedition. These latter documents were translated from specially made transcripts of the originals, which exist for the most part in the Archivo General de Indias. The preparations for the Legazpi expedition extended from September 24, 1559, until the departure from Puerto de la Navidad, November 21, 1564.

[b] An English translation of these bulls will be found in B. and R., I.

[c] The Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494; the Compact of 1495. (See B. and R., I.)

[d] See Moses, Establishment of Spanish Rule in America (New York and London, 1898), pp. 208–218. In the negotiations between Spain and Portugal in 1776 at Paris over the South American boundaries use was made of the account of the negotiations between Legazpi and the Portuguese officer Pereira over Cebú and the Philippines in 1568. (B. and R., II, p. 329, note 115.)

[e] See these instructions (September 1, 1564) in Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 145–200 (synopsized in B. and R., II, pp. 89–100). The instructions are very explicit (p. 161): "Hareis vuestra Navegacion en demanda y descubrimiento de las Islas del Poniente ácia los Malucos, sin que por via, ni manera alguna entreis en las Islas de los dichos Malucos porque no se contravenga al asiento que Su Magestad tiene tomado con el Serenisimo Rey de Portugal, si no en otras Islas que están comarcanas á ellas, asi como son las Filipinas, y otras que están fuera del dicho asiento, y dentro de la demarcacion de S. M. * * *." This statement was made notwithstanding Urdaneta's communication to Felipe, May 28, 1560, that "It is clear and evident that the Filipina Island [i. e., Mindanao] is not only within the terms of the treaty [of Zaragoza], but the point running eastward from this said island lies in the meridian of the Malucos, and the greater part of the said island lies farther west than the meridian of Maluco." Consequently, the only excuse of the Spanish fleet, according to Urdaneta, to enter the waters of Mindanao and neighboring islands was the pious reason of the redemption of captives. (B. and R., II, pp. 81, 82. See also Velasco's letter to Felipe, of May 28, 1560, B. and R., II, p. 79.)

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touching the matter of exploration and colonization, ordered Viceroy Luis de Velasco, in 1559, to prepare and dispatch an expedition for the exploration of the Western Islands toward the Moluccas.[a] As in previous expeditions, the primary motives were to share in the huge profits of the spice trade and establish the return route from the Orient, in order that communication with the new colony to be established might be secure.[b]

The appointment of the Augustinian, Andrés de Urdaneta, as chief navigator of the expedition was in every way suitable. He was a trained mathematician, astronomer, and cosmographer. After serving with distinction as captain in the Italian and German wars, he had, at the age of 27, and already esteemed for his knowledge in the above sciences, accompanied Loaisa's expedition of 1525 to the Moluccas.[c] Compelled by the disasters that overtook that expedition to remain in the Orient until 1536, he had acquired a knowledge of eastern waters and lands in advance of any Spaniard of his time. Although offered the generalship of the Villalobos expedition of 1542, he had refused it, and ten years later professed as an Augustinian at the convent in the City of Mexico.[d] His appointment by the King was made at Velasco's suggestion;[e] and Urdaneta, notwithstanding his advanced age and the threatened hardships of the voyage, accepted the post.

The appointment of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to the supreme command of the expedition seems to have been largely due to Urdaneta's influence. Velasco, in a letter of February 9, 1561, says: "As leader and chief of the men who are to accompany them, * * * I have appointed Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. * * * It is believed that none other more suitable and more to the liking of Friar Andres de Hurdaneta, who is to have charge of the direction and guidance of the expedition, could have been chosen, for they are natives of the same place, and relatives and friends, and act in unison.[f]

Like Juan Sebastian del Cano, who brought the sole surviving ship of the Magalhães expedition safe home to Spain, Legazpi was a native of the smallest of all Spanish provinces, Guipúzcoa. Fronting on the Bay of Biscay, and hemmed in by the Cantabrian Mountains on the south, this Basque province, by its very nature, is fit place for a race of hardy, courageous men, men faithful to their duty, and possessed of the determination and energy demanded by great deeds.

[a] B. and R., II, pp. 78, 79.

[b] From the outset, the colonization of the Philippines was a step beyond the idea of pure conquest. It was a distinct colonization scheme, providing conditions proved favorable; and the instructions to Legazpi (op. cit.) contain directions on the necessity of cultivating friendship with the natives and establishing trade with them.

[c] See the synopsis of Urdaneta's relation of the Loaisa expedition in B. and R., II, pp. 33–35. The original relation is in Navarrete, V, pp. 401–439.

[d] B. and R., II, p. 79.

[e] B. and R., II, p. 80.

[f] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 116, 117.

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Of an ancient noble family, which in Spain is perhaps equivalent to saying that he was of good middle-class stock, Legazpi, in common with many of his immediate fellow-countrymen, is said to have followed the sea in his early youth. If Velasco is correct in his letter above cited, Legazpi went to Mexico about 1532,[a] some ten years before the departure of the ill-omened Villalobos expedition, and about eight before the final departure of Cortés for Spain. There he became one of the wealthy landholders, and was numbered among the foremost citizens, becoming, indeed, chief clerk or notary of the municipal cabildo. His fidelity is commended highly: "He has acquitted himself well of the duties in his charge, and in the matters of importance entrusted to him." Of immense advantage to him in the Philippines must have been his acquaintance with the early Audiencias and the vice-regal government of New Spain.[b] In acknowledgment of the appointment, his acceptance is indicative of the man: "Consequently, in the service of Your Majesty, after I have wound up all my affairs in this country, I shall do what is ordered me with the care and fidelity that I owe, and that I hope for from God our Lord."[c]

Not until November, 1564, owing to the many delays, was the expedition ready to sail, and even then it was inadequately prepared. The final instructions were issued by the Audiencia because of Velasco's death.[d] To this body is due the fact that the expedition was directed to the Philippines instead of to New Guinea, as ordered by Velasco, in accordance with Urdaneta's statement that the Philippines lay within Portugal's demarcation and could be legally entered by Spaniards only for the ransom of captives and for reprovisioning the fleet.[e] Had a colony been planted in New Guinea

[a] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 116, says of Legazpi: "De la casa de lezcano de hedad de cinquenta años y mas de veynte y nuebe que esta en esta nueba españa." Navarrete in his Biblioteca Marítima, II, p. 492, says that Legazpi was 59 years old at the time of the departure of the fleet in 1564. The latter age seems preferable to the former (52 at the time of departure), as Legazpi had adult grandchildren at the time of the expedition (namely Felipe and Juan de Salcedo, the latter of whom overran much of Luzón and adjacent islands before his early death).

[b] The Audiencia of Mexico was created December 13, 1527. The commission of the first viceroy was given at Barcelona, April 17, 1535.

[c] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 139; and B. and R., II, pp. 87, 88.

[d] See ante, p. 147, note [b]. Velasco died July 31, 1564.

[e] In a memorial by Urdaneta in 1561 on the best route to be followed in the expedition, it is taken for granted that the island of New Guinea is the objective point, and elaborate directions are given for the discovery of that island. (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 130–132.) The Audiencia of Mexico, in a letter to Felipe, September 12, 1564, informing him of the change in route says: "It seemed to this royal Audiencia, discussing and communicating in this regard with persons of experience, who have been in those regions, that, although it be true that the discovery of New Guinea would be important, especially if the riches asserted should be found there, it is not fitting that the voyage thither be made now—both because, as it is new, it has not hitherto been navigated; and because, doing so now, it would be necessary to deviate widely from the

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it is not beyond the bounds of probability that the great southern island continent, the Terra Australis, would have been discovered and perhaps colonized by Spaniards.[a]

The fleet of four vessels, "the best that have been launched on the Southern Sea, and the stoutest and best equipped,"[b] manned by 150 seamen and 200 soldiers,[c] and provisioned for two years, left Puerto de la Navidad[d] early on the morning of November 21. Urdaneta, in addition to his official position in the fleet, was head of his four brethren,[e] who were going, in accordance with Spain's obligation, to convert the heathen. It was doubtless due to Urdaneta's secular position in the fleet, second only to that of Legazpi, that the Augustinians were intrusted with the missions in the Philippines, of which they retained the sole charge until the arrival of the first Franciscans, in 1577.[f] Here at the outset of the colonization

course to reach the Western Islands, and the return voyage would be delayed; and it would be running a great risk to navigate in an unknown course." Consequently, the Audiencia "determined to order the general to sail straightway in search of the Filipinas Islands, and the other islands contiguous thereto, by the same route taken by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos." (B. and R., II, pp. 100, 101.) The chief "person of experience" was Juan Pablo de Carrión, who had been appointed first admiral of the fleet, but who, on account of disagreement with Urdaneta, was left behind. In a letter to Felipe, Carrión declares that the New Guinea route is impracticable and that the Philippine Islands should be the objective point of the expedition. (B. and R., II, pp. 101, 102.)

[a] Rumors of Australia date from early in the Christian era. It figures on Portuguese maps prior to 1542, but very confusedly, so that its location and even existence appears to be only little better than guesswork. In 1616 the Dutchman, Dirk Hartog, saw and landed on Australian soil; and it is probable that Portuguese sailors had seen portions of the coast as early as 1542. Tasman, commissioned in 1642 to explore the South Seas, discovered New Zealand and Tasmania. See Rusden, History of Australia, I, Chap. I; and the introduction to R. H. Major's Early Voyages to Australia, in the Hakluyt Society Publications.

[b] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 141; and B. and R., II, p. 89. There were two galleons and two pataches. It was necessary to convey the artillery, arms, and ammunition from Veracruz by sea to Coatzacoalcos, thence by river and land to Tehuantepec, and the rest of the way by sea.

[c] In his letter of February 25, 1564 (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 141, 142; B. and R., II, p. 89), Velasco says that the crew consisted of "300 Spaniards, half sailors and half soldiers, picked men." Legazpi, in his letter to Felipe from Puerto de la Navidad, November 18, 1564 (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 212; B. and R., II, p. 103), gives the same number as above, and adds, "in all the fleet, counting a few servants, there are three hundred and eighty persons."

[d] Urdaneta, in his communication of 1561 (op. cit.) regarding the route to be followed by the expedition, urged the good qualities of the port of Acapulco, and its preference to that of Puerto de la Navidad. He extols it as being healthier and having more Indians in its neighborhood.

[e] In addition to Urdaneta, five Augustinians had been appointed, but one died before leaving port. (B. and R., XII, pp. 179, 180, note 38; and Bancroft, Mexico, II, p. 599, note 45.)

[f] See B. and R., XXIII, pp. 227, 228. The Jesuits arrived in 1580 and the Dominicans in 1581. (B. and R., XXIII, pp. 228–230.) The first Augustinian Recollects reached the islands in 1606. (B. and R., XXI, p. 112 et seq.) The fathers of St. Vincent de Paul established their first work in 1862; the Capuchins in 1886; and the Benedictines in 1895 (B. and R., XXVIII, p. 368); while the hospital order of St. John of God, as well as several orders of nuns, had their share in the mission and religious life of the islands. For general religious conditions in the Philippines at various times, see the appendix to B. and R., XXVIII; and the two educational appendices in XLV and XLVI.

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of the Philippines is met that peculiar tenet of the Spanish colonial theory, namely (to paraphrase a well-known expression), that "conversion to Christianity accompanies the flag." While it is true that the real basis of Spanish colonization, notwithstanding its poor economics, was commercial,[a] it is equally true that the conversion of the natives was made the chief handmaid of the system. Conversion was to compensate for all else. The laws of the Indies—that mass of contradictory legislation—are largely ecclesiastical in tone.[b] United so indissolubly as was the ecclesiastical with the political, it is difficult at times to determine where religion began and politics left off. The ecclesiastical patronage acquired in the beginning of the history of the Indies by Fernando and Isabel was most zealously guarded by succeeding monarchs.[c] That the friars, under this system, were able to soften the rigors of the conquest, that they very frequently intervened to save the native from the greed and cruelty of the encomenderos, there is no doubt. In the conquest and colonization, and during Spanish occupation in the Philippines, especially during the earlier years, they often opposed an insurmountable barrier to the aggressive and illegal acts of public officials. It is in some measure due to them that the awful destruction of native peoples witnessed in the early days of American colonization has no parallel in the Philippines. Their work, although limited in its scope, was permanent and enduring. On the other hand, they early displayed, as organizations, an inordinate love for power, which had its effect on their spiritual labors; and the first few years of the Spanish régime were to witness, together with the blessings introduced by them, many acts of tyranny quite at variance with the gentle Christ whom they preached.[d]

[a] Easily seen to be the case if one examine even cursorily the instructions issued to the various explorers and navigators. For instance, Villalobos was ordered to bring back sufficient merchandise to pay for his expedition if he failed to colonize. The work of the Casa de Contratación was in great measure the encouragement of trade and industry. (See Puente y Olea's Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de Contratación, Sevilla, 1900.) The numerous laws in the Recopilación de Leyes de Indias treating of commerce are also proof of the importance of that branch of human industry in the Spanish colonies. That Spain's commercial policy was highly defective, while the Catholic religion was exalted with all the impetus of fanaticism, in no wise alters the fundamental commercial basis of Spanish colonization.

[b] The laws of the Indies, as a whole, represent rather Spain's good intentions than actual laws. Many of them were often openly transgressed, and although issued time after time by the different monarchs, remained to the end only dead letters. The various laws are ill digested, many of them being utterly at variance with one another. It is from a too close following of these laws and a too great neglect of actual conditions that writers on the colonial policy of Spain have at times fallen into error.

[c] For documents regarding the ecclesiastical patronage of the Philippines see B. and R., XXI, pp. 19–78; and the many documents in the above series concerning the disputes between the secular and ecclesiastical estates.

[d] See B. and R., especially IX, pp. 270, 271, and X, pp. 75–79. The other side of the question, namely, that in favor of the religious and their work, is discussed in many documents in B. and R. The friar memorial of 1898 (see B. and R., LII, pp. 227–286) may be taken either as the most complete vindication of the work of the friars in the Philippines or as the most severe arraignment that could be brought against them.

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In accordance with the secret orders of the Audiencia of Mexico, which Legazpi opened when on the high seas, the course, hitherto toward the southwest, in order to colonize New Guinea, was on November 25 definitely changed toward the Philippines, notwithstanding the protests of the religious, who complained that they had been duped.[a] Four days later the fleet was crippled by the desertion of the *San Lucas*.[b] The remaining three ships, however, held on their course until the Ladrones, or Robber Islands (so called by Magalhães because of the thievishness of the natives), were reached on January 22, 1565.[c] Leaving those inhospitable shores on February 3, Legazpi refusing to lend ear to Urdaneta's petition to settle in Guam,[d] although formal possession was taken of the Ladrones for Spain, the fleet reached the Visayan group of the Philippines on the 13th.[e] The succeeding days, now that the goal had been reached, were ones of great anxiety. Provisions began to fail and hunger stared the Spaniards in the face. The natives, apparently friendly, proved treacherous and hostile. It was often impossible to procure food, for the natives even determined to cease planting in order that the unwelcome Castilians might be forced to leave their shores.[f]

In this crisis Legazpi's abilities as a leader shine forth strongly. Importuned by his men, and with the ever-present danger of mutiny, he would allow no raids on the natives. If food were taken because of actual necessity, money or its equivalent was left in payment thereof. His one idea was to make friendship with the natives, and thus achieve a peaceful conquest; and to this end he bent all his energies. His own words are a high eulogy on his character: "My chief intent is not to go privateering, but to make treaties and to procure friends, of which I am in great need."[g]

The Portuguese, it was learned, through some friendly Moro traders, were the cause of the distrust of the natives. With charac-

[a] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 219, 220; and B. and R., II, p. 105. The log by the pilot, Estevan Rodriguez, gives the date of the changing of the course as November 26 and as Sunday instead of Saturday. (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 376.)

[b] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 222, 223, and III, pp. v–xviii, 1–76; and B. and R., II, pp. 105, 106, note 44. This vessel, after its desertion, cruised among part of the Philippines, and was thus the first of the expedition to reach the Orient.

[c] See the experiences of the Magalhães expedition in the Ladrones, as told by Antonio Pigafetta, in Robertson's Pigafetta, I, pp. 91–99; and in B. and R., XXXIII, pp. 95–103. See also Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 233–251.

[d] A good proof of Legazpi's independence of mind and judgment. See Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, p. 246, where Legazpi, in answer to the request, says, "que poblar alli no cumpliria con lo que era obligado, y se le habia mandado por Instruccion de Su Magestad: * * * y que por ninguna via dexaria de ir á las Islas Filipinas, y á otras á ellas comarcanas, como lo era mandado, y aunque entonces hubo otras replicas no se trató mas dello, y asi mandó el General dar prisa en la partida de aquel Puerto para proseguir nuestra navegacion."

[e] Anchor was first cast at a small island near Cebú in the Visayas group.

[f] Many of the documents in Vols. II, III, and XXXIV, of B. and R. (especially III, pp. 69, 70), detail the sufferings and hardships of the Spaniards.

[g] B. and R., II, p. 207.

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teristic duplicity they had, some time before, and impelled thereto by their fear of Castilian expeditions within their demarkation, made a descent upon the Visayas Islands. In one of them, under pretense that they were Spaniards and desired trade and friendship, they had killed and captured many of the natives.[a] This act, indeed, greatly delayed the founding of Legazpi's settlement.

Not until early May, 1565, in fact, was the first settlement effected, and that settlement—the site of the native village of Cebú—contrary to Legazpi's hope, it was necessary to found on violence.[b] But the leader's scruples were set at ease by the specious, though sincere, reasoning of the friars and others, who asserted that force could lawfully be used in the island of Cebú, if food and friendship were refused by the natives;[c] for the Cebuans were the people formerly Christianized by Magalhães, and their later treachery and apostacy from the faith, together with the allegiance that they had sworn to Cárlos I, placed them on the footing of rebels.[d] That the moral standards of the day were in no wise transgressed by this reasoning is apparent by the readiness with which Legazpi, a man of true conscience and humanity, adopted it. A good omen for the new colony was the finding, on the day of the attack of Cebú, of an image formerly given to the Cebuans by Magalhães, and still ignorantly revered by them;[e] and the new settlement of Cebú, taking name therefrom, was often called Santísimo Nombre de Jesús (Most Holy Name of Jesus).[f] The same name was also applied to the Augustinian province in the Philippines, and the holy image still abides in the Augustinian church at Cebú, and is regarded as perhaps the greatest ecclesiastical relic of the Philippines. Before the end of the century the new settlement with its so humble beginning was to become the seat of a bishopric.[g]

With the founding of a settlement the work was but begun. Legazpi, undeterred by a mutiny that threatened the existence of the colony,[h] immediately sent his best ship, with more than half his men,

[a] B. and R., II, p. 184, and XXXIV, pp. 201, 211.

[b] Possession for Spain had already been taken of the island of Cibabao. (B. and R., II, pp. 169–171.) For the deliberations regarding the making of a settlement, see B. and R., II, pp. 118, 119.

[c] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 319–321; and B. and R., II, pp. 119–121, 211.

[d] Robertson's Pigafetta, I, pp. 151–163; and B. and R., XXXIII, pp. 155–167. See also in this connection the curious letter written by Cortes to the King of Cebú, May 28, 1527 (B. and R., II, pp. 39–41), in which the Cebuans are freed from all responsibility in Magalhães's death.

[e] Robertson's Pigafetta, I, pp. 155, 159; and B. and R., II, pp. 120, 216, 217, XXXIII, pp. 159, 163.

[f] The new settlement was also called San Miguel. (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 336, 337; and B. and R., II, pp. 121, 136.)

[g] Founded with the other two suffragan bishoprics of Nueva Segovia and Nueva Cáceres, in 1595. (B. and R., IX, pp. 150–153.)

[h] Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., II, pp. 348, 349, III, pp. 140, 150; and B. and R., II, pp. 122, 143–145, 148, 154.

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to discover and chart the return route to New Spain, for it was most important that communication be kept open with the mother country. To Legazpi himself was left the harder task of maintaining his settlement, of exploring the other islands, and of winning over the still distrustful and timorous natives. This he accomplished with infinite tact and patience, harassed on the one side by the treachery and hostility of the natives, and on the other by the mutinous spirit of his men, who were angered at his steady refusal to allow them to pillage and enslave the natives, and because of the restraints placed on their licentiousness. The work of exploration[a] was pushed rapidly, one incentive thereto being the necessity for food, for hunger continued to press the colonists severely. And if, on some occasions, the rough soldiery escaped the vigilance of Legazpi and committed acts of ruthless wantonness and violence, still such was very slight when compared to the offenses committed in New Spain.[b] The firm friendship and alliance finally made, after many fruitless attempts, with the most influential chief of Cebú, and the baptism of his niece and her subsequent marriage to one of Legazpi's men, won the natives and opened the way for the entrance of the faith, which progressed with amazing rapidity.[c]

Added to Legazpi's trials and hardships was the unpardonable neglect of both Spain and Mexico. The few mutinous men who arrived in 1566 were almost worse than no reenforcements. Those sent the next year were a more welcome addition.[d] But the neglect to

[a] Legazpi's grandson, Juan de Salcedo, a mere, but exceedingly precocious, youth, and the veteran Martin de Goiti, were most active in the exploration. See especially B. and R., III, pp. 73–104 (the voyage to Luzón in 1570).

[b] See in this regard the proclamation (May 16, 1565) ordering declaration to be made of the gold and treasure taken from the burial places of the natives. (B. and R., II, pp. 172, 173.) While given primarily in order that the royal dues might be exacted, this law must have had some effect in decreasing the violence usually attendant upon such occasions.

[c] Legazpi's upright dealings with the natives, and the restraints placed by him on his men during this trying period, when greed, lust, and lawlessness were naturally uppermost, can not be too highly praised. See Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., III, pp. 91 et seq.; and B. and R., II, pp. 132–140. The treaty made with Chief Tupas of Cebú, among other things, bound the natives as Spanish vassals; enjoined mutual aid, justice on both sides, the furnishing of provisions at a fair price; and provided that the natives were to carry no weapons into the Spanish camp. The natives were also to be exempt from tribute until after harvest. The advantage, as ever, accrued to the stronger and more intelligent invader. The husband of Tupas's niece was one Master Andrea, a Greek calker. This marriage, celebrated with the rites of the church, undoubtedly had great influence in winning the natives, and in lessening the illicit communication between the men of the fleet and the native women.

[d] The ship arriving in 1566 was the *San Geronimo*, which en route suffered a severe mutiny in which both the captain and his son were killed. The mutiny was headed by Pilot Lope Martin, a mulatto and fearless seaman, who had formerly, in company with Areilano, deserted Legazpi. At the Ladrones a counter mutiny by the still loyal men succeeded, and the ship was brought safely to the Philippines (October 15), although in a condition of almost absolute want. The second reenforcement of 300 men reached Cebú, August 20, 1567. (Col. Doc. Inéd. Ult., III, pp. 179–188; and B. and R., II, pp. 149, 150, 234, 235, XXXIV, pp. 207, 208, 214, 217, 218, III, p. 130.)

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send even the most common supplies needed by the colony threatened its ruin at the very outset.[a] So disheartened became the leader in consequence of this that he requested his retirement.[b] The Portuguese, too, were a menace to permanent occupation. For the last four months of 1568 a large force, acting, it must be confessed, strictly within Portuguese rights, if bulls and treaties meant anything, held Cebú blockaded, and endeavored to drive the Spaniards from the archipelago. But the war of protest and counter protest, as actual hostilities were few, came to naught, and finally disease and hunger in the Portuguese fleet effected what the Spaniards could not have accomplished. At the beginning of the new year the enemy withdrew with threats of unfulfilled vengeance. Legazpi had proved that it was easier to fight a notarial battle than to risk open hostilities with all the odds against him, and hordes of unfriendly or inconstant natives on all sides ready to take advantage of the slightest reverse.[c]

The Portuguese attempt caused the removal of the nascent colony to the island of Panay, where there was less danger of attack.[d] This remained the Spanish base until 1571, when Legazpi, first refounding Cebú with fifty of his men,[e] removed with the rest to the Tagálog settlement of Manila, which had been conquered by his forces the preceding year.[f] This well-situated and busy trade center was erected into a Spanish city on June 3, 1571, and on the 24th the necessary officials appointed.[g] Firm friendship was established with the enterprising and energetic Tagálogs, who recognized Spanish sovereignty. So rapidly did the exploration and conquest (mainly peaceful) progress that much of the coast of Luzón and other islands, and considerable of the interior of Luzón, were known to the Spaniards ere Legazpi's death, August 20, 1572.

Thus, in little over seven years, Legazpi, ably seconded by his officers and the friars, had established two Spanish settlements that still survive; had removed in great measure the distrust of the natives; had explored and pacified considerable of the territory in the islands; had established trade with the natives, as well as with the Chinese; had arrested the progress of Mahometanism, which had

[a] See B. and R., II, pp. 188–195, the requisition for supplies, which shows how inadequately prepared was the expedition. See also the requisition for supplies in III, pp. 132–140.

[b] B. and R., III, pp. 52, 53.

[c] B. and R., II, pp. 244–329, III, pp. 30, 31, 34, 37, 44–46, 70, 113–118, XXXIV, pp. 209–212, 218, 219.

[d] B. and R., III, p. 49.

[e] B. and R., III, pp. 152, 231, 233. This, like the former colony in the same place, was called El Nombre de Jesus or Santisimo Nombre de Jesus.

[f] See B. and R., III, pp. 73–104, for the first Spanish voyage to Luzón; and pp. 141–172 for the conquest of that island.

[g] Possession was taken of Luzón, June 6, 1570. (B, and R., III, pp. 105–107; see also, III, pp. 148, 173, 233–239, XV, pp. 49–52.

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crept up as far as Manila; and, in a word, had laid the broad lines of Spanish administration in the Philippines.

It is no vain remark that "the works of Legazpi * * * entitle him to a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers."[a] It is true that he originated nothing. The colonial policy of Spain was practically developed at the time of his expedition. He had passed a great portion of his life, his maturer years, moreover, in the midst of the colonial government of New Spain, himself a part of the government machinery. The Council of the Indies and the India House of Trade directed colonial matters. Legazpi's method of procedure was well blocked out; full instructions were given him.[b] He carried to the new land the encomienda system. The royal officials took charge, from the first, of the royal interests. His claim to greatness lies in the manner in which he carried out his instructions; in his loyalty to King and cause; in his independence of action and freedom from friar domination; in his resources; in his humanity and integrity; and, throughout all, in his patience, prudence, and tact.[c] Without the enormous loss of life that attended the planting of Spanish civilization in America, he achieved the purpose of his expedition and made Spain's boast that the sun never set on its dominions an actual fact. Above all, he had the prescience to see that no colony could be permanent unless built up on industry and the family life.[d] All things considered, Legazpi is entitled to a place in history beside the better known and more striking conqueror of Mexico, Cortez, and in some respects he merits even a higher place.

[a] Bourne's Introduction to the B. and R. series, I, p. 32.

[b] See the instructions given him for the exploration and conquest of the Ladrones (B. and R., XXXIV, pp. 249–254) which constitute a remarkable colonial document. This conquest was never undertaken by Legazpi.

[c] See Medina's characterization of Legazpi in B. and R., XXIII, p. 221.

[d] B. and R., II, p. 237.

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XI. REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION, DECEMBER 30, 1907.

Public Archives Commission:

HERMAN V. AMES, Chairman,
University of Pennsylvania.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD,
Columbia University.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,
Johns Hopkins University.

DUNBAR ROWLAND,
Department of Archives and History, Mississippi.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
Rhode Island Historical Society.

CARL R. FISH,
University of Wisconsin.

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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 30, 1907.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The Public Archives Commission begs leave to submit the following report of its work for the year 1907:

The work of the commission during the past year has been more varied than ever before. Its activities may be grouped under four different heads:

First, a continuation of the work of investigation of the public archives of a number of States and of certain local divisions. Several additional members have been added to the personnel of the commission, as follows:

Colorado, Prof. James F. Willard, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Georgia, Prof. R. B. Brooks, University of Georgia, associate member.

Indiana, Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College, Richmond, also director of Indiana Archives, State Library.

Illinois, Mr. F. C. Keeler, University of Illinois, Champaign, associate member.

Kentucky, Miss Irene T. Myers, Kentucky University, Lexington, adjunct member; Mr. Isaac R. Reid, Kentucky University, associate member.

Louisiana, Prof. Walter L. Fleming, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

New Mexico, Prof. John H. Vaughan, New Mexico Normal University, Las Vegas.

North Dakota, Prof. Orin G. Libby, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, also secretary of State Historical Society.

Vermont, Mr. Edward M. Goddard, assistant librarian of State Library, Montpelier.

Special work has been in progress in California, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Missouri, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia.

A small portion of the results of this work was ready for presentation with this report, but as space was not available these reports will be held over until next year, when it is hoped that reports from several other States in which work has been in progress also will be completed.

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The commission has endeavored to keep in touch with state archives and record commissions or other officers in charge of the state archives, with a view to cooperate with them in bringing about a more intelligent administration, supervision, and preservation of archives material. In response to an invitation the chairman of the commission met with the Public Record Commission of Delaware in June to confer with them in regard to the framing of a plan of work in that State.

A second undertaking, which has been in progress in the past year, has been the preparation of a list of the local published archives throughout the country. This work is being done under the supervision of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, head of the documentary division of the Public Library of New York City, and will supplement the bibliography of the published archives of the Thirteen Original States during the Colonial and Revolutionary Period, which was also prepared by Miss Hasse, and was presented in connection with our report of last year. Owing to the magnitude of this task and the desirability of securing the cooperation of experts in the several States, it has been found impracticable to publish this portion of our work at this time.

A third feature of this year's work has been the securing of a list of the journals of the councils and assemblies and the acts of the thirteen original colonies in America, now preserved among the Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office. From this material it has been possible to present a record of the sessions of the councils and assemblies in the several colonies, indicating the material in each case which is to be found in the Record Office. From this a list of sessions might be drawn more complete than any which has previously been prepared. This matter has been secured and arranged for publication by Prof. Charles M. Andrews and will appear in a later report.

A fourth feature of the work has been the continuance of the supervision of the transcribing of documents in the English archives for the Library of Congress, which was inaugurated in 1902. This portion of the work has been continued under the direction of Professor Andrews, chairman of the subcommittee. The transcripts thus far received by the Library of Congress cover the documents in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library relating to American history and a very considerable number of volumes from the Admiralty and Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office. The documents selected for transcription are now nearly all copied, and from this time forward the work of the transcribers will be concentrated chiefly upon the Public Record Office material, with occasional excursions into the field of the minor London repositories.

A guide to the matter contained in the seven previous reports of the commission has been prepared with the idea of showing just what

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work has been done and of facilitating the ready reference to the report of any particular State. It will be noted that thirty-seven reports from twenty-seven different States and from the cities of New York and Philadelphia have been prepared. Naturally these reports vary in thoroughness, some of them being of a preliminary nature. It will be seen by a glance at the table that more than one-half of the reports are fairly comprehensive.

The lamented death during the past summer of Mr. Robert T. Swan, a member of this commission, and for nineteen years commissioner of public records of the State of Massachusetts, renders fitting a brief mention of the valuable services performed by him in organizing and carrying forward the work of supervision of the records of that Commonwealth. His work in connection with that office, especially in the efficient supervision of the local records, may be regarded as a model for similar officials in other States. In this connection attention may be called to the summary of the legislation and practices prevailing in the several States and Territories for the collection, preservation, and supervision of the public records, prepared by Mr. Swan, and included in the Commissioner's Report for 1906.

This valuable summary has led to the suggestion that in connection with the present report there should be presented a brief résumé of the actual situation of the archives in the several States or of the progress made therein during the year 1907 and also that any publication of archives material should be noted. As a result of communications which have been received from the several representatives of the commission and others, such a résumé has been prepared by the chairman.

The table of references or guide to the previous reports and the résumé of the present condition of the archives in the several States immediately follow.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES.
HERBERT L. OSGOOD.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS.
DUNBAR ROWLAND.
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.
CARL R. FISH.

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References to previous reports of the Commission in the Annual Reports of the American Historical Association.

States.	1900, Vol. II.	1901, Vol. II.	1902, Vol. I.	1903, Vol. I.	1904.	1905, Vol. I.	1906, Vol. II.
Alabama					487–553		
Arkansas							23–51
Colorado				415–437			
Connecticut	26–36						52–127
Delaware							129–148
Florida						339–352	149–158
Georgia				439–474	555–596		159–164
Illinois						353–366	
Indiana	37–38						
Iowa	39–46						
Kansas					597–601		
Maryland						367–368	
Massachusetts	47–59						
Michigan	60–63					369–376	
Mississippi				475–478			
Nebraska	64–66						
New Jersey				479–541			
New York, State and city	67–250						
North Carolina	251–266	345–352			603–627		
Ohio							165–196
Oregon			337–355				
Pennsylvania and Philadelphia	267–293	231–344 (Phila.)			629–649		
Rhode Island				543–644			
Tennessee							197–238
Texas		353–358	357–363				
Virginia				645–664			
Wisconsin	294–297					377–419	

The second volume of the Annual Report for 1906 also contained, pages 13–21, a summary statement of the present condition of legislation of States and Territories relative to the custody and supervision of the public records; and, pages 239–561, a bibliography of the published archives of the thirteen original States to 1789.

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RÉSUMÉ OF THE ARCHIVES SITUATIONS IN THE SEVERAL STATES IN 1907.

Compiled by Prof. HERMAN V. AMES, *Chairman of the Commission.*

ALABAMA.

Dr. Thomas M. Owen, Director of Department of Archives and History, adjunct member.

In Alabama the anticipations involved in the establishment of a State Department of Archives and History have, during the year 1907, been fully realized. This department, formed by a legislative act of February 27, 1901, is charged, among numerous other duties, with the care and custody of the state archives. The duties thus imposed the department was unable to meet, except in a constructive way, until the enlargement of its offices. In January, 1907, an addition to the capitol building, provided by legislative appropriation of 1903, was ready for partial occupancy, and the department moved, soon thereafter, into its new and commodious rooms in this section. Later in the same year, on the ground floor of the new addition, the state record room was completed, and the work of assembling in one place all of the manuscript public archives of the State was begun. It took several weeks to segregate the current from the noncurrent records and to install the latter in their new quarters.

Although the material has thus been brought together, only a tentative arrangement has been adopted, and it will be some months before the collection can be thoroughly and systematically classified. Plans for the permanent organization of the record room are now under consideration. Plans are also being worked out for the filing, binding, and restoration of the whole collection.

In their present condition the records are all available for use, through the means of rough finding lists. Already, in the rearrangement incident to removing the records, a number of rare and interesting items have been brought to light. It is felt that Alabama is to be congratulated on the realization of the ambitions of the department for the assembling in one place of the entire body of the state archives. The organization of the work is in the hands of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, who has been the director of the department from its establishment in 1901.

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ARKANSAS.

Prof. J. H. Reynolds, University of Arkansas, adjunct member.

Archives in the various state offices of Arkansas are very well arranged, and for the most part in a good state of preservation, though some papers and books have suffered sorely. The basement of the capitol has been for years the dumping ground for the overflow from overcrowded offices. Such papers as have been dumped there are in bad condition, not classified at all, in many cases have been destroyed, in others are moulding and rapidly disappearing. The new state capitol is in process of erection. When that building has been completed it is intended to classify and properly arrange these papers. The last legislature appropriated $1,600 to continue the Arkansas History Commission, part of whose duties is to publish such of the archives as the funds at its disposal will permit.

CALIFORNIA.

Prof. Clyde A. Duniway, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, adjunct member.

The archives of the State of California are in the custody of the incumbents of the various offices, commissions, etc., who are supposed to preserve all records of their predecessors. The only features of centralization are found in connection with the office of the secretary of state. He preserves all materials relating to the proceedings of constitutional conventions and the legislative department, together with the original texts of state laws and codes. He is made the custodian of numerous categories of papers in connection with elections, official appointments, commissions, bonds, and oaths, the laws regarding corporations, licenses, etc. By custom, more or less observed, a great many miscellaneous records and papers of boards and commissions have been deposited in the vaults of the secretary of state. The general result has been the accumulation of a large amount of archive material only partly connected with the business of his office.

During the past year and a half the remodeling of the capitol has made the examination of anything but current business records in most state offices virtually impossible. With the completion of the remodeling operations, expected during the present year, the various officers will be able to make use of enlarged facilities for much-needed improvements in the preservation and administration of their archives. A committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will endeavor to assist in securing the best results in this direction, as well as in advocating necessary legislation to establish a centralized historical archives department in the state library.

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COLORADO.

Prof. James F. Willard, University of Colorado, adjunct member.

There appears to be very little that is new to record in regard to the archives situation in this State beyond what is already contained in the report on the archives of this State which was presented in the commission's report for 1903. There is no state archivist, and the manuscripts and printed documents are preserved by the various departments as suit their convenience. There has been some indexing done since 1903, but along the lines laid down in the previous report. As to publications, there have been but two. The state legislature ordered the printing of the "Journal of the Constitutional Convention," which has appeared during the year. A second volume of interest, published by the State Historical Society, bears the title "Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: The New Mexican Campaign in 1862," by William C. Whitford (Denver, 1906). The Historical Society is considering the publication of some of the earlier records of Denver.

CONNECTICUT.[a]

In 1886 the Connecticut general assembly directed the secretary of state and the state librarian "to make inquiry, or to procure the same to be made, with regard to any ancient, colonial, or state records of any courts now or formerly existing; also of any colonial or state records of any of the territorial organizations now or formerly existing within this State, for the purpose of taking measures for the preservation and indexing of said records." This report was made to the general assembly at its session in 1889 and reprinted in the record commissioner's report of 1904.

In 1903 provision was made for a record commissioner, whose report of 1904 contains a list by towns of their records with notes upon the same. His report for 1906 contains the same information relating to the ecclesiastical records of the several towns of the State. Under his direction more than one-third of the towns of the State have purchased new safes or erected vaults, both especially constructed to answer their needs.

Since 1900 much progress has been made in Connecticut toward the collecting, preserving, proper custody, safety, and making accessible of the public and semipublic records and files. In 1902 the state library was equipped with metal cases and special safes for the historic charter and the Connecticut archives and other valuable papers in its possession. In 1906 several vaults with steel fittings were constructed in the basement of the capitol for the proper filing of the records and papers of the several departments.

Many volumes of records in the office of the secretary, in the state library, and throughout the State have been substantially preserved by means of the silk process and many other volumes have been rebound.

[a] Obligation is acknowledged to Mr. George S. Godard, librarian of the state library, for these facts.

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The general assembly of 1907 authorized the construction of a new state library and supreme court building with complete and modern equipment, in which proper provision has been made for assembling its archives and records. A law was passed requiring the custodians of public records to maintain these records in proper repair. Special attention is being given to the matter of ink, ribbons, and record books.

The reports of the record examiner and state librarian contain data relating to the records of the State to be found nowhere else.

DELAWARE.

Dr. Edgar Dawson, Princeton University, adjunct member.

The Division of Public Records, established by law in 1905, was organized in the following year and recently has been quite active. A preliminary investigation has been made both at the state capitol and in the court-houses of the three counties. Steps have been taken to provide fireproof vaults in the several county court-houses, and a vault was installed in the Newcastle County court-house during the summer. An examination of the Kent County records has been made under the direction of the division, as a result of which some hitherto lost court records of great value and interest, as also some lists of soldiers during the colonial wars, have been discovered. At the November meeting of the division the secretary was authorized to prepare an appeal asking for the contribution or the deposit of manuscripts relating to the early history of the State. This has been issued and circulated throughout the State. The division aims to collect material for the publication of a series of Delaware archives, and is at present at work on a volume to contain a list of all Delaware men who fought in all the colonial wars and the Revolutionary war.

FLORIDA.

As noted by our representative in last year's report, the secretary of state requested the legislature to make provision for more room and employees, with a view to a proper collection and classification of the archives, but no response was made to his appeal. Further, there appears to be nothing of interest to record.

GEORGIA.

Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, University of Wisconsin, adjunct member.

Beginning in 1904, the State has issued, under the title of "Georgia Colonial Records," by A. D. Candler, state compiler of records, the following volumes:

Vol. 1. The Journal of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732–1752.

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Vol. 2. The Minutes of the Common Council (i. e., executive committee) of the Trustees, 1732–1752.

Vol. 3. The General Account of the Monies and Effects Received and Expended by the Trustees, 1732–1751.

Vol. 4. The Journal of William Stephens (secretary of the province), 1737–1740. (In this publication only the first two volumes of Stephens's Journal are reprinted. The compiler says that he was unable to find a copy of the third volume, and expresses a doubt as to whether any copies are now extant.[a])

Vol. 5. Not yet issued.

Vol. 6. Proceedings of the President and Assistants of the Colony of Georgia, 1741–1754.

Vol. 7. Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, 1754–1759.

Vol. 8. Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, 1759–1762.

ILLINOIS.

Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois, adjunct member.

On the recommendation of the advisory committee of the Illinois State Historical Library, appointed in the fall of 1905, it was determined that the Illinois Historical Collections should be continued. During the year 1907 the first volume published under this new plan has appeared, namely, Virginia Series, Cahokia Records, Vol. I, 1778–1790, edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord (Springfield, 1907). It is the intention of the commission to print four volumes within the next two years. The first of these volumes is on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, edited by Prof. Edwin Erle Sparks. The second, on Early Executive Letter Books, is to be edited by Prof. Evarts B. Greene. The third, on the George Rogers Clark Papers, is to be edited by Prof. James A. James; the fourth, the Kaskaskia Records, is to be edited by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord. Doctor Alvord is also the managing editor of the series, and has general supervision over the collection of the archives material within the custody of the Illinois State Historical Library.

The legislature passed an act May 25, 1907, amending the act of 1897, providing that county and municipal authorities may transfer official documents to the State Historical Society, State Historical Library, State University, or any incorporated historical society. The act also made it the duty of officials to permit search for papers of historic interest and empowered local authorities to make appropriation for historical purposes.[b] Another act, passed by the same

[a] But Dr. B. A. Elzas, of Charleston, S. C., reports that he has in his possession a copy of the extremely rare third volume.

[b] Laws of Illinois, 1907, p. 374.

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legislature on May 20, empowered counties, cities, towns, and villages to make appropriations for publications of documents and marking of historical sites, etc., and for the binding and sale of papers and documents.[a]

INDIANA.

Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College, adjunct member.

The first systematic effort in preserving the archives relating to the state history of Indiana was inaugurated in the summer of 1907 as a part of the work of the Indiana State Library, Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, having been appointed to undertake this work. An investigation was begun in regard to the public papers on file in the offices of the various state officials, and it is the intention to carry forward this phase of the work until all have been examined. Outside of the official records, official visits were made to a number of the leading local historical societies in the State, and an examination of the Draper Collection of manuscripts belonging to the Wisconsin State Historical Society was made for the purpose of securing information respecting such materials of early date contained therein as relate primarily to Indiana. The same general plan of operations will be carried out during the summer of 1908, when it is hoped that the work will have become sufficiently recognized to secure some specific legislation making permanent provision for its continuance.

IOWA.

Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, State University of Iowa, adjunct member.

In an important report on the public archives, submitted by Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, September 18, 1906, and subsequently approved by the trustees of the state library and historical department of Iowa, the following series of recommendations was made:

First. That in accordance with section 4, chapter 1432 of the laws of the thirty-first general assembly the executive council be requested "to provide, furnish, and equip," as soon as practicable, a room or rooms in the Historical Memorial and Art building to be used temporarily as a Hall of Public Archives.

Second. That steps be taken to examine, classify, and remove to the Hall of Public Archives (1) the papers and documents now in the office of the governor, and (2) the papers and documents now in the office of the secretary of state.

Third. That the publication of a guide to the several administrative departments, offices, boards, commissions, etc., of the Territory and State of Iowa from 1838 to 1896 (now in preparation) be authorized.

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[a] Ibid.

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Fourth. That a report on the public archives embodying such information and recommendations as the circumstances may suggest be submitted by the trustees of the state library and historical department to the thirty-second general assembly.

Fifth. That the thirty-second general assembly be asked to increase the appropriation for the care and preservation of the public archives from $2,000 annually to $6,000 annually for the biennial period ending June 30, 1909.

Sixth. That plans for the more permanent organization and administration of the Hall of Public Archives be considered and adopted whenever in the judgment of the trustees the financial support of the Hall of Archives will make possible an adequate organization.

With this plan of organization the following has been accomplished during the year 1907:

First. After the temporary occupation of rooms in the capitol building a more permanent location has been assigned to the Hall of Public Archives on the third floor in the west wing of the new Historical Memorial and Art building.

Second. A beginning has been made in the sorting, arranging, and classifying of the material removed from the office of the governor, which material it was decided should be the first portion of the public archives to be examined. It is stated that experience "thus far amply confirms and justifies the general scheme of classification and arrangement outlined in the (Iowa) first report on the public archives."

Third. The work of preparing a guide to the administrative departments, offices, boards, commissions and public institutions of Iowa from the organization of the Territory in the year 1833 to the adoption of the code of 1897 has been accomplished, and it has been submitted and published as an appendix to the Second Report of the Public Archives Commission (Des Moines, 1907). This report of the superintendent of the public archives, with the appendix, makes a volume of some 364 pages. It is believed that the "information contained in this compilation will not only serve as a guide to workers in the public archives but will be of great value as a reference to students of Iowa history and administration." The compilation of the guide was the work of Mr. John C. Parish assisted by Miss Katherine Hodge.

Fourth. In addition to the first report of the superintendent of the public archives, previously referred to, which was published in the Annals of Iowa in the January number for 1907 and of which 300 reprints were issued, two pamphlets have been printed and distributed, one of four pages on the Story of the Public Archives, and the second of eleven, entitled At Work on the Public Archives of Iowa.

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Fifth. In accordance with the recommendation for an increase in the state appropriation for the care and preservation of the public archives a bill was prepared and introduced in the thirty-second general assembly which read as follows:

A bill for an act making an additional appropriation for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives, additional to the law as it appears in chapter one hundred and forty-two (142), laws of the thirty-first general assembly.

Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Iowa:

SECTION 1. That for carrying out the purposes of "An act providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives and making an appropriation therefor," there be and is hereby appropriated out of the moneys in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, and in addition to the sum appropriated in the said act for the care and preservation of the public archives, the sum of four thousand dollars ($4,000.00) per annum for two years to be expended under the direction of the board of trustees of the state library and historical department.

The entire sum asked for in this ("Ericson") bill was appropriated in "An act to amend chapter 142, laws of the thirty-first general assembly, and increasing the appropriation for carrying its purposes into effect," which was approved April 13, 1907.

In this connection attention should, perhaps, be called to the fact that the act of April 10, 1906, of the thirty-first general assembly was very materially modified by the act of April 13, 1907, of the thirty-second general assembly, increasing the appropriation. The act of the thirty-second general assembly reads as follows:

An act to amend chapter one hundred forty-two (142), laws of the thirty-first general assembly, and increasing the appropriation for carrying its purposes into effect.

Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Iowa:

SECTION 1. That section 2 of said act be repealed and the following enacted in lieu thereof:

"SEC. 2. That the several state executive and administrative departments, officers or offices, councils, boards, bureaus and commissioners are hereby authorized to transfer and deliver to the executive council for arrangement, classification, labeling, filing and calendaring, and then to the state library and historical department for preservation such of the public archives as are designated in section one (1) of this act except such as in the judgment of the executive council should be longer retained in the respective offices."

Sec. 2. That section 3 of said act is hereby repealed, and the following enacted in lieu thereof:

"SEC. 3. That the state library and historical department is hereby authorized and directed to receive from the executive council such of the public archives as are designated in section one (1) of this act as rapidly as the same are properly arranged, classified, labeled, filed, and calendared."

Sec. 3. That section 5 of said act is hereby repealed and the following enacted in lieu thereof:

"SEC. 5. That for carrying out the purposes of this act there is hereby appropriated out of the moneys in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of six thousand dollars ($6,000) annually for two years beginning July 1, 1907, to be expended under the direction of said executive council."

Approved April 13, A. D. 1907.

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Sixth. In consequence of the foregoing act, the work on the archives has been transferred from the trustees of the state library and historical department to the executive council. It is the hope of the superintendent of the public archives that the work will be carried forward in the spirit of the recommendations already made and along the lines already adopted.

KANSAS.

Prof. Carl L. Becker, University of Kansas, adjunct member.

In the year 1905 the following law was enacted by the legislature without a dissenting vote:

An act to provide for the care and preservation of public records.

Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That any state, county, or other official is hereby authorized and empowered to turn over to the Kansas State Historical Society, for permanent preservation therein, any books, records, documents, original papers, or manuscripts, newspaper files and printed books not required by law to be kept in such office as a part of the public records, three years after the current use of the same, or sooner, in the discretion of the head of the department. When so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified by the secretary of the Historical Society upon the application of any party interested, which certification shall have all the force and effect as if made by the officer originally in custody of them.

SEC. 2. That the State Historical Society is hereby required to make a reference catalogue to the manuscripts, books, and papers so surrendered.[a]

The executive council promptly set aside a small sum for fitting up a room in the cellar of the capitol building for the care and preservation of such material.

The report of the State Historical Society for 1906 states that "the department of archives established by the legislature of 1905 has made some progress, enough to show that if the idea is carried out completely it will be the most valuable feature of this historical work, because all the material embraced is official." During the year a quantity of valuable material was received from the office of the secretary of state, much of it dating from the territorial days. Up to the close of the year 1906 no contributions had come in from counties or municipal divisions. Sufficient has been accomplished, however, to "emphasize the value of what the State might have had if some general system of keeping manuscripts had been adopted in the beginning," and to demonstrate the "necessity for the collection of the archives at one central point where the material may be classified and located and be at all times accessible to students and the public."[b]

[a] Laws of Kansas for 1905, ch. 358, p. 507. The report of the State Historical Society for 1905, pp. 3–9.

[b] Report of State Historical Society for 1906, pp. 29, 30.

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The above report would seem to indicate that much still remains to be done. While the archives that are kept in the state capitol are preserved in fireproof vaults in the different state offices, most of the documents are not systematically arranged or in condition for use by the student. An exception should be made of the records in the governor's office and those in the office of the clerk of the court. In these offices the archives are perfectly arranged and kept in file boxes. The same applies also to the office of public instruction. As far as can be learned, no further legislation is at present contemplated.

KENTUCKY.

Miss Irene T. Myers, Kentucky University, adjunct member.

The public archives of the State have overflowed their quarters in the capitol at Frankfort and, in consequence, are neither well protected nor easily accessible. In the new capitol building, which is in course of construction, ample provision is being made for them. It is expected that by next summer various departments will be installed in the new capitol. The appropriation for the benefit of the Kentucky Historical Society, in addition to defraying the expenses of the publication of the Register, is being used to collect the portraits of the first Kentucky governors. Nine such portraits have been secured during the past year. It is hoped that a more definite report in regard to the archives situation in the State can be presented by next year.

LOUISIANA.

Prof. Walter L. Fleming, Louisiana State University, adjunct member.

There has been no legislation in regard to the care of the archives in this State but it is hoped that the next legislature will take action making provision for the establishment of a history commission or a department of archives and history, similar to that in the States of Alabama and Mississippi. There is decided need of legislation in order to improve the present chaotic condition of things.

MAINE.

Prof. Allen Johnson, Bowdoin College, adjunct member.

Unusual activity was shown by the legislature during the year 1907. First, the following act was passed creating the office of state historian:

An act to encourage the compiling and teaching of local history and local geography in the public schools.

SECTION 1. The governor, with the advice and consent of the council, shall appoint a state historian, who shall be a member of the Maine Historical Society and whose duty it shall be to compile historical data of the State of Maine and encourage the teaching of the same in the public schools. It shall also be his duty to encourage the compiling and publishing of town histories, combined with local geography. It shall further be his duty to examine, and when he decides that the material is suitable, approve histories of towns compiled as provided in section two of this act.

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SEC. 2. Whenever any town shall present to the state historian material which he considers suitable for publication as a history of the town presenting the same, then he may approve of the publication of a history with the local geography which will be suitable for the use in the grammar and high school grades of the public schools.

SEC. 3. Whenever material for a town history with local geography has been approved by the state historian, and the same has been published by the town, and provision has been made for its regular use in the public schools of said town; then the state treasurer shall pay the town so publishing a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, provided that the State shall not pay to any town to exceed one-half the amount paid by said town for printing and binding said histories.

SEC. 4. The superintending school committee, and the superintendent of schools, shall elect some citizen of the town to serve with them; and these persons shall constitute a board to compile a history and the local geography of the town in which they reside. Two or more towns may unite in compiling and publishing a history and the local geography of the towns forming the union. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of schools to forward two copies of said history to the Maine State Library and notify the superintendent of public schools of the title of said history.

SEC. 5. All the actual cash expenses of the said state historian incurred while in the discharge of his official duties shall be paid on the approval and order of the governor and council, and shall not exceed five hundred dollars per annum.[a]

Approved March 20, 1907.

The governor appointed to this office Henry S. Burrage, D. D. It is hoped that the scope of the office will be enlarged at the next session of the legislature in 1909. Further appropriations were made by the legislature for the care and publication of certain documents, as follows: A resolve of January 29, 1907, authorized the purchase of copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of the York deeds, when they shall have been edited and published like the earlier volumes under the direction of the Maine Genealogical Society. A resolve of February 12, 1907, authorized the expenditure of $2,000 a year for two years, to provide for the preservation of the enlistments and muster rolls of the regiments which served in the civil war. These records are now on file in the office of the adjutant-general at Augusta. A resolve of February 26, 1907, appropriated $4,000 for the continuation of a documentary history of Maine which is published in annual volumes under the supervision and editorship of the Maine Historical Society.

There have been two serious fires at the court-houses of Wiscasset and Portland. It is not known to what extent the records have suffered. These fires are sufficient to emphasize the importance of erecting fireproof buildings or providing fireproof vaults for the housing of the public archives.

MARYLAND.

In June, 1906, the Maryland Archives Commission expired. At that time the work of the commission was incomplete. No publication other than a preliminary report has been issued. Additional data, however, were gathered by the commission, which it is hoped may be published. As far as known, however, there is no movement at present to revive the commission.

[a] Public Laws of Maine, 1907, ch. 88.

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MASSACHUSETTS.

The nineteenth report on the "Custody and Condition of the Public Records of the Parishes, Towns, and Counties" was published early in the year. This proved to be the last report of the late Commissioner Robert T. Swan, who had served first as secretary and afterwards for many years as commissioner of public records. His death occurred July 26, 1907. The importance and influence of his work have been referred to elsewhere.

Mr. Henry E. Wood was appointed by the governor commissioner to succeed Mr. Swan and entered upon the duties of his office August 10, 1907. In his report, the twentieth report, he states that during the year the records to 1850 of several towns have been printed under the provisions of chapter 470 of the acts of 1902:

An act relative to the care of the public documents by cities and towns.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. Each city and town shall provide a suitable place, to be approved by the commissioner of public records, for the preservation and convenient use of all books, reports, and laws received from the Commonwealth; and for every month's neglect so to do shall forfeit ten dollars.

SEC. 2. Said books, reports, and laws shall be in the custody or control of the city or town clerk, unless the city council or selectmen shall, by vote, designate some other officer or person.

SEC. 3. Section twenty-seven of chapter twenty-five of the Revised Laws is hereby repealed.

The commissioner states that to find "a suitable place for convenient use" of all the various books which have been distributed and may be distributed by the Commonwealth is proving embarrassing to many towns, particularly where the town hall is inconveniently located and not often open, and where the town library is unable to find room for the volume. An option as to receiving the series known as "Public documents," where the inhabitants of a town do not desire them, would give some relief.

The importance of the work of the commission in requiring fireproof vaults for the preservation of public records has been seen during the past year in the case of fires in the town halls of Halifax, Peabody, and Clinton. Although each of these fires either totally destroyed or seriously damaged the building, no public records were injured.

MICHIGAN.

The only item of importance in regard to the archives of this State to be noted is the adoption by the legislature of an act of April 25, 1907, providing for the continued publication of the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and appropriating $8,000 to be expended during the years 1908 and 1909 for this purpose.[a]

[a] Published acts of Michigan for 1907, ch. 62, p. 66.

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MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department of archives and history, member of commission.

The Mississippi department of archives and history during the year of 1907 has been engaged in the following activities: Classifying and binding in chronological order the historical archives of the State from 1699 to 1908; adding to museum, portrait gallery, and library; collecting transcripts relating to Mississippi history from the English, French, and Spanish archives; preparing and publishing the Mississippi Official and Statistical Register for 1908; preparing and publishing the Military History of Mississippi, 1803–1898; preparing the annual report of the department for 1907.

The Military History of the State is a complete narrative of the military service of Mississippians in all wars from 1803 to 1898, and the work is possibly a pioneer undertaking in state historical work. The department is also engaged in collecting for publication the writings and speeches of Jefferson Davis. This undertaking has been in progress one year, and it is intended that the collection shall be full and complete.

The State has appropriated $16,000 for the support of the historical work during 1908–9; this includes $2,400 to aid the Mississippi Historical Society in publishing and distributing its publications.

The department of archives and history has been actively engaged in its work for six years, and during that time it has put in motion every activity set forth in the act by which it was established.

NEBRASKA.

The Nebraska legislature of 1905 passed an act making the Nebraska State Historical Society the custodian of state and county records and documents. The text of this act follows:

An act to make the Nebraska State Historical Society the custodian of records, documents, and historic material from the various departments of state, state institutions, court-houses, city halls, and other public buildings, and departments in the State of Nebraska, and to provide for making certified copies of the same by the officers of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Nebraska:

SECTION 1. (State Historical Society—Custodians of ancient public records.) The Nebraska State Historical Society is hereby made the custodian of all public records, documents, relics, and other material which it may consider of historic value or interest and which are now or may hereafter be in any office or vaults of the several departments of state, in any of the institutions which receive appropriations of money from the legislature of Nebraska, in any of the county court-houses or city halls or other public buildings within the State of Nebraska, subject always to the following regulations and conditions:

SEC. 2. (Records subject to this act—Receipts.) That such records, documents, relics, or other historic material shall not be in active use in any such department, institution, or building, nor have been in active use for the period of twenty years

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preceding their delivery to the custody of said State Historical Society. That such material, through lack of proper means to care for, or safe and adequate place to preserve, is liable to damage and destruction. That the officer or board having the care and management of such department, institution, or building, shall consent in writing to the custody of such documents, records, and materials by said State Historical Society. That the said State Historical Society shall cause invoice and receipts for such material so turned over to be made in triplicate, one copy to be deposited with the secretary of state, one with the officer or board turning over such material, and one retained by the secretary of the State Historical Society.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of every officer or board having control or management of any state department, institution, or building to notify the secretary of the State Historical Society whenever there are records, documents, relics, or material in his or their care coming within the scope of this act.

SEC. 4. (Cost of removal.) It shall be the duty of the State Historical Society by its officers or employees to examine such material and remove and receipt for such as shall seem to it of historic value. It shall transport the same at its own cost to its museum, and shall catalogue, arrange, and display the same for the free use of the public.

SEC. 5. (Certified copies.) Certified copies of any record, document, or other material of which the Nebraska State Historical Society shall be the custodian shall be made upon application by the secretary or curator of said society under seal and oath. Such certified copy shall be received in courts or elsewhere as of the same legal validity as similar certificates from the original custodian of such record, document, or other material, and the secretary or curator of said Nebraska State Historical Society shall be entitled to the same fees for making such certified copy as the original custodian.[a]

Approved March 30, 1905.

Because of the lack of proper facilities in the way of room and assistance the powers conferred by the act have not been fully employed. The Historical Society receives 50 copies of each document published by the State or by institutions. No work has as yet been done on the county records, but is being planned for and will be commenced as soon as rooms and funds are available.

The year of 1907 has been a year of intensive rather than extensive work by the Historical Society, and has been spent in arranging and cataloguing the large quantity of material on hand. Some few collections have been made of the correspondence and books of some of the earlier pioneers. The society has not been able to make any definite or consistent effort in obtaining these collections. It is hoped that this work will be taken up in the immediate future.

The legislature adopted an act, April 10, 1907, appropriating $25,000 for the construction of a basement story of a building for the State Historical Society and legislative reference department, in the city of Lincoln.[b]

The official papers of the various offices of the State are as a rule filed in the respective departments in which they originate. It would seem that additional legislation and appropriations are desirable.[c]

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[a] Laws of 1905, pp. 604–605.

[b] Laws of Nebraska, 1907, ch. 146.

[c] The commission is indebted to Prof. H. W. Caldwell, of the University of Nebraska, for most of the above information.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE.[a]

In New Hampshire the editor of State Papers has issued the first volume of the provincial probate records, covering the period from the date of Capt. John Mason's will, 1635, to 1717. The volume is an octavo of 874 pages, well indexed, and presents not only wills in full, but abstracts of all other probate documents. It is numbered volume 31 of the State Papers series, and volume 1 of Probate Records. Work on volume 2 is progressing.

The card indexes to the provincial deeds and probate records, prior to the organization of counties in 1771, have been completed in the office of secretary of state. These two indexes are combined in one alphabet, white cards being used for deeds, and buff cards for the probate material, so that all information in regard to a certain person or family is quickly available. The secretary's force is now engaged on a similar index of the files of the courts of law in the same period, the original documents being now, after several years of labor, collated by cases, and deposited in vertical filing cabinets.

The registrar of vital statistics has completed his collection of births, marriages, and deaths from the town records of all the towns in the State, beginning with the earliest records in every case, and continuing down to the present time. These are kept on cards, alphabetically arranged, and preserved in filing cabinets, and now constitute a collection of about 1,100,000 records. About 20,000 new records are added each year.

Provision was made by the legislature of 1907 that all town and city clerks should be required to send copies of the annual reports of the town or city to the New Hampshire Genealogical Society.[b]

The legislature also appropriated $200 to provide for the compiling, arranging, and annotating of the charters, the commissions to the royal governors, and the state constitution, the amendments thereto to be furnished to the editor of the edition of the charters and constitutions provided for by the Federal Government.[c]

NEW MEXICO.

Prof. John H. Vaughan, New Mexico Normal University, adjunct member.

But little that is definite can be said at present about the archives of New Mexico. They are of various kinds, badly scattered, and difficult of access. The two classes of chief importance are those of the Government, to be found at Santa Fe and in Washington; and those of the Catholic Church, to be found mainly at the older mission stations in different parts of the Territory. It is to be regretted that these archives of the church are somewhat difficult of access owing

[a] The compiler is under obligation to Mr. Otis G. Hammond, of the state library, for much of the data here presented.

[b] Laws of 1907, ch. 41.

[c] Laws of New Hampshire, 1907, ch. 167, p. 156.

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to the fact that a few unscrupulous historians and archæologists have taken advantage of the courtesies granted them by the custodians and have actually stolen and carried away old and priceless manuscripts. The official archives of the Government, too, have suffered from mere vandalism. One governor since the American occupation of the Territory sold government archives for wrapping paper to the merchants of Santa Fe.

These facts are enough to indicate that the archives of New Mexico are in a very chaotic condition, but this must not cause us to lose sight of the fact that these are still among the most valuable historical archives in the entire Southwest and that a careful cataloguing of this material so as to make it available for research would be a service to scholarship. The researches that have been made in different parts of the Territory show that there is scarcely a subject connected with the Spanish occupation of the country on which much light might not be found here if there were only some kind of a guide to the desired material. But, as yet, no working account of these materials has been left by any of the investigators, and the historian finds himself in a wilderness of material, with no roads and but few trails marked out by his predecessors.

There is no legislation on the subject of archives, nor has any money ever been appropriated or any arrangements made by the legislative assembly for their classification or preservation. The Historical Society of New Mexico is doing a praiseworthy work in collecting such material as can be purchased with its meager funds. But the great disadvantage of having no descriptive catalogue or finding list still remains, and the preparation of a careful report of this kind would be a service of the very greatest value to historical scholarship.

NEW YORK.

Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, Columbia University, member of commission.

The appointment of Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits as state historian, July 24, 1907, is the chief item of interest to be chronicled in connection with archive matters of this State. Historical students will unite in congratulating the State of New York upon this appointment. It is expected that under his direction important steps will be taken toward the supervision and publication of the rich historical material of the State.

By act of legislature of May 2, 1907, authority was given to permit the transfer of certain records from the office of the secretary of state to the state library. These consist chiefly of papers relating to the colonial period and that of the early years of the history of the State, as also of the returns and tabulations of the elections from 1838 to 1905 inclusive.[a]

[a] Laws of New York, 1907, ch. 274.

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NORTH CAROLINA.

Prof. Charles L. Raper, University of North Carolina, adjunct member.

The following act amending the act of the legislature of 1903, increasing the duties and enlarging the powers of the State Historical Society, was adopted by the legislature:

An act to amend chapter 96 of the Revisal of 1905, relating to the State Historical Commission.

SECTION 1. That chapter ninety-six of the Revisal of one thousand nine hundred and five be amended by striking out all after the word "quorum," in section one, line three, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: They shall be appointed by the governor on the first day of April, one thousand nine hundred and seven, who shall designate one member to serve for a term of two years, two members to serve for a term of four years, and two members to serve for a term of six years from the date of their appointments, and their successors shall be appointed by the governor and shall serve for a term of six years and until their successors are appointed and qualified: *Provided*, That in case of a vacancy in any of the above terms the person appointed to fill such vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term. They shall serve without salary, but shall be allowed their actual expenses when attending to their official duties, to be paid out of any funds hereinafter provided for the maintenance of said commission: *Provided*, Such expenses shall not be allowed for more than four meetings annually or for more than four days at each meeting.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the commission to have collected from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections and elsewhere, historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times; to have such material properly edited, published by the state printer as other state printing, and distributed under the direction of the commission; to care for the proper marking and preservation of battlefields, houses, and other places celebrated in the history of the State; to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina; to encourage the study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State, and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State; to make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs, to the governor, to be by him transmitted to the general assembly; and said commission is especially charged with the duty of cooperating with the commission appointed by the governor to make an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition in making at said exposition an historical exhibit illustrating the history of North Carolina from the earliest times.

SEC. 3. Said commission shall have power to adopt a seal for use and official business; to adopt rules for its own government not inconsistent with the provisions of this act; to fix a reasonable price for its publications and to devote the revenue arising from such sales to extending the work of the commission; to employ a secretary; to control the expenditure of such funds as may be appropriated for its maintenance: *Provided*, That at least one copy of its publications shall be furnished free of charge to any public school library or public library in North Carolina, state officers, and members of the general assembly making application for the same through its properly constituted authorities.

SEC. 4. Said commission shall have an office or offices set aside for its use by the board of trustees of the state library in the state library building: *Provided*, That until such office or offices become available said commission may rent an office or offices, the rent to be paid out of its maintenance fund.

SEC. 5. Any state, county, town, or other public official in custody of public documents is hereby authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to said commission for preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, news-

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paper files, printed books or portraits not in current use in his office, and said commission shall provide for their permanent preservation; and when so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified under the seal of the commission upon application of any person, which certification shall have the same force and effect as if made by the officer originally in charge of them, and the commission shall charge for such copies the same fees as said officer is by law allowed to charge, to be collected in advance.

SEC. 6. For carrying out the purposes and objects of this act the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as shall be needed over and above all of the funds derived from the sale of the publications of the commission and all the fees collected under section five of this act, is hereby annually appropriated out of funds in the hands of the state treasurer not otherwise appropriated; and upon order of the commission the state auditor is hereby empowered and directed to draw his warrant for this sum upon the state treasurer.

SEC. 7. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the general assembly read three times, and ratified this the 8th day of March, A. D. 1907.[a]

The following report prepared by the secretary of the commission, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, gives a brief résumé of the commission's work:

It soon became apparent that if the work expected of the commission was to be done properly a different and more effective organization was necessary than that provided for by the act of 1903. Accordingly the passage of the above act was secured, increasing the duties and enlarging the powers of the commission. It will be noted that this act, besides appropriating $5,000 annually, authorized the commission to employ a salaried secretary and to equip offices in the state capitol.

The members of the present commission are: J. Bryan Grimes, Raleigh; W. J. Peele, Raleigh; Thomas W. Blount, Roper; M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill, and D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

The commission organized May 20, 1907. Mr. Grimes was elected chairman and Mr. R. D. W. Connor secretary.

The commission found plenty of work at hand. Since its reorganization, its main efforts have been directed to rescuing from destruction letters and other documents of the executive department. This correspondence was found in the attic of a rented building in the business section of the city, where it had been thrown as so much trash. A vast amount of it has been removed, classified, and arranged and placed in temporary files in the document room of the commission in the state capitol. This work has not yet been completed, and still occupies the attention of the commission.

The commission has had copied for publication:

The Records of St. Paul's Vestry, Edenton, N. C., from January 3, 1714, to October 15, 1776.

[a] Public laws of North Carolina for 1907, ch. 714, p. 1031.

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The Private Letter Books of Governor Jonathan Worth, compiled and edited by Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton.

The Official Letters from the Executive Letter Books of the following governors: Richard Dobbs Spaight, 1792–1795; Samuel Ashe, 1795–1799; William Richardson Davie, 1799; Benjamin Williams, 1800–1802; James Turner, 1803–4; Nathaniel Alexander, 1805–1807; David Stone, 1808–1810; William Hawkins, 1811–1814; William A. Graham, 1845–1849.

The commission has placed in the Hall of History various pictures illustrating the history of North Carolina; and appropriated $100 to aid the history committee of the North Carolina Commission of the Jamestown Exposition in making an historical exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.

The commission has printed the following:

Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission to Governor Charles B. Aycock, 1903–1905.

Advanced Sheets of Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900–1905, Part I, relating to the work of the State Literary and Historical Association, and Part II, relating to the reports of Historical Organizations in North Carolina, both parts compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe.

Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861–1865. The report of the committee appointed by the State Literary and Historical Association, 1904, to reply to the Charges of Judge George L. Christian, of Virginia.

A State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records. An address delivered by R. D. W. Connor before the State Literary and Historical Association at Raleigh, November 15, 1906. Reprinted from The North Carolina Booklet.

Some notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700–1750, by J. Bryan Grimes. Reprinted from The North Carolina Booklet.

The Beginnings of English America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Efforts to Plant an English Colony on Roanoke Island, 1584–1587. By R. D. W. Connor. Prepared for distribution at the Jamestown Exposition.

Bulletin No. I. The North Carolina Historical Commission: Its Creation and Organization; Duties and Powers; Plans and Purposes. Prepared by the secretary.

The commission has the following in press:

Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900–1905. Compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe.

Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina, 1790–1840. Compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon.

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OHIO.

Prof. Robert T. Stevenson, Ohio Wesleyan University; Prof. Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, adjunct members.

In regard to the situation in Ohio there is little to be added to the report submitted in 1906. Much valuable manuscript material is practically inaccessible through lack of indexes and systematic classification. The Hon. C. D. Galbraith, state librarian, has recommended in his annual report the creation of a state archives department, but no action has as yet been taken by the general assembly. As the several departments are crowded the great need is for additional room. Many of the state departments are already occupying rented quarters outside of the capitol building. The subject of the erecting of a new building is now under consideration and should action be taken to that end it is believed that this will prepare the way for the establishment of a separate archives department.

OREGON.

Prof. F. G. Young, University of Oregon, adjunct member.

Nothing has been done recently either in the direction of the publication of archives or of legislation in regard to their care and preservation. The secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, Prof. F. G. Young, in his last report, urged the removal of the location of the society from Portland to the capital, in order that it might be intrusted with the organization and conservation of the archive material, the most valuable portion of which is found there. A committee of the society was appointed to consider this project, but were unwilling at present to recommend the carrying out of the proposal.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the commission.

Five different laws were passed by the legislature during the session of 1907 relating either to the archives or to matters of historical interest. By act of June 8, the membership of the Advisory Commission of Public Records was increased from five to seven.[a] The chairman of the Public Record Commission, Prof. Herman V. Ames, was appointed by the governor a member of this advisory commission.

By act of the legislature of March 22, the publication of an additional series of archives, not to exceed 15 volumes, was provided for. The edition is to consist of 2,000 copies. The state librarian was made the editor of the series.[b] An appropriation of $1,500 was made, authorizing the state librarian to make facsimiles of ancient documents.[c] A further act authorized the state librarian to assist the

[a] Laws of Pennsylvania, 1907, ch. 316, p. 468.
[b] Laws of Pennsylvania, 1907, ch. 38, p. 32.
[c] Laws of Pennsylvania, 1907, ch. 466.

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Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies in the preparation of a bibliography of the Commonwealth; $2,000 was appropriated for this purpose.[a] A fifth act provided for the purchase by the State of 400 copies of any history published by any organization of Pennsylvania volunteers and for the distribution of these copies. An appropriation of $8,000 was provided for this purpose for two years.[b]

The Division of Public Records, since its creation by the act of 1903, has made great progress in collecting, classifying, and mounting the older documents from the various offices in the capitol. Up to the close of the year 1907 the division had completed 295 volumes of mounted papers, and had classified and systematically arranged 232 filing cases of documents. All the papers of the counties formed prior to the adoption of the constitution of 1790 have been carefully assorted, and special classifications have been made for the Asylum Company, boundary lines, Connecticut claims, provincial commissions, forfeited estates, French emigrants, lists of immigrants, Indian affairs, Indian deeds, letters of marque, maps, naturalization papers, oaths of allegiance, provincial petitions, roads and canals, and ship captains' lists.

The department has received and answered 8,400 letters and issued nearly 1,500 certificates of military service, besides copying and certifying to letters and petitions. Upward of 200 tracings of the signatures of emigrants from continental Europe were also furnished.

The division now has a catalogue of names, events, and places containing 240,000 entries, and questions concerning the early records can now be answered in a few minutes which formerly might have taken weeks of research.

In addition to the ordinary work of the division an effort has been made to convince people that when they have a document which shows deterioration the division is willing to put it in proper and safe condition for them; and in this way a large number of such papers have been saved from destruction.

RHODE ISLAND.

Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, member of the commission.

In the annual report of the state record commissioner for the year ending December 31, 1907 (Providence, 1908, pp. 40), the commissioner, Mr. R. Hammett Tilley, states that the work of the commission has lain along the same lines as in preceding years; that special attention has been paid to the condition of the vaults and safes in the county and district courts, and that the work of preservation and rebinding the records has been continued in some of the towns. The

[a] Laws of Pennsylvania, 1907, ch. 372.
[b] Laws of Pennsylvania, 1907, ch. 371.

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commission has continued the work of examining the records and files in the custody of the secretary of state. Special appropriation was made for the preparation of a list of Colonial and Revolutionary soldiers, which work has been done under the supervision of the commission. The report presents a somewhat detailed account of the condition of the court records and provisions for their safe-keeping, as also of the records of the several cities and towns of the State. The recommendation that an archives division be established is renewed. In addition, several recommendations are made in regard to the enactment of laws requiring cities and towns to provide fireproof receptacles for their records, as also to various other matters relating to their care, suggested from experience in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The sum of $600 is annually appropriated by the State for the record commission, and in recent years $500 annually has been appropriated toward defraying the expenses of compiling the commissioner's report.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, adjunct member.

Considerable progress has been made during the past year in classifying and publishing the archives. Prior to 1865, it would appear from internal evidence that the records must have been kept in a condition fully abreast of the best methods of the times, but upon the approach of Sherman's army the records in the offices of secretary of state, comptroller-general, and surveyor-general and a few scattering records from other state departments, were bundled off to a place of safety by the then secretary of state, Col. William R. Huntt. When they were brought back after the war they were dumped in vacant rooms, attics, and basements, and such as were needed for daily use were shelved in a crude way. From 1905 the beginning of a new era can be dated. Since that time, under the auspices of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, then created, considerable progress has been made in classifying, shelving, and indexing the older records. In 1906, $150 was set apart as a publication fund with which the Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, March 26, 1776–April 11, 1776, was published (pp. 89). In 1907 the publication fund was increased to $500, as a result of which during the past year two fragments of the Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina have been published. The first volume covers the period from August 25, 1671–June 24, 1680 (pp. 91), and the second covers the period from April 11, 1692–September 26, 1692 (pp. 67). These volumes were edited by the secretary, Mr. A. S. Salley, jr. These two fragments of the Journals of the Grand Council are all that have been found of the Journals of the Council for the entire proprietary period.

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It is hoped that journals covering the other periods may be discovered in England among the papers of descendants of some of the proprietors, inasmuch as these latter required the secretary of the province to furnish them with duplicates of all legislative proceedings.

In addition, two volumes of the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina have been published. The first covers the session of September 20, 1692–October 15, 1692, comprising the earliest entries in the extant journals. The second volume contains the journals for the four sessions of 1693. It is expected that the next volume published will include the two sessions of the year 1696.[a]

TENNESSEE.

Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, University of the South, adjunct member.

The legislature of the State has provided for the continuance of the present provision for the care of the archives, but in addition it authorized the appointment of a joint legislative committee of five to examine the older records and archives of the State and report as to the condition in which it finds them, and what, if anything, should be done for the preservation and care of the same.[b]

TEXAS.

Prof. Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas, adjunct member.

Under the law, the State Library is the custodian of the historical archives of the State. The report of the state librarian and archivist, Mr. E. W. Winkler, for the year ending August 31, 1906 (Houston, 1906, pp. 101), consists of a review of the work which has been done on the archives, together with a statement of recent acquisitions. Accompanying the report is a calendar of the manuscripts contained in a volume of the Ramo de Guerra in the Archivo General y Publico de México, comprising some 26 pages of the report, as also a third calendar of Yoakum Papers. For the year 1907 no report of the state librarian has been published, and for the time being the work on the archives has absolutely been suspended.

The University of Texas has employed a cataloguer who is working on the Austin collection in the custody of the university, and it is expected that before another year work will also begin on the Bexar archives. Attention may also be directed to the publication of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Prof. George P. Garrison, of the University of Texas, which appears in part in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association for the present year, constituting Volume II of the annual report.

[a] The present session of the general assembly, February, 1908, has increased the funds available for publication by empowering the commission to use the proceeds from the sales of its publications.

[b] Laws of Tennessee, 1907, p. 2189. Resolution of January 30, 1907.

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VIRGINIA.[a]

The department of archives and history in the Virginia State Library was engaged in diversified work in the year 1907. The department was organized in 1906, and that year was spent in arranging and classifying certain collections of papers and in attending to the routine work of communicating manuscripts to students and of answering correspondence. In 1907 the routine work grew to large proportions. Bound manuscripts were issued to readers about eleven hundred times, and more than three hundred letters, some of which called for lengthy research, were answered.

The arranging of the manuscripts was carried on through the year but was greatly interrupted. The legislative petitions were selected in 1906 as the first collection to be filed and catalogued. These papers had formerly been arranged in chronological order without any other classification. As they are of especial interest in regard to local affairs, however, and as the signatures attached to them are very valuable, the order was changed and the papers were grouped in a classification by counties. About two thousand five hundred petitions have been pressed and filed in filing cases. The calendaring of the papers has been kept abreast of the filing. About five hundred abstracts have been made, but as some of these were made by temporary assistants the work will have to be done over again in most cases.

The department was occupied during a great part of the year with the Jamestown Exposition. As soon as the library board determined to send an exhibit to the exposition, plans were drawn up by the department. The library joined the Virginia Historical Society in a joint exhibit, and the Historical Society contributed many valuable and interesting papers. The collection presented a documentary history of Virginia and her institutions from early times to the end of the civil war. The exhibit occupied twenty-eight cases in the main room of the history building and consisted of more than seven hundred manuscripts. A collection of Virginia maps was also shown. The archivist, besides being employed for a considerable length of time in preparing the exhibit, was called upon to spend a part of the summer at the exposition looking after it.

The report of the state librarian for 1906–7 shows that two additional volumes of the Journals of the House of Burgesses were published during the year, as follows: Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766–1769 (Richmond, 1906, pp. 372), Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761–1765 (Richmond, 1907, pp. 383).

[a] The compiler is indebted to Dr. H. J. Eckenrode, archivist of the Virginia State Library, for this statement of the work of the department.

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WEST VIRGINIA.

Virgil A. Lewis, state historian and archivist, Charleston, adjunct member.

Mr. Lewis's first biennial report of the department of archives and history, dated October 1, 1906 (Charleston, 1906, pp. 271), contains much of interest relating to the archives of the State, as well as considerable historical data. The department is installed in commodious quarters on the third floor of the new capitol annex building. In addition to the printed collections, it possesses more than 2,000 manuscripts, a considerable portion of which belong to the period of reorganized government of the year 1862. An earnest effort is being made to add to the collections of the department, and an appeal has been sent out to the people of the State to deposit or contribute such matter as relates to the history or archives of the State.

WISCONSIN.

Prof. Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, Madison, member of commission.

As stated in the report on Wisconsin in 1905, the archives are still in charge of the several departments in which the documents originate. This has led to less diversity of methods in the keeping and handling of the current archives than might be supposed. In general the departments use the modern card-index and filing systems, and the materials used are such as to insure permanency. In the handling of documents not absolutely necessary there is more variety and less to commend. Some departments, where there is frequent call for documents, as in the supreme court and the land office, have excellent arrangements. In other departments, certain classes of documents, such as the civil war accounts in the treasury, recently overhauled to support the State's claim upon the National Government, are easily accessible. Elsewhere the documents, though safe, are in a condition varying from difficulty of access to inaccessibility. There is no state supervision of local records.

The last legislature passed a law, May 8, 1907, authorizing the officials in charge to hand over documents not needed for current use to the keeping of the State Historical Society,[a] and this probably foreshadows the storing up of such archives as have a direct historical value in the building of that society, where they will be convenient to general use. It is, however, possible that with the completion of the new capitol an archives department may be created.

[a] Laws of Wisconsin, 1907, ch. 88, p. 777.

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XII. FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA AND THE REVOLUTIONIZING OF SPANISH AMERICA.

By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, PH. D.,
Assistant Professor of History in Western Reserve University.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize of the American Historical Association was divided between the author of this monograph and Dr. E. B. Krehbiel, author of a monograph on "The Interdict, its History and its Operation, with especial attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III."

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FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA AND THE REVOLUTIONIZING OF SPANISH AMERICA.

PREFACE.

"Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America" is an essay in a comparatively unexplored field of history. It was originally prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy, and as a dissertation was awarded the George Washington Egleston historical prize at Yale University in 1903. It has since been considerably modified because of the discovery of additional archival material. My thanks are first due to the late Prof. E. G. Bourne, under whose direction the investigation was begun, for helpful suggestions, especially of a bibliographical character. Space forbids more than a general acknowledgment of indebtedness to many individuals and organizations that aided me by granting access to books and manuscripts. In particular, however, I wish to express my sense of obligation for permission extended by the governments of England, France, Spain, the United States, and Mexico to examine their archives. I am grateful to the officials of these archives, especially to Hubert Hall, esq., of the Public Record Office, London, England; Señor Don Julian Paz, director of the Spanish archives at Simancas; and Dr. Justino Rubio, director of the archivo general in Mexico City. An expression of gratitude to Prof. W. R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, and Prof. H. E. Bolton, of the University of Texas, for suggestions regarding material in the archives of Spain and of Mexico, respectively, may not be omitted. Many thanks are also due to those who read the essay carefully: Mr. S. E. Allen, of Williams College; Dr. C. C. Arbuthnot and Prof. H. E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University. Lastly, I must express my appreciation of the advice and encouragement so often given by Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, under whom my interest in Spanish-American history began.

MENTOR HEADLANDS, OHIO, *August 18, 1908.*

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Chapter I.

SOME HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF MIRANDA.

The dominant motive of Francisco de Miranda was to free his native country, Spanish America, from the rule of Spain. During a large part of his remarkable career Miranda tenaciously clung to the belief that his fellow-countrymen could achieve their independence only by the active aid and cooperation of one or more of the great powers of the world, notably France and England. So early was his activity and so great were his services that he has been called the apostle of Spanish-American independence. The idea of severing the whole or a part of the vast dominions of Spain in America from the mother country was not, however, first conceived in the fertile brain of Francisco de Miranda. On the contrary, this idea was present in the minds of many people, Englishmen, Spanish Americans, and Frenchmen, long before the plans of Miranda were fully formed. Hence it will be the aim of this chapter to consider briefly the attitude of England and France toward Spanish America before the advent of Miranda, as well as to describe some of his forerunners.

The manifold designs of various European powers against Spanish America find their ultimate origins in the bitter jealousies and ambitions that were the accompaniment or the outcome of the work of discovery and exploration. The desire to singe the Spanish king's beard did not by any means die out after the defeat of the great armada. Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh were followed by men of a similar type. Sir Walter Raleigh was not the last Englishman to dream of retrieving his fallen fortunes by founding a colonial empire in the Spanish-American dominions. In this respect, the age of Elizabeth finds its parallelisms in the Cromwellian era. Hakluyt's "Discourse on Western Planting" was succeeded by Thomas Gage's "A New Survey of the West Indies; or the English American, his Travels by Sea and Land." Thomas Gage had lived in Spanish America about twelve years, mainly in Mexico and Central America. His book, first published in 1748, was an attempt to describe these regions. It passed through several editions and was translated into several European languages. In the epistle to the reader Gage said: "To my countrymen therefore I offer a New World to be the subject

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of their future Pains, Valor, and Piety." After discussing the value of the English possessions in the West Indies to England, he said that, as the Englishmen had become inured to the climate of these islands, they were "more enabled thereby to undertake any enterprise upon the firm land with greater facility. Neither is the difficulty so great as some may imagine; for I dare be bold to affirm it knowingly, That with the same pains and charge which they have been at in planting one of these petty Islands, they might have conquered so many great Cities and large Territories on the main continent, as might very well merit the Title of a Kingdom." After discussing the claims of the Spanish monarch to territory in the New World, he waived them aside, saying, "God hath given the earth to the sons of men to inhabit."[a] This book must have suggested to the minds of many the idea of extending the English dominions in America at the expense of Spain. In 1654, Gage used a similar argument to incite Oliver Cromwell to attack the West Indian possessions, as well as some of the continental possessions of Spain in America. He argued that the task would not be difficult, for "though the continent bee vast, and of many thousand miles, yett it is very thinnely peopled by Spaniards." The greatest cities lacked guns, field pieces, walls, and castles. The Spaniards themselves were lazy, sinful, and otherwise unfitted for war. The mulattoes and negroes would not oppose the movement; if they were given arms they were even likely to turn against their masters. There were many factions among the inhabitants. The Indians, being unarmed, could not resist invasion. Gage also discussed the various points of attack. Of all the islands adjacent to the continent, there was, in his opinion, "none like unto Hispaniola and Cuba." There was no place easier to land on the continent than "Honduras in Gulpho Dulce." He then proceeded to point out how Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, the South Sea, Peru, Mexico, Yucatan, and Campeche might be attacked.[b] Thus, a comprehensive scheme of attack on this "fat and rich country" was sketched. About the same time Colonel Muddiford outlined another plan. He proposed that the English forces land at the island of Barbados, take St. Joseph, in Trinidad, and then proceed to disembark on the Spanish main. The initial attack, he believed, should be made at the Orinoco River. Thence the conquest of St. Thomas, Margarita, Cumana, Caracas, Venezuela, and, if advisable, Carthagena, could be undertaken. He agreed that of all the islands Cuba was the best, for it was the "back door of the Indies."[c] Whether these two plans had any great influence in deciding Cromwell to attack the West Indian possessions

[a] Gage, New Survey, "To the Reader."
[b] Thurloe, State Papers, III, 59–62.
[c] Ibid., 62, 63.

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of Spain in 1655 or not,[a] it seems that this expedition was only meant as a preliminary step to the conquest and absorption of some of the continental possessions of Spain in America. In a letter written in October, 1655, one month after the forces had departed, Cromwell thus voiced what was probably the sentiment of many: "It is much designed among us to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas * * * to restrain and suppress the tyrannies and usurpations of the King of Spain in all those countries by a pretended donation of the Pope."[b]

The buccaneers who preyed upon the Spanish settlements in America during the seventeenth century were doubtless inspired by religious and international jealousy, as well as by other motives. Under the leadership of such men as Mansveldt, Morgan, and De Graaf, these corsairs raided and plundered Porto Bello, Maracaibo, Carthagena, Vera Cruz, Panama, Guayaquil, and other Spanish strongholds. They robbed the Spanish galleons of pieces of eight wherever they could find them. One of these sea rovers, at least, seems to have thought of planting a colony in the Spanish Indies. The entire movement is to an extent epitomized in the career of Morgan, the prince of buccaneers, who after an attack on Panama, in 1671, in which he carried off rich booty, abandoned his piratical companions, became governor of Jamaica, and was later knighted. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the trade of buccaneering became almost extinct in the West Indies.[c] It is interesting to notice that some of the very islands in the groups which were infested by these freebooters afterwards became the refuge of filibusters and revolutionists, who plotted how to attack the King of Spain very much as did their buccaneering predecessors, whom in some respects they resembled. Some of the English settlements in this region, notably the plantation on the Mosquito shore, were the outgrowth of semipiratical settlements.

The eighteenth century, however, was the era in which designs against the Spanish dominions in America were numerous and far-reaching. After the failure of the English attack on Carthagena, in 1741, there was embodied in a private memorial to the English Government the essence of the idea which was later to animate many revolutionary agitators. The writer began by suggesting that many Britons believed that English success at Carthagena would, if properly followed up, make the English "masters of all Spanish America." This he deprecated. The dangers of English conquest were dwelt upon; it was pointed out that to maintain possession of

[a] On the relation of the schemes of Gage and Muddiford to the expedition of Cromwell, see Strong, The Causes of Cromwell's West Indian Expedition. Am. Hist. Rev., IV., 242, 243.

[b] As quoted by Fortescue, Macmillan's Magazine, LXIX, 184.

[c] Esquemeling, The Buccaneers of America, especially the introduction by Henry Powell.

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Spanish America when conquered would require "strong garrisons and colonies." It would cost treasure and raise envious neighbors. It would provoke such a coalition against England that she could not maintain her hold. The solution which the author of this memoir suggested was to open all the ports of Spanish America to trade. That, in the existing condition of affairs, would be difficult to accomplish. Hence it was suggested that the English enter into an alliance with the Spanish Americans, "as with free people," to liberate their country from the rule of Spain. England would then have the right to carry on the war in behalf of her allies. "It well becomes a free people to place others in the same condition with themselves. To deliver so many nations from Tyranny will be truer Glory than Alexander gained by all his Victories * * * we shall thereby greatly increase our own Riches, wch. is the end of all conquests: and we shall do it without raising the just envy of our neighbors, wch. is likely to make our happiness the more lasting."[a]

It was only natural that schemes for detaching part or all of the Spanish dominions in America from the parent country should have been always more numerous in England when that country was warring with Spain or when war seemed imminent. Thus in 1779, when France had entered into an alliance with the revolting colonists of England in America, which drew Spain, the ally of France, into the struggle, such projects multiplied. In that year the English minister, Lord George Germain, informed Governor Dalling of Jamaica that his Government had decided to begin hostilities against Spain. Louisiana and the province of Darien were deemed the most feasible points of attack for a small force. Accordingly Dalling was ordered to cooperate, if possible, with General Campbell, the commander of the English forces in West Florida, in an attack on New Orleans. The Mosquito Indians were to be supplied with arms and ammunition and encouraged to make inroads into the Spanish territory. It was declared, however, that England did not then intend to make conquests or to establish colonies in Spanish America, but that her purpose was to annoy Spain and to deprive her of a considerable portion of her most profitable commerce.[b] In December, 1776, an interesting and lengthy scheme to "annihilate universally the Spanish dominions in America" was forwarded from Pisa to Lord George Germain. Captain Kaye, the author of this scheme, which perhaps was not seriously considered by the English ministers until 1779, suggested that, in case of a war with Spain, the starting point of the attack should be on the Mosquito shore. England was to aid the inhabitants of Spanish America in gaining their freedom by furnishing fifteen or twenty thousand troops and a fleet. She was to restore the govern-

[a] Am. Hist. Rev., IV, 325–328.
[b] Germain to Dalling, June 17, 1779, P. R. O., Jamaica, 16.

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ment of the Incas of Peru and to allow the inhabitants of other parts of Spanish America to establish such governments as they should deem suitable. Until the end of the war of liberation the revenues of Spanish America were to go to England. The property of the Spanish officers who did not join the revolutionists was to be divided among the English forces engaged in the war. In return for the valuable aid furnished by England that country was to enjoy a "free and exclusive trade and commerce" with Spanish America and was to be insured possession of all the seacoasts of that country. Captain Kaye, who had served on the coasts of Spanish America, believed that the native inhabitants would readily cooperate in the plan. "What of all things most merits attention," said he, "is a Predilection which the Natives of Spanish America have in favor of this Expedition, arising from a Prophecy of Old Date, Universally believed and Carefully handed down from one Generation to Another; 'That a far distant Nation, Commanding the Sea, Shall Come in Ships to their deliverance, and, freeing them from the Yoke and Oppression of the Spaniards, shall Restore them to the possession of their Liberty and Country.' This may be used to the best advantage both in Composing the Manifestos and in publishing them among the People."[a] This argument for an attack beginning on the Mosquito shore was also urged in a somewhat different form at about the same time by Robert White.[b]

Other suggestions of a similar nature had come to England from Italy through Mr. Hippisley, who had been brought into contact with some of the Jesuits who had been expelled from the Spanish dominions in America in 1767. The members of the militant Society of Jesus had acquired large properties and influence in these regions; hence it was not without disgust and disaffection that some of them, when banished from their homes in America, went to live on a slender pittance in Europe. A few of them, at least, were anxious to avenge their real or fancied wrongs. Hippisley felt that they would be "essential instruments" in revolutionizing Spanish America.[c] In the autumn of 1779, acting on the advice of some of them, Hippisley suggested that Mexico could easily be conquered by an expedition from the West Indies aimed against Lower California and by an attack on Acapulco and Veracruz. It was hinted that the interior of the country be left to native control. The embittered Jesuits could be used as emissaries by the attacking forces.[d] These propositions attracted the attention of Lord North and Warren Hastings. Subsequently Hippisley seems to have held several conferences with

[a] Memorandum, "Respecting a War with Spain," P. R. O., Jamaica, 17.
[b] White to Sir Archibald Campbell, October 25, 1790, Chatham MSS., 120.
[c] Castlereagh, Correspondence, VII, 261.
[d] Ibid., 263–265.

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Lord North on this subject. Plans for an expedition to South America by way of India seem actually to have been laid before the English cabinet by Lord North "and approved." A certain Colonel Fullarton appears to have made some arrangements for the execution of the enterprise.[a] Whatever mode of action was contemplated, it was not carried out, however, probably because of the peace which was concluded by England with the revolutionary American colonists and their allies.

Other suggestions of this sort are found in the literature of this period. In the memorial which Governor Pownall drew up in 1780, he declared that South America was "growing too much for Spain to manage" and that it would become independent "as soon as any occasion" called forth its power. The revolt, in his opinion, would not be like that which occurred in North America, for it would be carried on "in its natural progress, by the spirit of some injured, enterprising genius taking the lead of a sense of alienation and of a disposition to revolt to the establishment of a great Monarchy."[b] In August, 1783, a man who subscribed himself Jack Hood descanted on the value of the Mosquito shore to England. "How easy it is," said he, "from this kingdom to accomplish one of the greatest enterprises on the Globe that of Liberating Spanish America with the assistance of those friendly and brave Indians that have never been subdued; they have a tradition 'that they shall Conquer the Spaniards with the grey-eyed People.'"[c] But Jack Hood, like others, was little heeded, for England made peace with France and Spain. The same topic was brought to the attention of John Adams, then representing the Government of the United States in England. In 1783 "The Crisis of Europe," written, said he, by "a learned British knight," proposed a confederation of the leading European powers to check the overweening ambition of the Bourbon princes by freeing the Spanish-American colonies, abolishing the restrictions on their commerce, and distributing the insular colonies among the cooperating powers.[d]

The project of severing the American colonies of Spain from the parent country was also entertained by other persons than those of English birth or descent. If we may trust a memoir presented to Governor Dalling, of Jamaica, in 1780, at some time between 1767 and 1771, "a deputation of several persons of wealth and distinction from Mexico arrived at the court of Madrid to represent to the King the intolerable hardships, oppressions, and cruelties practised by the Spanish governors in Mexico over the Inhabitants and praying

[a] Castlereagh, Correspondence, VII, 268, 269.

[b] Pownall, A Memorial, 26, 27.

[c] Communication dated London, August 1, 1783, to Grey Elliot, P. R. O., Am. and W. I., 606.

[d] Sparks, Diplomatic Correspondence, V. 124–.

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redress, but the King governed by his Ministers rejected their Complaints." These deputies, said the author of the memoir, became angered at this treatment and proposed to a French officer, the Marquis d'Aubarde, "a plan to dispossess the Spaniards of this fountain of wealth and commerce." A number of banished Jesuits were consulted and many conferences were held at which, it was said, "the most convincing proofs" were given the marquis "that the whole body of the people of Mexico were ready for a revolt and to put themselves under the protection of the British Government, if a proper plan could be adopted for that purpose." After lengthy discussions, the Mexican leaders, in return for the aid of England, agreed to surrender to that power Veracruz and the island of San Juan de Ulloa. England was also to enjoy an exclusive monopoly of the import trade. Immediately after the revolution the Mexicans were to loan England £20,000,000 at 3 per cent interest. If England should become involved in a war on account of the aid which she extended to the Mexicans, the deputies agreed to instigate a like revolt in Chile and Peru. When independence was established, the Mexicans were to be allowed to found a republic under the protection of England with their own form of government and the free exercise of their religion. In return for his services in forwarding the desired end, the marquis was to receive a little State of his own that was to form a barrier between the English possessions and the "Imperial republic." The expedition was to have been composed of five men-of-war with troops and warlike stores, a place of rendezvous was fixed upon, and it was proposed to have the uprising take place simultaneously throughout the Kingdom of Mexico. It was affirmed that this plan had been laid before the English Government by the French marquis and given favorable consideration. In some way, however, the plot came to the ears of the French minister in England, who with the Prince of Masserano protested against such proceedings in times of peace. The Earl of Shelburne left office and the scheme was dropped.[a] Such are the main outlines of a story told to Governor Dalling, of Jamaica, by F. L. Cardinaux, a Swiss officer, who was seeking employment in the English service in the West Indies. While the exact amount of truth in this account is difficult to determine, Cardinaux's communication, which was duly forwarded to the home government, was doubtless intended to suggest an English attack on Mexico in 1780.[b] It is also certain that in 1767, or thereabouts, the

[a] Inclosure in a communication of F. L. Cardinaux to Governor Dalling, February 26, 1780, P. R. O., Jamaica, 19.

[b] See Cardinaux's "Observations on the Facilitating a General Revolt in the Empire of Mexico," accompanying the communication of February 26, 1780. Dalling forwarded the communications of Cardinaux to Germain on March 26, 1780, P. R. O., Jamaica, 19.

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Spanish Government had reason to suspect the English of formulating such designs. In October of that year the Spanish envoy in London reported that he believed England to be contemplating an expedition against that part of Spanish America bordering on the Portuguese possessions.[a] Almost contemporaneously, the Spaniards, with or without good cause, suspected the English of harboring designs against Peru,[b] as well as against the La Plata region.[c]

Cardinaux's story is rendered more probable by the fact that in the middle of the year 1786 an emissary named Francisco de Mendiola arrived in England ostensibly from Mexico. The Spanish Government soon became aware of his presence in London. Consequently its representative, Bernardo del Campo, was instructed to watch the proceedings of Mendiola.[d] Accordingly Campo gathered information regarding the agent and transmitted it to Spain. In a rough jotting by some one who had probably met him, Mendiola was described as "a short thick set man—pitted with the small pox—extremely brown—his hair and eyebrows black, and seemed to have a defect in one of his eyes—he wore a blue coat." He was about 30 years of age.[e] Bernard del Campo also reported that Mendiola had gone to see "various persons of character," among them Pitt and a prominent banker, Mr. Robert Hervey. He had brought with him certain projects.[f] The nature of these was disclosed in a paper addressed to the King of England, dated Mexico, November 10, 1785, and apparently signed by the Count of Santiago, the Count of Torre Cassio, and the Marquis of Guardiola. It was declared that these men were the representatives of the city and the kingdom of Mexico, who had commissioned Mendiola to proceed to England where he was to negotiate for aid from the English Government in the plan of liberating that Kingdom from the rule of Spain. In the instructions to the emissary the authors declared that they were daily oppressed and harassed by the court of Madrid, which made them feel, by all sorts of imposts and evil treatment, "the tyrannical despotism which destroys the Constitution of Liberty which is due us; and puts us in the Class of vile Slaves of the Coast of Guinea." They declared that the Mexicans had succored the Spanish Government during the late war with more than 70,000 piasters for the support of her armies in America and Europe, but because of their oppressive treatment

[a] "Noticia" of Mello de Castro, October 11, 1767, A. G. S., Estado, 6963.

[b] Guill y Gonzaga to Arriaga (copy), November 16, 1767, ibid., 6969.

[c] Masserano to Grimaldi, January 26, 1768, ibid., 6968. In 1767 the Portuguese also suspected the English of harboring designs against Latin America in conjunction with the Jesuits. Saint-Priest, La Chute des Jésuites, Appendix, 293–.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, December 22, 1786, A. G. S., Estado, 8145.

[e] Campo to Floridablanca, March 29, 1787, gives a Spanish translation of this note, which is jotted on a letter of Floridablanca dated March 12, and adds the age, ibid.

[f] Ibid., February 15, 1787, A. G. S., Estado, 8145.

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they felt themselves constrained by dire necessity to cast off by force the yoke which oppressed them and to secure their liberty.

These three men, who styled themselves nobles, declared that they were in possession of sufficient treasure so that at the first signal they would be able to place 40,000 men under arms. They lacked, however, arms and munitions of war. Accordingly they asked England to sell them, at Jamaica, a supply of muskets, powder, balls, and similar stores. For these articles they pledged themselves to pay 2,000,000 piasters. Mendiola was to solicit the powerful protection of the King of England. He was further empowered, so declared this instrument, to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with England. That country, it was declared, would draw immense profits from the valuable commerce of liberated Mexico.[a] While the position and the character of the three alleged Mexican noblemen whose names are appended to this document may properly be questioned, the conclusion can not be avoided that this scheme for the emancipation of Mexico from Spanish rule with the aid and connivance of England was presented to that Government in the year 1786, perhaps by an agent of discontented Mexicans.

In the end of 1783 and the beginning of 1784 similar advances were made to the English Government by a mysterious character known as Don Juan. This personage represented himself to be the deputy of a secret association, including both Spanish creoles and Indians, which had ramifications in various parts of Spanish America, but which had its chief strength in Chile. According to Don Juan's story, the members of the club had been preparing the way for a revolution for some time. Most of the persons who had sworn to the acts of association were represented as being men of wealth and distinction in America. The chief of this alleged association, Don Juan, proposed to unite Chile, Tucuman, Peru, and Patagonia under one government, which was to be modeled somewhat on the government of England. The chief seems to have been fond of declaring that the monarch was to be the only slave in the whole dominions. "The mine," said an English sympathizer, Mr. Bott, "is laid and charged; nothing is wanting but a train to set fire to it."

The main outlines of the plot appear to have been drawn up in America about the end of the year 1782. The chief was dispatched to England and instructed to apply to the Government of that country for succor. At first he appears to have asked for a supply of 6,000 land troops and "a proportionable squadron of ships of war." Having obtained these, he was to proceed immediately to the La Plata River, where part of the force was to be landed. The rest of the

[a] Chatham MSS., 345, a copy of the proposal is found in the Documentary Appendix, No. 1.

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armament was then to attempt to overthrow the Spanish Government in Peru. Meanwhile it was expected that the forces which had been left at Buenos Ayres would have conquered Tucuman. The conspirators evidently did not expect that Spain thus attacked would be able to make a sturdy resistance.

Before Don Juan arrived in England, however, the war with Spain had ceased. Consequently he was forced to lower his demand for aid to an armament of 6,000 soldiers and sailors. This request was apparently made to the coalition ministry, probably to Fox. The desired succor was refused. Don Juan seems to have again lowered his demand; he now asked England for the aid of 1,800 men. To this proposal no attention was paid. Negotiations, if we may properly dignify these proceedings with that name, had apparently proceeded thus far as early as the 6th of September, 1783.

Don Juan and his English sympathizer, Mr. Bott, now retired to the country to meditate upon the best policy to be pursued. The Spanish-American seems to have resolved to hazard the attempt if only 1,200 men could be secured from the English Government. In this case he intended to direct the attack against Callao, where he believed that his success would be as certain though not so speedy as with a greater force. It was now hoped that by private aid an armament of six ships might be prepared. To meet obvious objections it was suggested that the ships need not all be fitted out and manned in England, but could be got ready at different ports and under various pretexts. They could be timed to sail at different dates to rendezvous on the coast of Patagonia. Only a few chief officers were to be informed of the true destination of the ships. The scheme was to be gradually broken to the others on the voyage, who were to be induced to adhere to the enterprise by liberal promises of pay and advancement. It was cleverly pointed out that the encouragement of the project would not necessarily provoke a war with Spain, for if the enterprise failed it could be disavowed and the men who engaged in it could be treated as pirates. If the project was successful England could "laugh" at the complaints of Spain, for she could disavow the filibusters, pretend ignorance, or favor the revolution as she saw fit. A ship was to be dispatched from the South Sea bearing envoys who would offer to England for her support a "free gift" or subsidy of £1,000,000 for fifty years and an exclusive trade from England to South America for ten years. England was to have the exclusive trade in negroes. She was to be allowed to establish factories. She was also to be offered a liberal allowance of land wherever desired and the occupation of the port of Baldivia during the revolution. It was declared that these propositions were to be made the basis of a treaty between England and the revolted

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colonies.[a] Although the minor details of the project are again somewhat hazy and uncertain, yet the main features as described by Mr. Bott, an English advocate of the scheme, are corroborated by reports of the Spanish minister in England regarding the leading conspirator.[b] Like some of the schemes already discussed, this resembles in some respects the projects later presented to the English Government by Francisco de Miranda.

The documents preserved in the official papers of William Pitt raise some interesting queries regarding the identity of Don Juan and also regarding the authorship of the plan of emancipation. Who was Don Juan? Some inkling of his real character is afforded by the intelligence received by Campo who was spying on the actions of the agitator. One of the spies who was gathering information for Campo claimed to have lived with Don Juan. This spy, called Chandia or Daumont, declared that the shadowy don was 32 years of age. His whole body was of a swarthy color, except his hands, which were white. It was asserted that Don Juan was living a double life. He lived in one house under the name of Don John and passed as an official in the service of Spain. In another house he posed as a master of languages with the name of M. De la Tour.[c] According to the information received by Campo from José de Flagle, an ecclesiastic who had insinuated himself into the confidence of the alleged emissary, the latter was in reality a Frenchman by birth, named Duprés. He called himself, however, a Spaniard with the full name of Don Juan Antonio de Prado. He had lived in Peru for some time and spoke Spanish like a native. Animated with the idea of freeing that country from the rule of Spain, he had formed a plan for revolutionizing it with the aid of his Peruvian friends. Flagle assured the Spanish minister that Don Juan cherished the idea of becoming

[a] This plan is described in three documents dated December 6, 1783; December 21, 1783, and April 7, 1784, and signed by Edmund Bott. Chatham MSS., 345.

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, February 15 and December 11, 1784, and inclosures, discuss the plans of Don Juan. These reports are based on the reports of spies who were watching the conspirator. One of these was a youth called Manuel Chandia or Daumont. The other was an ecclesiastic, José de Flagle, at least these were the names transmitted to Floridablanca. Flagle secured by means of "un chico" a part of the papers of Don Juan, which, as Campo said was only "un monton." It was evidently a fragment of a representation of Don Juan to the English Government, unfortunately too fragmentary to be of much value. It contains such phrases as "conjurés," "Leur cour est a moi," "dernier plan . . . n'est pas moins decisif," "Anglais de me donner une couronne," "aller respirer l'air de la Campagne." It concludes with these words: "Mr. Bott qui a eu la bonte de se charger de dernier ressort cette important affaire avec votre reponse decidera enfin si je dois rester au * * * definitivement—— * * * avoir le bonté * * * abreger le plus que vous sera possible, mon sejour en Engleterre ne devenant utile qu'autant que vous embrasseres mes idees et mes sentiments." This is signed "D^{n}. Juan &c^{a}." This accompanies the letter of December 11. The report of Chandia or Daumont, as he was called, is with the letter of February 15, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.

[In making quotations from foreign languages the accents, etc., are left as found in the originals.]

[c] Inclosure in a letter of Campo to Floridablanca, February 15, 1784, A. G. S. Estado 8139.

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the king of the emancipated territory, which was to be made tributary to Great Britain. The intriguing priest had schemed to get possession of the papers of the conspirator, and had actually succeeded in stealing a fragment with the aid of Don Juan's servant boy.[a]

These extracts from the gossipy reports of the Spanish spies probably contain as much information regarding the real nature of Don Juan as may ever be revealed. Judging by these reports and by the inherent character of the propositions which were made to the English Government, it is very probable that Don Juan was a man who had lived for some time in Spanish America or who was at least acquainted with it. It could not have been Juan Manuel de Cagigal, as has been suggested,[b] for that individual was well known to the Spanish authorities. Moreover, documents in the Spanish archives prove beyond doubt that Cagigal was at this time in Spain.[c] Neither can it be shown that "the plan of campaign" proposed by Don Juan was "dictated by Miranda himself."[d] Beyond the general resemblance already suggested, the writer has found no evidence within or without the Chatham manuscripts to show that Miranda had anything to do with the scheme that was proposed. As will be shown in succeeding chapters, Miranda was at this time in America and had hardly matured his plans.[e] Don Juan therefore was a precursor of Miranda. Although the English ministers may have given encouragement to the promoter of this comprehensive design, the Government did not try to carry it into execution, probably because of the conclusion of the war with Spain and the natural disinclination of the Government to risk such an attempt in times of peace.

While it is possible that Don Juan and his sympathizers may have intended ultimately to include all Spanish America in the scope of their designs, there is little intimation to that effect in the documents at hand. There probably existed a similar spirit among some of the inhabitants in the northern part of South America. In March, 1783, two creoles of the Kingdom of New Granada, who described them-

[a] Inclosure in a letter of Campo to Floridablanca, December 11, 1784, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.

[b] Mr. Hubert Hall, in an article in the Athenæum, April 19, 1902, suggested that Don Juan might "with some probability be identified with" Juan de Cagigal.

[c] There are a number of documents in the Spanish archives relating to Juan Manuel de Cagigal about this time. He was in Spain awaiting trial; see the letter of Count O'Reilly to José de Gálvez, August 22, 1783, discussing the relations between Cagigal and Miranda. Count O'Reilly to José de Gálvez, Cadiz, September 16, 1783, informs him that, according to the order of September 6, 1783, Cagigal "queda desde ayèr tarde en el Castillo de Sta. Catalina de esta Plaza." On October 17, 1783, Cagigal addressed a letter to José de Gálvez from the Castle of Sta. Catalina remonstrating at his imprisonment. On August 12, 1788, Cagigal drew up a representation of his case in which he stated that he had been detained at Cadiz over five years. These and other documents relating to Cagigal and Miranda are found in the Archivo General de Indias, Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[d] Mr. Hubert Hall, in the article in the Athenæum, April 19, 1902, ascribes this plan to Miranda.

[e] Chapters III, IV, and V.

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selves as "respected and wise, first Generals that said Kingdom nam'd in its disputes with Spain in the year 1780," seem to have commissioned an agent to proceed to England for the purpose of laying certain proposals before that Government. The creoles declared, in the credentials which were submitted to the English ministers, that the proposals came "from hearts full of affection to his Britanick Majesty, and his faithful Subjects." Like Don Juan they besought aid in delivering themselves, or at least their children, from "bondage," declaring that such aid would be received with the "greatest Veneration, Silence, and a Perpetual obligation." They asked for 10,000 muskets, the same number of bayonets, sabers, and cartridge boxes, 200 swivels, 600 blunderbusses of brass, capable of being fired from horseback, swivel balls, musket balls, and 30,000 pounds of the finest kind of powder. The instructions stated that these supplies would be paid for in gold on their delivery. It was suggested that they be shipped under the "Dutch or Imperial" flag disguised as another cargo to the island of Curaçao. Near Baya Onda, where the munitions were to be landed, it was declared, there were a large number of Indians, who were friends of the disaffected and who had never been subdued by the Spanish Government. Within twenty-four hours ten thousand Indians would be assembled with great ease and in six days the stores would be safe in the Kingdom of Santa Fé, which was the "Place most Convenient to give the first blow." It was further recommended that some English officers and engineers should learn the Spanish language so that if they got "the fire lit well" in the Kingdom of Santa Fé they might send for some of these officers in order that they might "thro' their Good Counsels * * * enjoy in a few Years being Subjects of Great Britain." The instructions also gave the information that the provinces of Maracaybo, Santa Marta, Carthagena, and Lima were only awaiting the example of the people of New Granada to take part in the revolutionary movement; "Spain will see in a little time her Continent the theatre of a bloody War." In return for the aid of England, the promise was made that, if the attempt was successful, "the kingdom of Sta. Fee, The Provinces of Maracaybo, Sta. Marta, and Carthagena, shall be deliver'd to His Britanick Majesty without reserving to Ourselves but our Religion, and the same Privilidges that an English Subject is entitled to." These propositions, which were couched in terms which must have attracted the English ministers, were actually laid before that Government. The alleged instructions, preserved in the official papers of William Pitt, bear the indorsement of the agent, who declared himself to be "a faithful friend of the English nation, * * * London, 12th May, 1784."[a]

[a] Chatham MSS., 351, marked "authentic copy," Documentary Appendix, No. 2.

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Here again the system of espionage maintained by the Spanish representative in London enables us to supplement the account given by the agent himself. This time Campo secured the information through a young Irish priest, who was friendly with some of the men whom the alleged agent was trying to induce to join him, a certain Captain Blumert and a Mr. Kennedy. Through this medium the ecclesiastic secured news of the intrigue and documents relating to it which he transferred to Campo. The copy of the instructions which was secured in this way, and which otherwise accords with the one preserved in the papers of Pitt, gives the name of the agent as Don Luis Vidall. The two generals were named as Vicente de Agiar and Dionisio de Contreras.[a] A copy or the original, perhaps, of another communication of the same date, by Vidall or Vidalle, as his name was sometimes spelled, to the English Government purported to give the history of the embassy. It was declared that the two generals, after considering the slight notice which the Spanish Government took of "the threatening evil," consulted with the principal inhabitants of the Kingdom and resolved that they should proceed to the island of Curaçao and thence to England to lay their intentions before the Government of that country. On arriving at Curaçao, however, they were disappointed to learn that peace had been declared. At this juncture they were rejoiced by the arrival of Vidall, to whom, in March, 1783, they communicated their designs, which he promised to transmit to the English Government.[b] Some meager details had been gathered regarding Vidall himself. The latter was described as an Italian who had been employed in the West Indies during the recent war.[c]

At first Floridablanca did not take this affair seriously, for he expressed his opinion that Vidall's account was "a fiction."[d] Vidall did not succeed in his designs whatever their real nature, for he shortly left England. He soon put a new face on the affair by directing a letter from Fécamp in Normandy to the Spanish Government in which he volunteered the information that the English ministry was laboring in secret on a plan to raise an insurrection in Chile, Paraguay, and Peru with the aid of three Jesuits who were then in

[a] A. G. S., Estado, 8139. This document is dated London, May 12, 1784.

[b] See the copy of the communication of Vidall to the English Government, May 12, 1784, ibid.

[c] Campo to Floridablanca, July 23, 1783, ibid.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, August 11, 1784, ibid. This is an extract: "Los antecedentes qui aqui tenemos de la conducta de ese Emesario, que es conocido, y la falsedad notorio de varios hechos que se sientan en estos Papeles, con las noticias que hai del estado de las cosas en los Paises que se suponen mas dispuestos á tal revolucion, nos inclinan á creer que todo sera una ficcion dirigida á sacar dinero á ese gobierno: pues esto mismo procuró el tal Vidale de nuestros generales en America en la guerra pasada, y discurrimos procuraba de los Ingleses al mismo tiempo: y aun ha pretendido lograrlo de mi desde la Isla de Leon, en donde se hallaba meses pasados."

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London.[a] Nevertheless the Spanish Government considered it prudent to secure the person of Vidall, and when opportunity offered that enterprising and designing individual was captured. When last noticed he was languishing in a Spanish prison.[b] This alleged agent of discontented creoles in New Granada was probably one of the type which is willing to serve whichever side offers the best terms, or perhaps both sides. As in the case of Mendiola and Don Juan, it is at present impossible to determine the exact nature of the authorization which was given by the inhabitants of Spanish America, if indeed there was any given at all. But again the fact is clear that a well-defined plan for the liberation of part of Spanish America was submitted to the English ministers.[c]

The schemes described were not the only ones which the Spaniards heard of during the period which we are considering. Early in 1784 they suspected the English Government of having dispatched emissaries to Caracas and to other parts of Spanish America for the purpose of fomenting a revolution. The Spanish Government took no chances and immediately dispatched circulars to its viceroys and governors, charging them to be on the watch, and, if possible, to capture one of these agents, so that an example might be made of him.[d] Steps were also taken to check any measures which might have been put under way by the English Government as the result of the machinations of Vidall.[e] When informed of the intrigues of Don Juan, the Spanish Government again took precautionary measures.[f] Floridablanca also suspected the activity in London at this time of two other emissaries, Juan Bautista Morales and Antonio Pitá. Consequently Campo was instructed to be on the alert and to transmit information; any money used in that manner, he was assured, would be well employed.[g] If then any confidence is to be placed in the assurances which were given by Floridablanca to Campo, we must conclude that an expedition which the English might have dispatched against the Spanish colonies at this time would not have found them totally unprepared to resist attack. In spite of all the precautions taken by the Spanish Government, however, adventurers, who were, or who pretended to be, agents of disaffected Spanish Americans,

[a] The communication of Vidall, January 18, 1785, is inclosed in a letter of Floridablanca to Campo, February 19, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] There is a large amount of material relating to Vidall in the Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, 8139, 8141, 8157, containing the most important documents.

[c] Campo to Floridablanca, July 23, 1783, speaking of Vidall said: "Ha tenido algunas conferencias con Milord Sidney, Ministro del Departamto interior y otras muchas con el General Dalling," ibid., 8139.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, January 5, 1784, ibid.

[e] Ibid., August 11, 1784, ibid.

[f] Ibid., January 6, 1785, ibid., 8141.

[g] Ibid., August 11, 1784, ibid., 8139.

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continued to visit Europe and to appeal for aid, especially to the Government of England.

The interest exhibited by France in the Spanish dominions in America necessarily bears a very close relation to the colonial plans and fortunes of the French themselves. When they were in the possession of Canada and Louisiana, which offered ample scope for their colonial ambitions, one could hardly expect a keen and well-sustained interest in the condition of Spanish America. But even before France lost her immense colonial empire in America, in 1763, some interest had been shown in the condition and the future fate of the Spanish-American dominions. Long before that time Frenchmen had become jealous and apprehensive in regard to the ever-expanding interests and ambitions of England. As early as 1749 a memoir was drawn up, evidently by a Frenchman, on the projects of the English in regard to establishments in the South Sea. The author declared that it had been known for a long time that the English had formed plans for planting settlements in that region. The story of Admiral Anson's voyages showed that England was constantly laboring on the execution of these designs. At the same time it disclosed, he averred, the means by which obstacles might be cast in the way of the execution of these plans. It was suggested that the far-reaching colonial designs of England merited consideration from Spain.[a] In 1756, a M. Bertrand wrote a memoir relating to that part of the Spanish possessions included within what he called "the occidental circle." In this circle he included all that part of the Spanish Indies stretching from Peru to Pensacola and from the Mississippi to Porto Rico. He traced the growth of English commercial interests in Spanish America and concluded by declaring that, if remedial measures were not promptly taken, the English would try to revolutionize a great part, if not all, of His Catholic Majesty's dominions in the New World.[b] Thus at least as early as the opening of the Seven Years' war the French Government was given reason to suspect that the English might try to promote an insurrection in Spanish America.

After the close of the series of wars which had been waged between England and France in 1763, the French naturally modified their views regarding Spanish America. By the treaty of Paris, England gained the title to all the continental possessions of France in America except Louisiana, the latter being transferred to Spain, which had been the ally of France since the offensive and defensive alliance entitled the family compact had been entered into by these powers in

[a] "Mémoire sur les projets des Anglais pour des établissements dans la mer du Sud," 11 Xbre, 1749, Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 9, f. 126–.

[b] "Mémoire conténant toute la coste d' Espagne dans le cercle occidental de L' Amérique remis par le sieur Bertrand le p^er^ Février, 1756, a Mon. L' abbé Frichman pour lors à Madrid chargé des affaires de France, qui l'envoya à Monsr. Rouillé, et que ce Ministre remit à Monsr. le garde de Sceaux, ayant le departément de la marine." Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique (Colonies Espagnoles), 33, f. 15–.

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1761. Before long the French looked with covetous eyes upon Louisiana. Conditions in Spanish America were also brought to the attention of the French Government. In 1768 Molina, apparently a discontented Jesuit, wrote a memoir regarding the expulsion of that order from Spanish America, in which he discussed the troubles which had resulted and the plans which the Jesuits entertained. This account was submitted to the consideration of the French Government.[a] In 1770 another writer forwarded notes on the Spanish possessions in Africa and America, with special attention to the latter.[b]

It seems to have been a little later that a rather novel scheme was sketched and presented to the Government of France. The author, who is unknown, described the great power and prestige of England, which he compared with that of Rome. Whether the discontented colonies of England in America remained under her control or not, he asserted, that nation would try to extend her dominions at the expense of Spain in America. Hence the American colonies ceded by France to Spain might be subjected to English invasion. Spain could not easily put these territories in a condition to reimburse her for their immense expense. The dangerous proximity of the English would always cause trouble. The writer queried whether it would not be more advantageous to Spain and even to France that this immense domain become independent and thus form a formidable bulwark against England, "the natural enemy of commercial nations." It was suggested that the territories ceded by France to Spain in America be formed into a republic.[c]

A little later another memoir with a somewhat similar theme, in which it was urged that the Spanish estates in America could only be preserved to Spain by an alliance with France against England, was laid before the French Government.[d] Other memoirs relating to the conditions of the Spanish Indies were also submitted about this time.[e] If we may trust a memoir suggesting the revolutionizing of Louisiana, submitted to the French Government in 1792, the inhabitants of Louisiana, dissatisfied with their condition under Spanish rule, had made secret proposals to the minister of France at Philadelphia looking toward their release from the Spanish yoke ever since the year 1779.[f] Again, when Barbé-Marbois had an interview with

[a] January 5, 1768, Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique (Colonies Espagnoles), 33, f. 66–.

[b] "Possessions des Espagnoles en Afrique et en Amérique," 1770, ibid., f. 71–.

[c] "Projet pour former en République les Colonies que France a cédées à l'Espagne en Amérique," ibid., f. 80. This is undated, but probably is not much out of its chronological position in the volume of memoirs, where it follows a document of 1772 and precedes one of 1774.

[d] "Veritables Intérêts de L'Espagne." Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique (Colonies Espagnoles), 33, f. 127–.

[e] "Reflexions sur les Indes Espagnoles," 1776, ibid., f. 91; another memoir is found on f. 88–. Ibid.

[f] Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1896, I, 947.

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Francisco de Miranda in Philadelphia in 1783 or 1784, the chargé d'affaires of France appears to have sent a dispatch to the French minister, Vergennes, giving an account of the conversation which related to the condition of Spanish America.[a]

Francisco de Miranda, whose name has long been identified with the idea of Spanish-American emancipation, was then not an innovator. Schemes for the separation of Spanish America or parts of that domain from the rule of the parent country had been formed and harbored by many people of various nationalities long before Miranda ever presented his full-fledged schemes to the consideration of the English Government in 1790.[b] It appears to the writer extremely likely that other plans were hatched by discontented creoles or by scheming adventurers than those which have been discussed. As early as this period also there was the realization on the part of some Frenchmen that the possessions of Spain in America were threatened by England, and plans were drawn up for their preservation from English encroachment, which involved their separation at least in part from the Spanish monarchy. The ambition of France to reestablish her colonial glory at the expense of Spain was not born during the French revolutionary epoch. It had its beginnings in the period under consideration, in which may be discovered the origins of what developed into an international rivalry between France and England for the control or possession of a part or all of Spanish America.

[a] Barbé-Marbois, History of Louisiana, 150. Although search was made for this alleged dispatch, it was not found in the French archives.

[b] See Chapter V.

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CARIBBEAN
RACCAS.
GUIANA.
BRAZIL

Chapter II.

A SKETCH OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERALSHIP OF CARACAS.

The attempts of Francisco de Miranda to revolutionize Spanish America generally had as their main objective point the captain-generalship of Caracas. Here Miranda passed his early years as well as a few short but eventful months near the end of his life. In the insurrectionary projects which Miranda from time to time urged upon various European cabinets it was his custom to reckon upon the substantial aid of the inhabitants of his native land. A sketch will accordingly be made of conditions in that part of the Spanish dominions in America in the period of Miranda's activity, about the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth century. It is believed that, in so far as this chapter shows what was the general character of the Spanish régime and indicates what was the attitude of the colonists toward their Government, it is to some extent applicable to other sections of Spanish America.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the dominions of Spain in America included a large part of South America, Central America, what is now called Mexico, and a large part of the present United States. By the treaty of Paris she had come into possession of French Louisiana, and of East and West Florida. Spain claimed much more territory than she had actually settled. Consequently the limits of her domain were not easily located, and disputes involving boundaries arose with the United States and England. In its greatest extent the Spanish dominion stretched from Cape Horn to the sources of the Mississippi.

Spain controlled this vast empire by governmental machinery in Spain and in America. In the Peninsula the main institutions were the King, the casa de contratación, and the council of the Indies. In America the chief institutions were the viceroys, captains-general, audiencias, and intendants. The title to Spanish America being vested in the King, he had large powers; the various governmental officers were his agents and the church was subject to his supervision. The various viceroyalties were considered to be in a personal union with the King, rather than colonies in the ordinary sense. The casa de contratación, or house of trade, appeared early in the sixteenth

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century. It had control over the commercial relations between Spain and the colonies and had also some related judicial functions. The council of the Indies was formed a little later than the casa de contratación. It managed the political affairs of the colonies. The casa de contratación was soon made subordinate to it. The council had administrative, legislative, and judicial powers. It advised the King on important matters; it made laws for Spanish America; it was the supreme court of appeal for cases arising in the Spanish Indies.[a]

Before the end of the eighteenth century Spanish America had been partitioned into four viceroyalties—New Spain, or, as it came to be called, Mexico, including all Spanish America north of the Isthmus of Panama; New Granada, or Santa Fé, including the northern part of South America; Buenos Ayres, in the southern part of the continent, and Peru, located between Buenos Ayres and New Granada and including the rest of Spanish South America. These subdivisions were governed by viceroys whose term of office varied. It was generally five years, but might be longer at the pleasure of the King. The viceroy had almost regal powers over his district, both civil and military. The extensive powers of these agents became curtailed, however, in various ways. One by one the more distant regions were made captain-generalships. These provinces were smaller areas than the viceroyalties. They were governed by captains-general, who were to a large extent independent of the viceroys.[b] The captains-general, as well as the viceroys, were limited by the audiencias which were created gradually. In the end of the eighteenth century there were audiencias at Mexico, Guadalaxara, Guatemala, Lima, Chile, Santa Fé, Quito, Buenos Ayres, and Caracas. The viceroys and the captains-general presided over the audiencias at their seats of government. These bodies had executive and judicial powers.[c]

When the term of office of an important Spanish colonial official had expired he was subject to a process called the "residencia," which was an official inquiry into his administration. On being appointed, a commission proceeded to the seat of government and published the intention of establishing a tribunal to investigate the administration of the departing officer. All citizens were invited to lodge complaints. The length of the residencia varied; in case of a viceroy it was six months. The report of the residencia was forwarded to the Council of the Indies, which had the power to decide any dispute. Theoretically this was an admirable check on the officers, but one may well doubt its efficacy in practice.[d]

By the end of the eighteenth century the viceroyalties and captain-generalships had been divided into intendancies. Over each of

[a] Bourne, Spain in America, 221–227; Depons, I, 257–260.
[b] Bourne, Spain in America, 229–231; Depons, I, 254, 255, 261.–.
[c] Depons, I, 254, 255, 270; Bourne, Spain in America, 232–235.
[d] Depons, I, 267–269; Bourne, Spain in America, 231, 232.

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these smaller divisions was placed an intendant, who controlled the financial administration of his district.[a]

The captain-generalship of Caracas was carved out of the viceroyalty of New Granada. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it extended along the Atlantic Ocean from Cape de la Vela on the northwest to Cape Paria on the east. On the south and west it was bounded by Dutch and Portuguese Guiana and the viceroyalty of New Granada. Near the center of this area was the province of Venezuela, the district of Cumana was on the east, Guiana on the south, Maracaibo and Barinas on the west, and the island of Margarita on the northeast. It stretched over 13 degrees of longitude and extended from the twelfth to the eighth degree of north latitude.[b]

The province of Venezuela was governed by a captain-general, who was in charge of the military and the judicial administration of the entire captain-generalship. He was commissioned to punish the misdeeds of the soldiers and to take what steps he might deem necessary to promote good government in Venezuela. The officers in that province were ordered to obey the commands of the captain-general, whether written or verbal, without objection or delay. His salary was 9,000 pesos annually.[c] He could act on his own responsibility, but generally submitted vital questions to a council of leading military officers, the "Junta de Guerra." As the representative of the King of Spain, this officer had control of political relations between the captain-generalship and the colonial establishments of other nations. In Depons's time the term of office was about seven years.[d] Cumana, Guiana, Maracaibo, and Margarita had governors of their own, who exercised authority in civil affairs. These officers, who were appointed for five years, took cognizance of all civil and criminal offenses in their respective districts. They supervised military affairs, subject to the orders of the captain-general. The governor of Cumana, at least, was charged to keep the captain-general informed regarding the defense and security of the region under his control. The annual compensation of that governor in 1792 was 4,000 pesos.[e]

In the last part of the eighteenth century the financial administration of the captain-generalship of Caracas was centered in an intendant, who had extensive powers. The governors of the various districts were his deputies. The intendant formulated the financial

[a] Depons, II, 103, states that in Caracas the office of intendant was instituted in 1777; Bancroft, Mexico, III, 520, states that the intendancias were established in 1786.

[b] Depons, I, 51. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 1, also give the boundaries.

[c] A draft of the commission of Pedro Carbonell as captain-general of Caracas, "Junio de 1792," is found in the A. G. S., Guerra, 7195.

[d] Depons, I, 261, 262, 266; see also Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 15, on the powers of the captain-general.

[e] Depons, I, 262; see the draft of the appointment of Vicente Emparán as governor of Cumana, "Junio de 1792," A. G. S., Guerra, 7195. Moses, Spanish Rule, 173–178.

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regulations for the captain-generalship, audited accounts, and had appointive power. Originally he judged cases relating to commerce. In 1793, however, jurisdiction over commercial cases was vested in a special court called the consulate, of which the intendant was made the president. The salary of this officer was the same as that of the captain-general, but he was appointed for only five years.[a] This system naturally lent itself to abuse [b] and provoked jealousy and friction between the intendant and the captain-general.[c]

The audiencia of Caracas was established in 1786.[d] It was the supreme court of the captain-generalship in civil and ecclesiastical cases and had power to settle disputes between these two kinds of courts. The audiencia also acted as the advisory council of the captain-general. It could even correspond with the King regarding important governmental matters. In case of a dispute between the audiencia and the captain-general it could appeal to the King.[e]

A most important local institution was the municipal organization called the cabildo. The size of the cabildos varied. They were generally composed of alcaldes in ordinary, who were the chief executive and judicial officers, regidors, who composed the deliberative body, a syndic, and a registrar. In towns where there were no governors or lieutenant-governors the alcaldes had jurisdiction over cases which would elsewhere be carried before these officers. Appeal lay from these courts to the audiencia.[f]

The authority of the King was apparent in the "imposing machinery of the church establishment." In general, the only religion tolerated in Spanish America was Roman Catholicism. But the popes could communicate directly with the Spanish dominions in America only in special cases; such acts as bulls, dispensations, and indulgences could ordinarily be sent to the American provinces only after being approved by the Council of the Indies. A share of the ecclesiastical

[a] Depons, II, 103–106; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 16, 17, 25.

[b] Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, 343, 344.

[c] The extract of a dispatch from Carbonell to the Prince of Peace, March 23, 1798 (translation), P. R. O., Spain, 45, illustrates this: "I determined to follow in everything concerning this event, the opinion of the Judges of the Royal Audiencia, or to speak plainly, that of the Regente Don Antonio Lopez Quintana, whose vote gives the Law, and to yield also to the opinion of his Friend Don Estevan Fernandez De Leon, Intendant of the Army and Royal Revenue; Hence, although against my own opinion, I have put such Commissions as have been necessary into the hands of their Favorites, People who have used every Means to lower my authority and render the intendant the only Channel through which I could learn what I alone should have been informed of relative to the designs of the insurgents * * *." Guillelmi, captain-general of Caracas spoke of the office in these words: "Hace ver los perjuicios del establicimiento de Intendencia de Exto en aquellos Provincias, y la necesidad de reunir este ramo a la Capitania Gral. . . sin una absoluta unidad de mando era imposible conservar la tranquilidad, buen orden, y autoridad necesarios para asegurar á S. M. estas Posesiones en tiempos criticos, ó casos desgraciados." Guillelmi (unaddressed), May 30, 1792, A. G. S., Guerra, 7195.

[d] Blanco, Documentos, I, 214.

[e] Depons, I, 271, 276. On the audiencia in general, see Bourne, Spain in America, 232–.

[f] Depons, I, 279–293; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 16.

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revenues belonged to the King.[a] All appointments emanated from the King and all problems regarding the patronage were decided by the Council of the Indies. In the captain-generalship of Caracas there were three bishoprics, which were located at Caracas, Merida de Maracaibo, and St. Thomas de Angostura. The church courts took cognizance of cases relating to spiritual matters as well as those affecting such subjects as legacies, wills, and marriages, but their decisions were subject to review.[b]

Both regular and secular clergy were found in great numbers. The secular clergy conducted religious services in places where there was a large Spanish population and among the subjected Indians. The regular orders, among which the Franciscans and the Capuchins were perhaps the most important, were mainly engaged in Christianizing and civilizing the independent Indians. There were many convents and monasteries, which often held large properties. Some of the monks forgot their vows and showed by their lives that they had not said farewell to earthly pleasures.[c] The ecclesiastical establishment exercised a potent influence, which was generally used in the support of the existing régime. To quote an instructive memoir on Caracas: "Although the power was in the hands of the military and civil authority, the real chief of the province was rather the archbishop than the captain-general." As the religious institution promoted the Spanish conquest of America, "so has it also been the last bulwark of its expiring power."[d]

The population of the captain-generalship of Caracas was of a mixed character. As in some other parts of Spanish America, the three basal elements were the Spaniards, the Indians, and the negroes. Because of the poor method of taking the census, it is difficult to determine the exact number of people. Early in the nineteenth century Depons estimated that there were 728,000 inhabitants.[e] Poudenx and Mayer estimated that in 1807 there were 900,000 people in the captain-generalship.[f] Society was divided into two great castes—freemen and slaves. Whites and Indians or their descendants were free. Negroes and their descendants, unless they had been freed, were slaves. It has been estimated that three-tenths of the entire population were slaves, four-tenths were freedmen or the descendants

[a] Moses, Spanish Rule, 241–, discusses the relation between the king and the church; Depons, I, 326–334, makes special application to Caracas; Lea, The Inquisition, 469, 470, shows that orthodox Jews were sometimes allowed to live in Spanish America in the end of the eighteenth century.

[b] Depons, I, 334, 335; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 18.

[c] Depons, I, 119; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 19, 20; Lea, The Inquisition, 513–516, suggests conditions in other parts of Spanish America.

[d] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 25, 26.

[e] Depons, I, 106.

[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 6. Other estimates can be found in Blanco, Documentos, II, 3–34.

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of freemen, two-tenths were whites, and the remaining tenth were Indians.[a]

The colored people occupied a subordinate or dependent position. Despite royal ordinances for the education of the slaves, they were generally ignorant, superstitious, and licentious. They sometimes purchased their freedom. The freedmen, however, were subject to a number of restrictions, such as exclusion from public office.[b]

The Indians in Caracas belonged to two classes, those characterized as civilized and those called independent. The civilized Indians lived in villages. When these communities were large enough they were governed by Indian cabildos, with the aid of a Spanish official called the "corregidor." The uncivilized Indians were perhaps equal in number to those civilized. Some of them were governed by their own chief, who was called "cacique."[c] These Indians were a special menace to the Spanish authority.

The white inhabitants of the captain-generalship belonged to two main groups, the European Spaniards and the creoles. Although numerically the least important part of the population, the European Spaniards took precedence of the other classes and monopolized the most important offices.[d] Creole was the term generally applied to persons of Spanish descent born in America.[e] Proud of their birth, the creoles often looked upon the European Spaniards with great jealousy. They had a thirst for knowledge, but their education was generally superficial and they were inclined to be resentful and litigious.[f] Despite a prejudice against intermarriages, there was considerable mingling of white, negro, and Indian blood. There were mestizos, the offspring of Indians and whites; sambos, the children of Indians and negroes; mulattoes, the offspring of whites and negroes; pardos, the children of whites and mulattoes. From the crossing of these groups there resulted an almost infinite number of blends.[g]

Among the creoles divisions could be discerned. They were composed of nobles and non-nobles. Those belonging to a certain faction of the noble creoles, in the early nineteenth century at least, were styled "mantuanos." As these various social groups sometimes tended to monopolize certain occupations, they furnished a basis for factional strife.[h]

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[a] This is the estimate of Depons, I, 106; compare with the figures for 1811 in Blanco, Documentos, II, 334.

[b] Depons, I, 160–169, 174, 175; Blanco, Documentos, II, 319.

[c] Depons, I, 217–235.

[d] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 12.

[e] Ibid., 11, "On donne généralement le nom de créole à tout individu né dans le pays." More properly it is restricted to those of Spanish descent.

[f] See the statements of Doctor Saenz, quoted by Depons, I, 117, 118; see also ibid., 120, 140–142. Rojas, Orígenes Venezolanos, 293–, 174–, is a case which illustrates the jealousy between the creoles and the European Spaniards.

[g] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 11; Depons, I, 177–182, emphasizes the mingling less.

[h] Pondenx et Mayer, Mèmoire, 12, 13.

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The inhabitants of this region were engaged in various pursuits. On the plains of Caracas people tended flocks and herds. Some were engaged in hunting, fishing, trade, or commerce,[a] but agriculture was the chief occupation. Scattered over this region were many plantations which produced cacao, indigo, cotton, coffee, sugar, and tobacco.[b] It appears that these estates were not always well administered, for they were often managed by overseers, while the proprietors dwelt in the towns and cities except when they took an outing on their plantations.[c] The disdain of the creoles for agriculture promoted the decay of plantation life, manufactures in the modern sense were almost absent,[d] while the legal and the clerical professions were comparatively crowded.[e]

The troops which might defend Caracas in case of invasion consisted of regular soldiers and militia. Depons declared that when he was living in the city of Caracas there were stationed there about 900 regular troops. In the other chief towns there were also troops of the line, in addition to some companies of artillery, which were mainly militia.[f] With certain exemptions all freemen from 15 to 45 were ordinarily subject to duty in the militia. In case of war it theoretically included "all ages." According to Depons, at the city of Caracas there was one battalion of white militia, a squadron of whites, and a battalion of people of color. A conservative estimate would place the total number of troops in this captain-generalship in the beginning of the nineteenth century at about 13,000.[g]

The city of St. Iago de Leon de Caracas, or, as it is now known, Caracas, was the capital not only of the province of Venezuela, but also of the entire captain-generalship. In the end of the eighteenth century it was the seat of the audiencia, the intendency, and the archbishopric of Venezuela. In 1797 a merchant, who had lived many years at Caracas, thus described it: "It is situated about 5 Leagues S. of La Guayra from which it is divided by a Mountain, whose perpendicular Height from the Level of the Sea is 4200 feet. Now as you only descend about half the Distance on the Caracas Side, the Plain on which the City stands is suppos'd to be at an Elevation from the same Level of 2000 Feet, which accounts for the Coolness of the Climate,

[a] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 12–24; Depons, II, 42–47.

[b] Depons, I, 389–488; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 12.

[c] Depons, I, 488.

[d] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 24, 12, state that sirups were made and a drink called guarapo; Depons, I, 59, states that there were some salt pits. Shipbuilders and cabinetmakers are also mentioned, ibid., 64, 65.

[e] See the statements of Doctor Saens, quoted by Depons, I, 117, 118; for Depons's view see ibid., 140–142.

[f] Depons, I, 308–310.

[g] Depons, I, 310–317. This estimate is below the number given by an official report of April, 1787, by Alexandro O'Reilli, in which he transmits specifications of Joseph Solano, showing the location and the number of the different companies of militia. A total of 16,454 troops is given under the heading "Primera Alarma," 16,420 as "Refuerzo." A. G. S., Guerra, 7198. Another report, undated, sets the number much higher, ibid.

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altho' it is plac'd in 10 Degrees N. L. It is two Miles square on the Plan, but not quite compleated, and contains by the Parish Lists 50,000 Inhabitants of all Descriptions. * * * It also contains an University, which has the Faculty of conferring Degrees in Law, Physic, and Divinity, four Monasteries, two Convents, a Cathedral, and several other handsome Churches and publick Buildings. The Streets all interesect each other at right Angles and are pav'd and kept very clean. It has a convenient Market Place, enclos'd to the E. and S. with Stalls for Beef, Fish, Vegetables, Fruit, &c on the inside, and Shops with Dry Goods &c, fronting the Streets that run parallel. On the N. and W. it has an iron Railing, which compleats the Square. The Water is convey'd all over the City in Clay-Pipes and receiv'd in Fountains for the accommodation of the Inhabitants. The Merchants have large Ware-Houses establish'd here for the Reception of their Cargoes from Spain, and from hence the Goods are taken into the interior by others, so that those who live at a great Distance, owing to the Bad Roads and Difficulty of Communication, seldom get anything but at third or fourth Hand, and consequently at an enormous Price."[a]

Trade and commerce were hampered in manifold ways. Duties upon goods imported into the Spanish colonies were levied according to a plan which aimed to favor the home producer, the duties being highest upon articles of foreign manufacture. Most of the colonial products were subjected to duties when exported. Nominally, the trade with Spanish America could be conducted only by Spaniards.[b] Very little commerce was carried on between the province of Caracas and the other Spanish colonial possessions.[c] From an early period the Spanish authorities had aimed to prohibit foreign trade with the Spanish-American colonies in times of peace. This attempt was not successful, for it had been gradually rendered ineffectual by smuggling, and by the use and abuse of the privileges granted to the English by the asiento clause of the treaty of 1713.[d] In spite of the guards and patrols and vessels by which the Spanish Government strove to stop the contraband trade, there was a large amount of such traffic between the Spanish continent and the adjacent islands like Jamaica and Trinidad. In 1797 the merchant whose description of Caracas has already been quoted, declared that smuggling was so

[a] This is an extract from an account called by Governor Picton, of Trinidad, a "General View of the Province of Caraccas," forwarded in his dispatch of September 18, 1797, to Dundas, P. R. O., Trinidad, I. Depons, II, 152–, describes Caracas. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 16, give a description taken from the Gazette of Caraccas.

[b] Depons, II, 23–26; Moses, Spanish Rule, 291, 292.

[c] Depons, II, 37, 38.

[d] Depons, II, 50, 53, 54. Moses, Spanish Rule, 273–284, discusses the asiento of 1713.

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common that every man in the city of Caracas, from the governor down, was dressed in contraband clothing.[a]

This merchant, whom Picton declared to have considerable commercial connections in the country and whose statements could be relied upon,[b] described some parts of the complicated system of taxation:

But neither Trade nor Agriculture are in a flourishing State, owing to the extraordinary Restrictions, heavy Taxes, and want of Public Spirit. For Example the Planter does not dare remove from his own Door an Ounce of Produce without a Pass from the Tithe-Gatherer, who out of ten Fanegas of Cocoa, takes one in kind, and so of everything else. The Planter then brings the other nine to Market, and on the Gross Sales pays the Alcabala, or 5 pr. Cent into the Treasury. Here you have 15 pr cent. at once of your Crop taken from you. Add to this first Fruits on all new Cultivations, and about a dollar a Head on your Slaves to maintain the Priest of the Parish. And here Religion comes in to the Aid of Government for if they state the Price they sell their Produce at, at a lower Rate, in order to lessen the Tax, or in any other Way, attempt to cheat the King, their Confessor refuses Absolution until Atonement be made. But of all others the Alcavala is the hardest Tax, because it is exacted every Time the article is transferr'd, and no Article is free from this Tax, not even a Load or a single Bundle of Fire-Wood; thus I have known the Alcavala on a troublesome Negro amount in the End to as much as his original Value, where he has passed from Hand to Hand. The Collector at Coro, obliging the Free People to pay an Alcavala, or 5 pr. Ct. on Vegetables, Eggs, Fowls, &c., drove them into an Insurrection, that had nearly prov'd fatal to the Place. It was checked, but they all declared this to be the real Cause, still he was reinstated. * * * The Monopoly of the Tobacco is another Source of great Discontent. It is delivered to the king at 3 $ the Arroba, and retailed (for Acc't of Government) at half a dollar a pound. It can only be cultivated by those licens'd by Government, and so severe are the Penalties attending the Transgression, that the Planters nor their Slaves dare not cultivate it even for their own Consumption, tho' they consider the use of it absolutely necessary to the Preservation of Life in moist Situations, particularly against the Lock-Jaw. The Monopoly produces, after paying the Collectors, and innumerable Guards &c., about $400,000. The Cabildo of Sta. Iago de Leon drew up a Statement, shewing that in its present Cultivation, this Article would produce a Million, and progressively a great deal more, was it made free; but as they refus'd to guarantee with their private Fortunes the four hundred thousand that it now produces, their Representation was dismissed, and Silence with Respect to it impos'd for the future. It did not happen so, when a new Tax was imposed during the War. A dozen Persons, unauthorized by the People at large, and even without their knowledge, nay without even the Cloak of any Publick Authority, conven'd, and offer'd Government two pr. ct. over and above the ordinary Taxes on their Crops for twelve Months as a Donation or free gift. This was accepted by the Intendent

[a] "General View of the Province of Caraccas," P. R. O., Trinidad, I. Discussions of the smuggling are found in Depons, II, 63–66, where it is estimated that, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, almost a million dollars' worth of contraband merchandise was consumed annually by the province of Caracas; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 24, 25; Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, 345–350.

[b] Supplementary remarks of Picton accompanying the "General View of the Province of Caraccas," inclosed with it in his dispatch of September 18, 1797, to Dundas, P. R. O., Trinidad, I.

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General and tho' remonstrated against by every Man from the Interior, it was exacted on two Crops, and was pleasantly stil'd a Fozzativo en Lugar de Donativo. * * *

Another great Clog on Industry is the Badness of the Roads, everything being obliged to be convey'd on Mules Backs in Packages of two hundred Weight. This prevents the Cultivation of the Sugar-Cane to any Extent, except for home Consumption . . . In short it is impossible to exaggerate how little is done from a Want of Encouragement, and by a steady System of Oppression in those most invaluable Provinces. . . . Independent of heavy Taxes, Trade, both inland and foreign, suffers from the multiplied forms of the Customs Houses. Nothing can pass without a guia or Paper from each Custom House and is liable to be unloaded and examin'd every Time it passes a Guard House, for fear of Contraband. To avoid a constant Repitition of those Inconveniences the Guards must be kept in Pay, and so the System of Corruption and oppression creeps up. Besides as every Man has an Eye on his Neighbor, I mean of the Guards, it is necessary to fee a great many, and this is a new Tax. * * * Then if you have a Cargo of Live Stock on board, and it is of ever so great Consequence to you to get a few leagues to the Eastward, in order to make your Port in standing to the Northward, you must in general clear out at the regular Custom-House, tho' you should lose half your Mules by not being allow'd to take them in at a proper Place. Again, a Ship bound to Spain that loads at Puerto Cavello, must beat up against Wind and Currents, to clear out at La Guayra, at the risk of falling to Leeward and losing her Voyage. * * * One Instance of this roundabout Method of doing Business will throw a great Light on the whole. The City of St. Iago requires about six thousand Bls of Flour yearly from North America, and of course should import them direct. But so inveterate are they in erroneous Principles of Trade in Spain, that this flour must be first imported from America into the Mother-Country, and then sent out to Caracas, notwithstanding the Inhabitants wou'd willingly pay all the Duties on it which are 20 pr Ct. to have it fresh from America. Thus when it reaches the Main it is generally old, and often unfit for Use.[a]

This sketch may contain errors, but it is probably in many respects a good picture of the operation of the Spanish fiscal system. Depons, who emphasizes the discontent less, describes a number of other taxes as the tribute levied on the Indians and the excise duties, and declares that he was at a loss to determine whether he "should most admire the ingenuity of the exchequer, or the resignation of the people."[b]

The Inquisition was also at times a source of dissension and disaffection. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century tribunals of the Holy Office had been established at Mexico City, Lima, and Carthagena.[c] The captain-generalship of Caracas was at that time under the jurisdiction of the inquisitorial tribunal located at

[a] P. R. O., Trinidad, I. For a more favorable view compare with the account in Depons, II, 102–148, where less emphasis is laid on the discontent caused by this system. See also the remarks of Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, I, 331, 341, 343, 344, 349, where the oppressive nature of the system is indicated. For a sidelight on conditions in the neighboring vice-royalty of New Granada, see the capitulations proposed by the insurgents of Socorro and the other towns of that province to the Spanish Government in June, 1781, in which a strong plea is made for the alleviation of the economic burdens weighing upon the people. Blanco, Documentos, I, 162–.

[b] Depons, II, 109–.

[c] Lea, The Inquisition, 191–.

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Carthagena.[a] The early operations of this tribunal were devoted to the suppression of sorcery, witchcraft, blasphemy, and heresy.[b] As time passed more and more of its energies became engaged in internal dissensions and in quarrels with other authorities.[c] Edicts prohibiting books were regularly published,[d] and, as the revolution approached, attempts were made to check the circulation of seditious literature.[e] If we may trust Depons, the familiars of the Inquisition were active as censors in Caracas during his residence there. He informs us that certain books could circulate only when expurgated, others could be read only on permission, while some were absolutely proscribed. In the list of more than 5,000 books mentioned as prohibited are found the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, Hume, Helvetius, and Addison.[f]

The secular authorities were expected to respect and even to execute the judgments of the Inquisition. Ségur declared that the governor informed him that he had received orders to place his troops at the disposal of the Inquisition whenever requested to do so without being allowed to inquire the purpose of such a step.[g] Ségur's recollections of the remark of Prudon, a Spanish officer who commanded at Vittoria, may point the maxim: "Here the Inquisition does not, it is true, order any *auto-de-fe*, nor light any fires, but it endeavors to extinguish every ray of light. * * * I, as well as several of my friends, burn to read the works of the celebrated writers of France; but the intendant forbids their importation under the severest penalties, as if they were infected with the plague."[h] Through the exercise of its delegated and assumed powers, the Inquisition was undoubtedly an influential factor in promoting the decline of the Spanish colonies[i] and, at least indirectly, provoking discontent with the existing régime.

The efforts of the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities to stifle free thought were not, however, altogether successful. Ségur tells us that at Vittoria he saw a physician who was as much dissatisfied with the administration as Prudon. He took them to the most secluded part of his house, where he showed them "with infinite satisfaction the works of J. J. Rousseau and Raynal, which he kept concealed as his most precious treasure in a beam scooped out for that purpose."[j] French revolutionary documents were found in 1797

[a] Lea, The Inquisition, 457.
[b] Ibid., 461–467.
[c] Ibid., 467, 473–.
[d] Ibid., 470.
[e] Ibid., 470, 471, 472.
[f] Depons, I, 318–325.
[g] Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, I, 341; Depons, I, 319.
[h] Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, I, 334.
[i] Lea, The Inquisition, 511–513.
[j] Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections, I, 334.

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among the papers of the Venezuelan revolutionist, Manuel Gual.[a] The agitator Picornell was busily engaged about this time in printing seditious writings for distribution in the province of Caracas and other continental colonies. Among these were "The Rights of Man," "The Citizen Carmagnol," and "The American Song." Of these Pedro Carbonell, the captain-general of Caracas, informed the Spanish Government that "It is impossible to describe the poison they contain, nor to express of how much importance it is that all the King's Officers, Civil and Military, the prelates and all his Majesty's loyal subjects should be vigilant in suppressing such papers." Carbonell declared that these papers had been printed at Guadaloupe, where others were being printed, such as "Hymns of Liberty" and "The American Constitution."[b] The alarmed captain-general informed the Spanish authorities in December, 1797, that Picornell had printed twelve thousand copies of a certain book and "Carmagnole Songs," of which he was the author, for the purpose of circulating them in the Spanish continent and in the Kingdom of New Spain.[c]

Long before the days of Picornell and Gual there were those who desired to promote disaffection in the American dominions of Spain. About the middle of the sixteenth century there were indications of revolutionary discontent in Peru.[d] In 1781 the Indian Tupac Amaru had led an uprising in Peru against the Spanish rule, which he declared to be insupportable because of the diverse taxes and other oppressive measures of the Government. The revolution, which created considerable consternation among the Spaniards, was suppressed. Tupac, who had perhaps styled himself 'King of Peru, Santa Fé, Quito, Chili, Buenos Ayres, and the Continent' (of the South Seas), was condemned to a horrible death.[e]

The fate of one of the last of the Incas did not, however, deter others from planning or attempting insurrections. In April, 1781, the towns of Socorro, San Gil, and the surrounding districts in the viceroyalty of New Granada arose in revolt against the Spanish authorities. These revolutionists declared that the reason for their discontent was the great burden imposed upon them by the tobacco monopoly, the alcabala, and other taxes. The insurrectionists were well armed and had capable leaders. The movement spread and extended to parts of the captain-generalship of Caracas.[f] In June,

[a] A. G. I., Audencia de Caracas, 133–3–4, No. 36, contains a number of these documents.

[b] Extract of a secret dispatch from Carbonell to the Prince of Peace, March 23, 1798, P. R. O., Spain, 45 (translation). The papers of Picornell are also discussed, A. G. I., Audiencia de Caracas, 133–3–4, Nos. 34 and 35.

[c] Extract of a secret dispatch from Carbonell to the Prince of Peace, March 23, 1798, P. R. O., Spain, 45 (translation).

[d] Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Peru y de Otros Sucesos de Las Indias.

[e] Blanco, Documentos, I, 146, 157, 158.

[f] Abalos to the Spanish minister, September 22, 1781, P. R. O., Spain, 1; Blanco Documentos, I, 162–169.

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1781, however, the revolutionists proposed 35 articles of capitulation to the Spanish authorities, in which they demanded the abolition or modification of the multiform taxes. No hint is found of a desire for independence. Representatives of the Spanish Government agreed to the requests of the revolutionists and the tumult was stilled.[a] The promises which were made do not seem to have been properly observed, and fresh signs of dissatisfaction were soon manifested.[b] In January, 1782, the audencia of Santa Fé condemned a number of the ringleaders to an ignominious death.[c]

There were other uprisings in the last years of the eighteenth century. In 1795 there was a revolt at Coro, in Venezuela, which was rigorously suppressed. In the same year Antonio Nariño and several others were thrown into prison in New Granada for having published "The Rights of Man." He was then transmitted to Spain, whence he succeeded in making his escape.[d] In July, 1797, a conspiracy was unearthed in Venezuela, which had many ramifications. The chief leaders in the plot were Juan Picornell, José España, Manuel Cortés, and Manuel Gual. Some of the conspirators were seized and thrust into prison, but Gual and others escaped, leaving behind them seditious and incriminatory documents.[e] On March 23, 1798, Carbonell informed the Prince of Peace that the plotters had as their object "to subvert the province and erect it into an independent republic."[f] The leaders, who had escaped to the West Indies, continued to plot against the Spanish Government. The captain-general was much alarmed and requested the Spanish Government for aid, especially veteran European troops, engineers, and artillery officers, "in order," said he, "to insure the Tranquillity of these Provinces, on which I consider the safety of all America to depend."[g] As was customary in such affairs, the Spanish authorities made a very lengthy investigation.[h] According to Depons, seven of the ringleaders were condemned to death, 36 were condemned to the galleys or imprisonment, and 32 were sent to Spain and "placed at the mercy of the King."[i] Nothing has been discovered to show that Miranda in any way promoted this revolt,[j] but we know that in 1799, if not ear-

[a] Blanco, Documentos, I, 162–169.
[b] Ibid., 170–173.
[c] Ibid., 259–262.
[d] Ibid., 285–287, 288–.
[e] Blanco, I, 311–319. In A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–3–2, 133–3–3, 133–3–4, 133–3–5, 133–3–6, 133–3–7, 133–3–8, 133–3–10, there are many documents on this conspiracy.
[f] Extract (translation), P. R. O., Spain, 45. See also Depons, I, 150.
[g] Carbonell to the Prince of Peace, March 23, 1798 (translation), P. R. O., Spain, 45. There are three extracts from dispatches of that date in this bundle.
[h] A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–3–2, and following as noted above show its scope. Depons, I, 149–152.
[i] Depons, I, 152, 153.
[j] The legajos cited in note e above were examined, but nothing involving Miranda was found.

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lier, the prime instigator, Gual, was sojourning in Trinidad and corresponding with Miranda, who was then in London busily engaged in soliciting the English Government for aid in the task of revolutionizing Spanish America.[a]

This sketch shows that Miranda had some basis for the assumption that his fellow-countrymen were ripe for revolt. The insurrections, which were sometimes sporadic, did not always have as their avowed object the liberation of the colonists from the rule of the mother country, but sometimes aimed merely at the amelioration of the oppressive system of taxation. There were probably many revolutionary spirits in Spanish-America in the end of the eighteenth century who stimulated the feeling of dissatisfaction and who were, in some cases, perhaps, primarily responsible for the outbreaks. It is the opinion of the writer that the great mass of the people either were not dissatisfied with the existing administration or resignedly acquiesced in it. They were not ready to take up arms for independence. Neither were they capable of self-government, if independence had been achieved. There seems little reason to doubt, however, that, if the Spanish-Americans had been assured of substantial aid in a struggle for independence, many of them would have risen against the Government of Spain. That they would all have persisted in spite of dismaying defeats is not demonstrated by the life story of Francisco de Miranda.

[a] See Chapter VIII.

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Chapter III.

THE EARLY CAREER OF MIRANDA.

One of the most interesting chapters in the life epic of Francisco de Miranda is the first. His early career has been long enveloped in mystery, primarily because the published sources of information were few and scanty. Aside from the unsupported statements of some Spanish-American writers,[a] the hazy conjectures of a few of Miranda's followers in his various enterprises,[b] and the brief epitome of Chauveau Lagarde in his speech defending Miranda before the French revolutionary tribunal,[c] there was little available information besides the meager items in an article in the Edinburgh Review, prepared probably under the guidance of Miranda himself.[d] Research in the archives of England, France, Spain, and the United States, however, has revealed a store of manuscript material which enables us to make a better sketch of this as well as of other parts of Miranda's life. As a result, it is believed that some traditions have been proven to be facts, while others have been damaged or shattered; adventures which have been only known, if indeed known at all, through vague and contradictory rumors can now be viewed in the neutral light of history. We are able to follow with a considerable degree of fullness and certainty the devious path of the South American before he entered into definite relations with the English Government in 1790. Fortunately we now know more about the early training and the romantic experiences of Miranda than we do of the many almost nameless adventurers who, like Mendiola, pleaded for Spanish America at the court of London.

It is not at present possible nor perhaps profitable to trace the ancestry of Francisco de Miranda very far. We know that his father, Sebastian de Miranda, a native of the island of Teneriffe, emigrated from the Canary Islands to Spanish America some time in the first half of the eighteenth century and eventually, if not at once, settled

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, ix–; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 311–349; Mitre, Historia de San Martín, I, 46, 47; Mitre, Historia de Belgrano, I, 112; Baralt y Diaz, Venezuela, I, 15–17, will indicate some of the views of Spanish-American writers on Miranda.

[b] Biggs, 279; Sherman, 6–; Rafter, Memoirs of M'Gregor, 34–.

[c] Chauveau Lagarde, Plaidoyer pour le Général Miranda, 1–; Rojas, Miranda dans la Révolution Française, 166–.

[d] Ed. Rev., XIII, 285–, see below, p. 426, note a.

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in the captain-generalship of Caracas.[a] Sebastian de Miranda was the son of Gabriel de Miranda and Maria Rabalo de Miranda.[b] In 1750 Sebastian de Miranda married Doña Francisca Antonia Rodríguez de Espinosa in the city of Caracas.[c] Several children were born of this marriage.[d] During part of his life in Spanish America Sebastian de Miranda was engaged in mercantile transactions in the city of Caracas, where he was viewed with no small favor by the Spanish authorities. In 1764 the captain-general of Caracas appointed Sebastian de Miranda, whom he described as a subject of "quality, valor, and military experience," captain of a militia company composed of natives of the Canary Islands engaged in trade in the city of Caracas. Sebastian must have performed his duties well, for the Spanish captain-general, José Solano, declared that the officer had discharged his functions with "much zeal and love for the royal service."[e] Captain Miranda seems to have tired of the service, and in 1769, at his own request, he was honorably released from the captaincy and accorded the dignities and privileges of his rank.[f] The ex-captain soon aroused the ire of the creoles of Caracas by wearing the uniform and the baton of captain of a new battalion of militia to which he had been appointed by the captain-general, but in which he apparently had not served. The municipal authorities questioned the right of appointment and went so far as to persecute and threaten to imprison Miranda.[g] This led to a heated altercation between the ayuntamiento of Caracas and the Spanish Government, which was not finally settled until September 12, 1779, when the Spanish King issued a decree addressed to that council declaring that the European Spaniards domiciled in Caracas were as much entitled to engage in public employment as the creoles; that Sebastian de Miranda had the right to all the prerogatives and exemptions of a retired captain in the new battalion of militia with the uniform and insignia, and stating that as all previous causes of complaint had been removed, perpetual silence was to be maintained regarding his quality and origin.[h]

It was in this atmosphere of jealousies and bickerings between the Creoles and the European Spaniards that Francisco de Miranda, as

[a] Rojas, Orígenes Venezolanos, apéndice, 175, 176.

[b] Petition of Francisco de Miranda to the King of Spain, London, April 10, 1785, note A, A. G. S., Estado, 8141. This petition is in reality an autobiographical sketch of the petitioner, accompanied by copies of many illustrative documents. In some points it is corroborated by other contemporary sources. Its statements of fact seem to be in the main trustworthy. It enlightens us regarding many hitherto debatable questions and unknown events of Miranda's history. It often falls short, however, of telling the entire truth.

[c] Ibid.; Blanco, Documentos, I, 78, note.

[d] Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71, IV, 59, note.

[e] Rojas, Orígenes Venezolanos, 296; petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, note A, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[f] Rojas, Orígenes Venezolanos, 292.

[g] Ibid., 293, 294, apéndice, 176.

[h] Ibid., apéndice, 174–179.

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he generally subscribed himself, passed part of his early life. In later years Miranda represented himself as being of pure descent and the scion of a "distinguished family."[a] As in the case of Columbus, there is more than one date which has to be considered when one seeks to determine the year of his birth. A baptismal certificate published by the indefatigable collector, Blanco, gives Miranda's name in full as Francisco Antonio Gabriel Miranda, and states that he was born on June 9, 1756, in the city of Caracas.[b] There is no doubt that Miranda was born in that city; his full name is probably as indicated, but the year stated does not agree with those given in other sources emanating in the last analysis from Miranda himself. Whatever the exact date may be, these other statements all agree in placing the date of birth several years earlier than the certificate indicates. The petition which Miranda forwarded to the King of Spain in 1785 declared that the petitioner was in the twenty-first year of his age when he entered the Spanish service in 1772.[c] In a letter written in April, 1783, Miranda said that he was then 30 years of age.[d] In the four official records which are preserved of the service of this creole in the Spanish army, a number of statements are made regarding his age. One drawn up in December, 1774, is obscure or questionable because of the illegibility of the document;[e] another, made in December, 1776, states that he was then 24 years old;[f] a third, dated almost a year later, agrees by stating that he was then 25;[g] the fourth, drawn up in October, 1783, after Miranda had left the army, sets his age at 30 years.[h] This last statement certainly needs to be discounted somewhat, as the information was probably not derived directly from Miranda.

The cumulative effects of Miranda's own statements would lead one to conclude that he was born in or about the year 1752. A comparative study of the statements summarized above will show that, according to his own reports, it is still possible to believe that Miranda was born in the month of June, as stated in the certificate published by Blanco. In no source emanating from Miranda, however, has any statement been found regarding either the day or the month of his birth. We are left, then, to accept Miranda's own statements regarding his age or to take those in the baptismal certificate. If the last authority is taken, we must conclude that either Miranda did not know the exact date of his own birth, which in view of the manner

[a] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, and note A, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] Blanco, Documentos, I, 80, note.

[c] Petition of Miranda, etc., April 10, 1785, A. G. S. Estado, 8141.

[d] Miranda to Cagigal, April 16, 1783 (copy), note P. No. 2, ibid.

[e] This was drawn up in the end of December, 1774, A. G. S., Guerra, 2638; the age stated might be 25 or 23.

[f] Ibid.

[g] November, 1777, ibid.

[h] Ibid., 2513.

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in which he collected documents regarding his family history appears to the writer unlikely, or that, being aware of the year in which he was born, Miranda deliberately misstated his age, perhaps for the purpose of increasing his ostensible age at the time of entering the Spanish military service. Whatever interpretation is given or whatever the motive may have been, the writer accepts the date of birth as given in the authenticated certificate.[a]

The son of a merchant and militia captain, for such Miranda was, received a good education, judged by the standard of his place and age. He was given what he later characterized as a "classical" education at "the College and Royal University of Santa Rosa" in his native city. Among his studies were philosophy and law.[b] In 1784 Miranda seems to have declared that he received the degree of B. A. in 1767. If we may trust the information which Miranda later gave to President Stiles, of Yale College, the young student, on completing his course in the college of his native land, "studied law a year or more" in a college in the City of Mexico.[c] However far his studies may have progressed, it may be affirmed with reasonable certainty that Miranda acquired a love for learning which was a solace throughout life.[d] At present we know almost nothing of Miranda's associates at this period, but it is probable that one of his youthful companions was Manuel Gual.[e] Doubtless Miranda made some friends and perhaps some enemies. Because of the military experience of his father, it is probable that Francisco received some training in the military art as well as in the Latin classics.[f]

It is not improbable that, because of the mortifying treatment to which his father had been subjected and the recognized loyalty of the family, the sympathies of the youthful Francisco were enlisted, not on the side of the creoles, but on that of the European Spaniards. It is possible that his departure from Caracas was caused, or at least hastened, by the projudices of a faction against his father or himself.

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[a] Only the most significant statements regarding Miranda's age are given. Others may be found. In his examination in France in 1793 Miranda declared that his age was then "quarante ans." Archives Nationales, W. 271, No. 30, f. 46. Chauveau Lagarde at that time declared that Miranda was born in 1754, Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 168. Biggs, writing in 1806, declared that Miranda was then in his fifty-second year. Biggs, 8, 9. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 10, 11, prints an authentication of the baptismal certificate in the parish register of Caracas. Through the kindness of Mr. W. W. Russell, minister of the United States to Venezuela, the writer had the archives of the cathedral of Caracas examined and the certificate of baptism verified.

[b] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[c] Stiles's Diary, III, 130, 131. The manuscript diary preserved in the library of Yale College contains some unpublished notes on Miranda's conversations with Stiles regarding Mexico.

[d] The subsequent narrative will show this. In his will, August 1, 1805, Miranda provided that in case of his death the Greek and Latin books in his library were to be the property of the University of Caracas as a testimonial of his esteem for its teachings. Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71. Catalogue of Miranda's library.

[e] Castlereagh, Correspondence, VII, 273.

[f] Popham's memorandum, October 14, 1804, based evidently on Miranda's statements, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 510.

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Perhaps Miranda became embroiled with the Mantuanos and nursed through life a desire for revenge.[a] Certain it is that before reaching maturity he decided to go to Spain with the design, he tells us later, of serving in the army of the Spanish King. He passed to Madrid, where, he informs us, he zealously applied himself to the study of mathematics in its bearings on the military art and to the living languages of Europe. In 1785 he informed the King of Spain that he expended a considerable part of his patrimony in bringing from other countries the books which were necessary for the advancement of his education.[b] We are even asked to believe that the eager young student had masters brought from beyond the boundaries of Spain at his own expense.[c] This is by no means improbable, and perhaps it is also true that his zeal for learning exposed him to the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition and his books to the flames.[d] Before long the young creole succeeded in entering the Spanish military service. On the 7th of December, 1772, he became a captain in a battalion of infantry in the regiment called the Princess.[e] The commission was undoubtedly purchased,[f] in all probability, by money furnished by Miranda's parents, who appear to have possessed property at Caracas.[g]

The young captain had some varied experiences in the Spanish army in both hemispheres. He soon received his baptism of fire on the shores of Africa, where he served his King as a volunteer in the defense of Melilla against the attack of the Moroccans.[h] If we may trust a document which Miranda later forwarded in copy to the Spanish King to promote his justification, he drew up a plan for a sally from that fortress which he presented to the commander, Juan Sharlock, on January 20, 1775.[i] There is nothing to show whether

[a] Such is the explanation offered by Poudenx et Mayer in their Mémoire, published in 1815, 31: "Des tracasseries qui lui furent suscitées par les familles Mantuanes, le forcèrent à sortir de son pays;—il conserva toujours dans son cœur un désir ardent de se venger, qui joint à quelques motifs louables sont, sans le moindre doute, les causes des tentatives qu'il a faites pour rendre son pays indépendant." Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 16, makes this statement about Miranda's departure: "Según tradiciones de familia que hemos recogido de buena fuente, Miranda salió de Caracas, poco más ó menos como Aquiles del campo griego. Estaba ya en Curazao cuando llegaron á alcanzarlo allí cartas de recomendación para la corte y letras de giro por sumas bastante á sostener en la península una posición, no sólo decorosa, sino holgada y aun opulenta, para el joven indiano."

[b] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[c] Ibid.; Ed. Rev., XIII, 285, 286.

[d] Ed. Rev., XIII, 286; Stiles's Diary, III, 132.

[e] Such is the date given in the various reports on Miranda's military service (A. G. S., Guerra, 2638, 2513), separately cited in following notes.

[f] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, sets the price at 8,000 pesos. A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[g] In a letter to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Miranda speaks of "my estate in South America." Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 712. Bernardo del Campo, who had evidently derived his information from Miranda, in a letter to Floridablanca (undated, but evidently written in April or May, 1785), speaking of Miranda, said: "Parece que su Padre, establecido en Caracas, es hombre de haciendas." A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[h] Report of December, 1776, A. G. S., Guerra, 2638.

[i] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, note B, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

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this alleged plan was acted upon or even considered. We gather some interesting information regarding the young captain, however, from a report made in December, 1774, of the members of Miranda's regiment. It was stated that Miranda was unmarried, that his valor was unknown, that his application and capacity were great, and that his conduct and health were good.[a] Two years later another report was made which furnishes the same significant testimony regarding the conduct and application of the man, and which states that he was of known valor and undoubted capacity. The instructive comment was added, however, that he needed a little more prudence.[b]

In the meantime Miranda was becoming weary of the routine duties which his company was performing and was apparently pining for more active service. There is reason to believe that he was assiduously improving his knowledge of military affairs; he even appears to have had opportunity to examine the fortress of Gibraltar.[c] In the summer and autumn of 1776, Miranda, to judge by his own account and the documents appended, made repeated attempts to change his sphere of activity. While stationed at Cadiz he seems to have applied to the King and to the minister of marine for a transfer to the royal navy as lieutenant of a ship of war.[d] He was apparently not successful in this, for about a month later he seems to have addressed a letter to the inspector-general of the militia describing his attainments, expressing disgust at the condition of inactivity in which he found himself, and asking for a commission in the militia department.[e] Evidently he was no more successful in this endeavor, for he soon tried another tack. He appears to have asked permission to join an expedition that was being fitted out for Buenos Ayres, even offering to serve as a volunteer, but was again rebuffed.[f] It seems probable that this persistent effort to secure a change of employment was due to some other motive than the mere desire to become more active. In the petition which Miranda addressed to the King of Spain about nine years later he declared that he had become disgusted with the refusal of the inspector-general of the troops, Count O'Reilly, to secure for him a royal permit to pass to Prussia, Germany, and other European countries for the purpose of examining their military systems,[g] which is a plausible explanation. Whatever may have been the relations between Miranda and O'Reilly, it is clear that the former was not

[a] Report of December, 1774, A. G. S., Guerra, 2638.

[b] Report of December, 1776, ibid.

[c] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1875, A. G. S., Estado, 8141. Campo to Floridablanca, March 18, 1785, speaking of Miranda, said: "El Genl. Boid qe le trato mucho en Gibraltar en tpo de paz, me ha hablado de este sujeto y su venida." Ibid.

[d] Miranda's petition, etc., and note C, No. 1, A. G. S., Estado, 8141. Ibid.

[e] Ibid., and note C, No. 2, ibid.

[f] Ibid., and note D, ibid.

[g] Ibid.

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neglecting his duties, for in the report which was drawn up regarding the company of Miranda in the end of November, 1777, he was more highly complimented than before; instead of criticising Miranda for lack of prudence, the inspector declared: "This captain performs his duties well," a judgment which is strengthened by a comparison of the report on Miranda with those on some of his fellow-soldiers.[a]

At times, however, the conduct of Miranda was severely attacked, on his own admission. About four months before the last-mentioned report he had apparently been censured for alleged disregard of the regulations and actually cast into prison. The officer himself at a later date ascribed the arrest to the instrumentality of the Inquisition.[b] The imprisonment apparently did not last long. Some time in the year 1778 Miranda's battalion was transferred from Cadiz to Madrid, where it remained until after Miranda left that capital.[c]

It was during this period of his military career that Miranda first became acquainted with Juan Manuel de Cagigal, who was for a short time colonel of the regiment of the Princess. As the career of Cagigal was for several years closely interwoven with Miranda's, it is important to note the few details which are at hand regarding him. According to an autobiographical sketch drawn up several years later, Cagigal had entered the Spanish military service about the middle of the century as cadet in a regiment of infantry. He served in a campaign in Portugal, and then commanded the infantry regiment of the Prince, which was stationed at Oran, in Algiers. Here he was severely wounded. He then served his sovereign as brigadier in America under Gen. Pedro Cevallos.[d] Friendship, not to say mutual admiration, soon sprung up between the experienced commander and his young but ambitious creole captain. Although Cagigal was soon transferred to another post, he did not lose interest in the fortunes of Miranda. The latter was not by any means on such good terms with his colonel, Juan de Roca. For some reason or other, a violent altercation arose between Colonel Roca and Captain Miranda, in which Cagigal espoused the side of his protégé, whom he warmly commended.[e] The trouble, which Miranda later ascribed to the envious disposition of Roca, was not terminated until the Spanish Government issued an order transferring the young captain from the first battalion of his regiment to the second, which was

[a] The words of the inspector are: "Este Capitán desempeña bien su empleo." A. G. S., Guerra, 2638.

[b] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, note E, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Juan Manuel de Cagigal to the King of Spain, August 22, 1783, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[e] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, and note F. No. 1 of this note is a copy of a letter of Cagigal to O'Reilly, undated, in which Cagigal commends Miranda. A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

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then stationed at Cadiz.[a] On March 20, 1780, Miranda apparently surrendered the regimental property intrusted to him and soon after doubtless left Madrid for Cadiz.[b]

This change in the scene of his activities was responsible in part for some experiences which were not altogether to the disadvantage of the young Spanish-American. Soon after reaching Cadiz he was given the opportunity of joining the Spanish expedition which was then gathering in that port for the purpose of proceeding to America and participating in the operations against the English possessions in conjunction with the French. Miranda could not afford to miss this opportunity. He accepted the offer, which seems to have been tendered him by O'Reilly, whom he later characterized as a persecutor.[c] The young officer bade farewell to Spain in the spring of 1780, with the expedition commanded by Victoria de Navia.[d] In a short time, if not at once, he became a captain in the regiment of Aragon.[e] He was undoubtedly delighted to find that his friend, Cagigal, was a member of the expedition; and when, on the arrival of the troops at the islands of Dominica and Guadeloupe, Miranda was made the aid-de-camp of General Cagigal,[f] he must have been happy indeed. In this capacity Miranda served Cagigal for some time and also continued to hold the position of captain in the company to which he had been assigned.

The experiences of Miranda in the West Indies were much more turbulent than those in Spain. In the company of Cagigal, he aided in the disembarkation of the Spanish troops at Dominica, Guadeloupe, and other places, promoted the preparations for war that were made in Habana, and accompanied the expedition which, under the command of Cagigal, left Habana in April, 1781, to reenforce Bernardo de Gálvez, who had undertaken the siege of Pensacola. Miranda doubtless participated in the capture of that place, which took place early in the summer of 1781.[g] The young aid-de-camp performed his various duties to the entire satisfaction of his chief, who

[a] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, and note F, No. 4, which is a copy of a letter from Roca to Miranda, February 29, 1780, informing the latter of his transfer to Cadiz. A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] Ibid., note F, No. 5, is a copy of the report of the transfer of regimental properties by Miranda, Madrid, March 20, 1780. Ibid.

[c] Petition of Miranda, etc., ibid.

[d] Ibid. Cagigal to José de Gálvez, January 6, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[e] Report of October 25, 1783, A. G. S., Guerra, 2513, gives the date as June 29, 1780.

[f] Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141; Cagigal to José de Gálvez, January 6, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[g] Petition of Miranda, etc., A. G. S., Estado, 8141; report of October 25, 1783, A. G. S., Guerra, 2513; Cagigal to José de Gálvez, January 6, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9. In a "Plana Mayor del Exercito," of the Spanish army in the Add. MSS., 20–986, f. 184b, one aid of Cagigal is given as "Dn. Pedro Miranda." This was doubtless Francisco.

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subsequently praised the good conduct of Miranda in this as well as in other employments.[a] It was probably through the influence of Cagigal that Miranda was brevetted lieutenant-colonel on August 23, 1781.[b] Because of this rapid rise, on account of the estimation in which his commander held him, or for other reasons, Miranda speedily became an object of suspicion and attack for some of the Spanish officers in the New World. He was present in Habana when Gen. John Campbell, who had commanded the English troops at Pensacola, tarried there on his voyage to New York, and was subsequently accused of having connived at the inspection of the fortifications of that port by the English general. Evidence has yet to be discovered which will show that Miranda committed such an act. On the other hand it ought to be noted that not only did Miranda persistently deny any complicity in the matter at this time and long after leaving the Spanish service, but he was fully exonerated of blame in the affair after a lengthy consideration by the Council of the Indies in 1799.[c]

There were other matters in which the judgment and the good faith of Cagigal's aid-de-camp were questioned. On February 12, 1781, Cagigal was made commander of Cuba.[d] He soon decided to intrust Miranda with a delicate commission to the island of Jamaica. The ostensible purpose of the deputy was to make final arrangements with the English authorities for an exchange of prisoners between Jamaica and Cuba, but the full scope of his mission can only be determined by a careful study of his actions.[e] Miranda arrived at Kingston, Jamaica, early in September, 1781.[f] He came well recommended to Eliphalet Fitch, a well-known merchant of that port, and brought with him a considerable sum of money, according to some accounts $30,000 or $40,000, which Miranda at first appears to have asserted was to be used in relieving the needs of the Spanish prisoners detained at Jamaica, but which was expended, in large part at least, in an entirely different way.[g]

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[a] Cagigal to José de Gálvez, January 22, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[b] Report of October 25, 1783, A. G. S., Guerra, 2513.

[c] The minutes of the Council of the Indies relating to the case of Miranda, Cagigal, and others are found in the A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9. The decision was reached on February 7, 1790. An extract from the sentence was published with approximate correctness in Antepara, 259, 260.

[d] Royal order of that date, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 79–6–29.

[e] Cagigal to José de Gálvez, August 13, 1781, recites Miranda's instructions. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[f] Dalling to Germain, September 10, 1781, P. R. O., Jamaica, 23.

[g] Examination of Eliphalet Fitch before Committee of Grievances, December 22, 1784, P. R. O., Board of Trade, Jamaica, 130: "Anecdotes Concerning Mr. Fitch * * *", a series of charges drawn up against Fitch some time after the events took place, but confirmed in most respects by the copies of documents accompanying it, P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

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The astute young aid-de-camp soon discovered how to place himself on good terms with Governor Dalling, of Jamaica. On November 6, in response to a demand of the latter, he sent to Dalling a detailed and comparatively accurate account of the various expeditions which the Spaniards had fitted out against Pensacola, giving the number of vessels employed, the names of the commanders, the dates of sailing, and the various fortunes of the attempts. This information Dalling considered of sufficient value to transmit to the home authorities.[a] A comparison of this report with other accessible contemporary accounts of the Spaniards leads the writer to conclude that the description was as reliable as could have been expected and that it was apparently not concocted to deceive the English. Our judgment on this apparent betrayal of his country's interests by Miranda ought to be withheld until the sequel of this incident is described.

The young captain and Fitch, who seems to have been a native of Boston, soon became close friends, and began to cast around for means whereby the designs which the former undoubtedly entertained might be carried into execution. It probably did not take the observant officer long to notice that the merchants of Kingston were well supplied with canvas and cordage, and that the harbor contained many vessels adapted for sailing. The Spaniards at this time stood much in need of both. Arthur Bold, a Kingston merchant, influenced in all probability by Miranda and perhaps by Fitch, undertook to supply Habana with ship supplies. Less than a week after the arrival of Miranda in Kingston, Bold cleared out the vessel *Flora* for New York, which, however, went to Habana, where the cargo of ship supplies was sold to the Spaniards. It was later asserted in Jamaica that without these supplies Solano's fleet, destined for offensive operations against the English, would not have been able to leave Cuba and join the French fleet at Cape François in April, 1782.[b]

Miranda and Fitch were also scheming to secure possession of some vessels for Cagigal under the pretext that they were to be employed

[a] Inclosure in Dalling to Germain, October 10–November 15, 1781, P. R. O., Jamaica, 24. Miranda's note to Dalling, in which the account of the Spanish expeditions against Pensacola was inclosed, is as follows:

"Mon General,

"J'ai l'honneur de presenter à V. E. la minute adjointe que mes gens ont pû former ici, sur la demande que V. E. eû la bonte de me faire l'autre jour. Je voudrois pouvoir la donner avec tout l'exactitude et ponctualité, avec la quelle Je suis toujours

"De V. E. le tres humble et plus obeissant Serviteur.

"FRAN: DE MIRANDA.

"Kingston le 6 Novr. '81.

"Son Excellence Le General Dalling."

[b] "Anecdotes Concerning Mr. Fitch," and document B accompanying it, copy of a letter of A. Campbell, November 16, 1781, to Dalling; also document D, a copy of a letter of Mr. Newland to D. Campbell, June 21, 1784, P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

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as flags of truce to convoy the prisoners of war back to Cuba. This apparent abuse of Dalling's confidence, which Miranda enjoyed, attracted attention and provoked criticism. It was represented to Gen. A. Campbell in such a light as to induce him to address a letter to Governor Dalling on November 13, 1781, informing him that Miranda and his associates were purchasing no less than six vessels which had been "built for war."[a] As a result, Fitch, who was negotiating the purchases, was directed to draw up bonds to the amount of £1,000 for each of the brigs in question to the effect that "they should not be employed in any hostile manner against the British."[b] Fitch, however, attempted to evade the responsibility by filing bonds not so worded. When General Campbell, who did not by any means implicitly trust Miranda, became governor of Jamaica, the bonds were examined and the duplicity was discovered.[c] Hence, in the end of November, 1781, Miranda's three vessels, *The Eagle*, *The Porcupine*, and *The Three Friends*, that were on the point of leaving Jamaica, were prevented from clearing out until Fitch had filed bonds which were satisfactorily worded.[d] These bonds were afterwards declared to be forfeited because evidence was presented that two of the brigs in question had been used against the British after their arrival in Cuba.[e] The accounts of Fitch showed that the three vessels cost upward of £5,357. Fitch also furnished Miranda with provisions amounting to £1,119. When we add to this an outstanding account on November 21, 1781, of over £7,800 it will be seen that the transactions were large. To what extent Miguel Herrera, who figured in the transaction according to the books of Fitch, was an active partner, it is difficult to say; but it is possible that he was merely acting on behalf of Miranda and his associates.[f] Part of the cargo that was loaded on the vessels appears to have been English manufactures. At a later time Fitch declared that, so far as he knew, there were not on board any provisions beyond those demanded by the needs of the prisoners. He also declared that he was a loser to the extent of upward of £2,000 by this transaction, of the recovery of which he had "little hope."[g] In spite of such assertions

[a] Anecdotes Concerning Mr. Fitch, and document A, a copy of a letter from A. Campbell to Dalling, November 13, 1781, P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

[b] Ibid., and document D, copy of letter of Mr. Newland, June 21, 1784, to D. Campbell; also document G, a copy of a bond of Fitch to the King, P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

[c] Ibid., also document E, a copy of a letter from A. Diron to Fitch, November 27, 1781, ibid.

[d] Ibid., and documents D, E, and G, ibid.

[e] Ibid., and document F, minutes of the council, July 9, 1782, ibid.

[f] Copy of the account of Miranda and Fitch, P. R. O., Board of Trade, Jamaica, 130.

[g] Examination of Fitch, ibid.

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regarding contraband of war, the authorities at Jamaica were informed that Miranda had actually carried a considerable quantity of it to the enemy.[a]

The many entanglements in which Miranda became involved during his brief sojourn in Jamaica almost obscure the ostensible object of his trip, an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners of war. A cartel was drawn up on November 18, 1781, between Governor Dalling and Sir Peter Parker, on the one hand, and Miranda, as the representative of Cagigal, on the other hand. This cartel was composed of sixteen articles. It was provided that all officers in the land and naval service, ordinary soldiers and sailors, captains of vessels, including privateersmen with letters of marque and reprisal, in fact almost all prisoners of war, were to be exchanged at Kingston in Jamaica and at Habana or Batabano in Cuba for prisoners of equal rank. There were a number of stipulations regarding the quarters and the rations of prisoners of war, passengers on captured vessels, captured slaves, and flags of truce. It was provided that the crews of captured vessels not regularly commissioned were not to be considered as prisoners of war, but were to be treated as pirates. It was further agreed that no vessels under 8 guns and 40 men were to be authorized or commissioned as privateers by either Government; the crews of any such vessels taken on the coasts of Cuba and Jamaica two months after the date of the cartel were to be treated as pirates. In the last article the contracting parties promised to conform to the provisions as long as their respective courts did not otherwise direct.[b] The cartel was approved by Cagigal,[c] although, as we shall see, it was not favored by the home Government. When Miranda returned to Cuba he carried out part of the arrangement by taking with him over 100 Spanish prisoners.[d]

The full extent of Miranda's "secret commissions," as he at one time called them, has not yet been disclosed. Of this we are more fully informed by a letter of Miranda to Cagigal sent on arriving at Batabano on December 13, 1781. In this letter the envoy declared that he had brought with him exact accounts of the squadrons which the English had at Jamaica as well as of the reenforcements which were expected from Europe. He had also secured similar notices of the veteran troops and the militia in the island and topographical plans.[e] This information is corroborated and supplemented by the testimony of Cagigal, who a little later informed the Spanish monarch that Miranda had brought back with him a detailed plan

[a] Anecdotes Concerning Mr. Fitch, and document K, deposition of John Ellis, September 4, 1782, P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

[b] Cartel entre las Yslas de Cuba y Jamaica (printed), Royal Institution of Great Britain, Am. MSS., 1780, 16, f. 125–.

[c] Cagigal to Gen. John Campbell, April 18, 1782, ibid., f. 99.

[d] Miranda to Cagigal, December 13, 1781, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[e] Ibid.

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of the island of Jamaica and plans of the harbors, approaches, surroundings and fortifications of Antonio, Kingston, and Port Royal.[a] There is no reason to doubt that one of the main reasons for the trip to Jamaica was the desire to secure information regarding the military condition of that island, on which the Spaniards were contemplating an attack. In other words, Miranda was acting as a spy. In view of this, it is possible, and perhaps even probable, that Miranda's action in giving Dalling the desired information regarding the Spanish attacks on Pensacola was taken with a view to securing the favor of the English. This seems to the writer more probable than another possible interpretation that Miranda was spying on the English Government and betraying the interests of the Spanish monarch at the same time. It is possible that Miranda did not consider that the information which he gave Dalling would injure the Spanish cause. In any event this occurrence must have brought Miranda to the attention of some English officials in no pleasant light.

This is not, however, the whole story of the trip to Jamaica. In his letter to Cagigal, Miranda had alluded to other advantageous negotiations which he could not trust to writing. This probably referred to the goods of various sorts which had been embarked on board the vessels on which the prisoners of war were taken to Cuba, from the sale of which Miranda and his associates doubtless hoped to reap large profits.[b] Mr. Phillip Allwood, a Kingston merchant, went on the return trip to Cuba, being commissioned by Fitch to look after his interests in the transaction.[c] The goods were landed at Batabano and conveyed to Habana. The authorities in Spain were informed of these proceedings and concluded that they were unwarranted and illegal.[d] Hence on March 18, 1782, the King of Spain commissioned Juan Antonio de Vrunuela, oidor of the royal audiencia and chancery of Mexico, to proceed to Cuba for the purpose of investigating this matter, which was considered one of illicit and contraband trade. Not only were the actions of Miranda to be examined, but also the administration of Cagigal, who was suspected of having connived at this prohibited traffic. The same royal cédula denounced the alleged action of Miranda in allowing General Campbell to see the fortifications of Habana. He was also censured for having agreed to article 7 of the cartel for the exchange of prisoners between Jamaica and Cuba.[e]

[a] Cagigal to the King of Spain, January 6, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[b] Miranda to Cagigal, December 13, 1781, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[c] Allwood to Stoney, December 23, 1783, P. R. O., Spain, 2.

[d] Royal cédulas to the intendant and to the secretary of Habana, March 11, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9; also the instructions to Vrunuela, March 18, 1782, ibid.

[e] Instructions to Vrunuela, March 18, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9; found in translation, P. R. O., Spain, 2.

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It was a severe indictment. It is evident that the information sent to Spain by the intendant and the secretary of Habana regarding the young officer had caused the home officers to blacklist him.[a] In fact, in November, 1781, before Vrunuela had been charged with the investigation of the affair, orders had been sent to Habana that Miranda be transported to Spain. As this had not been done, a royal order was now sent that he be immediately arrested and imprisoned in the castle of San Carlos de la Cabana.[b] Perhaps the dissatisfaction which the Government of Spain felt at the connection of Cagigal with the questionable commercial transactions of his aid-de-camp had something to do with the dispatch of a royal order on March 11, 1782, by which Cagigal was informed that he was relieved of the command of Cuba in order that he might serve in the army operating under the command of Bernardo de Gálvez.[c] In any case, this new commission afforded fresh opportunities for the tireless activity of Francisco de Miranda. The latter had not lost the confidence of his chief, for in January of this year Cagigal had transmitted a petition of his aid-de-camp to the King of Spain, which solicited promotion to the rank and pay of colonel of infantry, accompanying it by a strong letter of recommendation in which the valuable services performed by Miranda in the trip to Jamaica were especially praised.[d]

The two men next figure in an attack on the Bahama Islands, which was a part of the operations of the French and the Spanish against the English possessions in America. On May 6, 1782, a Spanish fleet from Habana, aided by ships from the insurgents in South Carolina, attacked New Providence, the chief town of the Bahama Islands. The expedition was commanded by Cagigal. According to the report of the English commander, Colonel Maxwell, the investing force consisted of 3 frigates and 60 sail of transports, which had on board 2,500 troops. To confront this array, Maxwell had a small and invalid garrison. The investment was made, and in a short time Cagigal summoned the English to surrender on honorable terms. Maxwell consulted a council of war, composed of the principal military officers and the principal inhabitants of the town, and the agreement was reached that it would be unwise to refuse to enter into negotiations.[e] The Spanish commander sent Miranda to New Providence with the tender *Surprise*, belonging to the American ship *South Carolina*, to promote the capitulation.[f] On May 8 the two

[a] Royal cédulas of March 11, 1782, to these men, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[b] Addressed to the governor of Habana, March 11, 1782, ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Both of these documents accompany a dispatch of Cagigal to José de Gálvez, January 22, 1782; Miranda's petition is dated January 8; Cagigal's letter is dated January 6, 1782. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[e] Maxwell to Germain, May 6 and May 14, 1782. P. R. O., Bahamas, 10.

[f] Sparks, Diplomatic Correspondence, VI. 353. 355.

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commanders agreed to terms of capitulation by which the Bahamas were surrendered to Spain.[a] The conduct of Miranda in this affair again was not above suspicion. Commodore Gillon, of the South Carolina navy, afterwards expressed his opinion that it was because of certain misrepresentations of Miranda to Cagigal that the latter neglected to enter into a written compact to pay South Carolina 60,000 Mexican dollars for services rendered in the conquest of the Bahamas. The odium for the nonpayment of that sum was consequently, in part at least, cast by Gillon upon Miranda.[b]

Affairs in the West Indies were soon to reach a crisis, so far as Miranda and his associates were concerned. Shortly after the capture of the Bahamas, the aid-de-camp of Cagigal was sent to Bernardo de Gálvez with the news of the exploit. Miranda did not make a favorable impression on Gálvez, who informed the home Government in November, 1782, that that officer was becoming every day more active in promoting prejudices and in spreading jealousies among the Spanish commanders.[c] Miranda was soon arrested by order of the commander and sent to Habana. The officer later ascribed this action to jealousy of the success of Cagigal on the part of Gálvez. The warrant used was the royal order.[d] When the prisoner arrived at Habana, to which Cagigal had by this time returned, he was liberated and again protected by his chief, who was willing to answer for Miranda's good conduct to the court of Spain.[e] On the arrival, however, of Luis de Unzaga to relieve Cagigal of the command of Cuba, conditions were not so favorable for the liberty of Miranda. He and Cagigal, according to Miranda's later account, now seem to have decided to leave Cuba for Guarico or Spain, but were twice prevented by unfavorable weather. At this interesting juncture the news of peace between England and the allies arrived, the arrest of Miranda was again undertaken, and the latter began to wonder how he might now escape incarceration.[d] The attempts of Vrunuela, the commissioner for the residencia of Cagigal, to imprison the offender, which had been hitherto unsuccessful, largely because of the protection afforded to Miranda by the good will of the powerful Cagigal,[f] now promised success.

Vrunuela gathered evidence regarding the activities of Cagigal and Miranda. In the autumn of 1783 Allwood, the English merchant, was imprisoned at Habana by the Spanish authorities because

[a] Articles of capitulation, May 8, 1782, P. R. O., Bahamas, 10.
[b] Sparks, Diplomatic Correspondence, VI, 332–334.
[c] Letter to José de Gálvez, November 30, 1782, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.
[d] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.
[e] Ibid., Vrunuela to José de Gálvez, April 19, 1783, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.
[f] Vrunuela to José de Gálvez, April 19, 1783, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

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of alleged complicity in the contraband transactions of Miranda and Cagigal. In December of that year judgment was pronounced by Vrunuela against Allwood and some of the others concerned. The English merchant was condemned to pay a fine and was banished for eight years to the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. The three vessels, with the goods and the slaves that came in them, were confiscated "as contraband and illegal commerce coming from the enemy in the very heat of war." Even the carts, oxen, and horses which conveyed the goods to Habana were confiscated, and Miranda, in common with Herrera, was held responsible for the payment of their value to the royal treasury. The proceeds of the contraband taken from Cuba by Allwood was likewise adjudged forfeited. Miranda was further sentenced to pay a heavy fine, was deprived of his commission, and was banished for ten years to Oran. The actions of Cagigal were not passed upon directly, but that was left for the decision of the King.[a]

The matter did not end here. Allwood denounced this treatment as unjust and appealed to his Government.[b] Miranda and Cagigal asked for a hearing by the Council of the Indies. The latter soon proceeded to Spain, where for many long years he waited, part of the time in prison, persecuted and badgered by the Spanish Government, for the final decision of the case. In none of the numerous communications made by Cagigal to the Spanish authorities on this affair have any reflections been found on the actions of his aid-de-camp. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that the disheartening treatment to which Cagigal was subjected was due in large part, if not entirely, to his connection with Miranda, the former remained the stanch friend of the young officer.[c]

The explanation of the contraband transactions given by Cagigal on his examination at Cadiz affords a reasonable interpretation of the affair, namely, that he permitted contraband goods to be introduced into Cuba because he wished to use that as a pretext in order to acquire information about the enemy during the war.[d] To confirm this the fact is indisputable that in 1799, presumably after a thorough and impartial hearing of the case, Miranda and Cagigal were fully exonerated by the Council of the Indies,[e] in spite of the knowledge

[a] Allwood to Stoney, December 23, 1783, including a translation of the decree of the same date, P. R. O., Spain, 2. Other documents relating to Allwood are found in P. R. O., Jamaica, 26.

[b] The matter was finally brought to the attention of Floridablanca. Liston to the Marquis of Carmarthen, P. R. O., Spain, 2.

[c] Cagigal to O'Reilly, August 22, 1783; Cagigal to the King of Spain, August 22, 1783; Cagigal to José de Gálvez, October 17, 1783. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[d] "Declaracion que hizo en Cadiz Don Manuel de Cagigal ante el oidor Valcarcel acerca de Don Felipe Allwood." Egerton MSS., 520, f. 318. See also the letter of Cagigal to the King of Spain, March 26, 1793, A. H. N., Estado, 3152.

[e] Decision of the Council of the Indies issued on February 20, 1799, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9; printed in part and with substantial accuracy in Antepara, 259, 260.

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on the part of the Spanish authorities that Miranda since leaving Cuba had been conspiring with the English against them. In 1783, and subsequently, Miranda attributed the treatment to which he had been subjected by the Spanish officials in America to jealousy because he was a creole;[a] this is probably a partial explanation. The contraband operations of Miranda were so large, however, that objectors arose naturally. Besides it is not clear that Miranda did not exceed the bounds of the commission intrusted to him by his commander. Perhaps, as in later years, Miranda was trying to reap a private gain from his public duties. Lastly, there are some indications that there were other suspicions regarding Miranda's conduct at this time on the part of the Spanish Government, which were only hinted at and not fully voiced.

In the sentence against Miranda and his associates the judge declared that the young officer was condemned "in absence and rebellion." Months before this sentence was pronounced the prime offender had vanished. In at least one of the numerous orders sent from Spain regarding the troublesome officer it was affirmed that he was enthusiastically attached to the English.[b] According to his own later statement, which there is no good reason to doubt, Miranda had in his possession at this time a collection of papers, maps, and plans[c] relating, doubtless, to the Spanish colonies. Why was he collecting them? Hardly because of the mere passion for collecting them. It is very likely that it was while engaged in the operations against the English possessions near the Gulf of Mexico that Miranda felt the dawning of the idea that was to dominate his life. As was suggested by a writer in the Edinburgh Review, who probably got his information from Miranda, "In a scene where the cause of liberty was the object of all men's zeal and enthusiasm," the young officer would naturally be induced to hope that his own native land might acquire its independence.[d] According to later declarations of Miranda himself it was about this time that he first received representations from the "aggrieved provinces" of Santa Fé and Caracas, which, he said,

[a] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, and note P annexed, being a copy of Miranda's letter to Cagigal, April 16, 1783, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] Royal order of March 11, 1782, to Cagigal, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9. In a royal order addressed to the governor of Habana, November 2, 1781, after mentioning the report that General Campbell and other English officers had been permitted to see the fortifications of Habana, these words are used: "Se les permitio ver las fortificaciones de esa Plaza a influxo y en compañía de Don Francisco de Miranda, Capitan del regimiento de Aragon, que es un entusiasta apasionado de los Ingleses." Ibid.

[c] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141; he mentions the seizure of "Libros, Cartas, Planos, papeles," by action of the intendant of Habana, again he mentions "Libros (que eran bastantes, y excogidos) Reales Despachos, Planos, &ª." A dispatch (undated) of Campo to Floridablanca in 1785, shortly after Miranda's arrival in England, shows that the Spanish minister believed that these papers, etc., pertained to the Spanish colonies. Ibid.

[d] Edinburgh Review, XIII, 286; on the authorship of the article see below, p. 426, note a.

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finally terminated in "specific propositions."[a] This was evidently a pivotal period in the career of Miranda, when his attachment and fidelity to Spain might well have been doubted. It is not necessary to conclude, however, that he had determined to quit the service of Spain at once; he may have been merely deliberating regarding his future activity, preparing for a possible contingency.

On April 16, 1783, Miranda wrote two letters to Cagigal in which he conveyed his determination. He declared that he was disgusted with the treatment which he had been accorded in the Spanish service. So far as regarded the charges against him he was "more pure and innocent than Socrates." Still he expected arrest and dreaded to trust his person to the doubtful justice of a court in the West Indies, where there were many prejudices against him. Consequently he had decided to go to Europe by way of the United States with the intention of writing thence to his sovereign, asking for a safe-conduct that he might proceed to Spain to vindicate his honor before "a council of impartial men" and secure formal reparation for his injuries. The desire to escape what he considered an unjust persecution was not the only motive which animated Miranda. He evidently still had in mind the advancement of his education by traveling. He expressed a desire to secure the royal permission to travel for four years in England, Holland, France, Germany, Italy, and other countries, for, said he: "The experience and knowledge which man acquires in visiting and examining with minute attention in the great book of the universe the most wise and virtuous societies which compose it, their laws, government, agriculture, commerce, military art, navigation, sciences, arts, etc., is the only thing which can season the fruit and in any manner complete the great work of forming a man of solidity and profit."[b]

When Miranda wrote this letter he was on the point of leaving the West Indies for the United States. Ten years of service in the Spanish army were closed by a hasty and secret flight. On October 25, 1783, the regiment of Aragon, to which Miranda had been attached in the West Indies, was inspected at Cadiz. As one would expect, the report on Captain Miranda was in decided contrast with those of the company of the Princess, which we have already noticed.

[a] Popham's memorandum, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 510; in a memorial addressed to William Pitt, March 18, 1799, Miranda declared that in 1782 he entertained proposals from the colonies, Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–, in copy as sent by King to Pickering, "Le très Hon. William Pitt sait fort bien que depuis longtems le Soussigné n'a eu pour but que de servir son pays; étant chargé en 1782, de solliciter auprès de L'Angleterre, l'independance des Colonies Hispano-americaines."

[b] Miranda to Cagigal, Matanzas, April 16, 1783; the long quotation is from the letter marked "Confidencial." These letters constitute note P of Miranda's petition to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785. A. G. S., Estado, 8141. The writer believes them to be authentic copies. One of them is doubtless referred to by O'Reilly in a letter to José de Gálvez, Cadiz, August 22, 1783, as being in the possession of Cagigal. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

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A brief and colorless statement was made of the captain's service in the army of operations in America. It was stated that he had appeared for the last time at muster in August, 1782. The colonel of the company declared that he was ignorant of the valor of Miranda, had no experience of his application, knew nothing of his capacity, and that his conduct was bad.[a]

Such were the stirring experiences of Francisco de Miranda during a formative period. His faculties had been improved at schools, by private study, and by diverse activities. He had received a valuable training in the art and the science of war. The young officer had gained some knowledge of the continent of Europe as well as of the continental and insular possessions of Spain in America. The man who was destined to conspire against his King had become acquainted with the method and the spirit of Spanish administration. A receptive youth when he enlisted, animated, in all probability by a deep attachment for his King, Miranda had been shaped by galling circumstances into a resentful man, the sincerity of whose attachment might well have been doubted by the Government. It is in this light that the questionable actions of Miranda in the West Indies ought to be judged. Whether he was deliberately disloyal to his King or not, he had been gradually forced into an attitude which made him an object of suspicion. We may never know what Miranda's actual intentions were. The problem is essentially a psychological one for which various solutions are possible. The writer thinks it probable that during the latter part of the sojourn of Miranda in the West Indies he was in a vacillating or transitory mood. Although it appears that he was meditating about the condition of the Spanish-American colonies, it was several years after leaving Habana before Miranda openly ventured to lay his revolutionary projects before the Government of England. He was destined to pass through other interesting experiences before he virtually renounced his wavering allegiance to the Government which had honored and vindicated his father.

Francisco de Miranda left the Spanish service in disgrace. The Spanish Government viewed him as "a conspirator of state,"[b] whose person ought to be secured. Warnings were soon sent to various

[a] A. G. S., Guerra, 2153. Notice the statement made regarding the military service of Miranda by Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 315: "Vanas han sido nuestras indagaciones sobre los primeros servicios militares de Miranda. Ignórase en efecto el nombre del regimiento en que principió su carrera, así como el de las plazas en que estuvo de guarnición. El incendio que devoró en 1842 el edificio y gran parte de los archivos del ministro de guerra español, destruyó todo lo relativo á este punto." Other statements are made by Becerra about Miranda's early career which would have been modified had he made a careful personal examination of the Spanish archives at Seville and at Simancas and utilized the material found there properly. Ibid., 311, 317, Becerra takes the view that Miranda did not take part in the attack on Melilla.

[b] The phrase "reo de estado" is used in a dispatch of Floridablanca to Campo, September 13, 1784, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.

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Spanish officials directing them to be on the lookout for the fugitive.[a] An alleged description of Miranda was sent to the Spanish agents in Portugal.[b] The Spanish minister in England, Bernardo del Campo, was urged to discover the abiding place of the recreant officer in case he should arrive in that country, to which the Spanish Government soon suspected that he was directing his steps.[c]

[a] Floridablanca to Campo, August 11, 1784, ibid. José de Gálvez to Floridablanca, August 7, 1783, shows that a warning was sent to Spanish officials in Portugal. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[b] José de Gálvez to Floridablanca, August 30, 1783, incloses a description of Miranda which was made out. A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[c] Floridablanca to Campo, September 13, 1784, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.

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Chapter IV.

MIRANDA'S TOUR OF AMERICA AND EUROPE.

While the Spanish Government was vainly seeking to discover the refuge of Miranda, that fugitive from justice was traveling through the United States. Unfortunately there is very little contemporary evidence at hand regarding this trip. Miranda arrived at Charleston, S. C., in the spring of 1783.[a] He had apparently determined to make his visit to the States, which were just emerging from the disturbances of the Revolutionary war, a profitable one, for in May of that year Cagigal forwarded to him, probably by request, a commendatory letter of introduction to Francisco Rendon,[b] the Spanish representative at Philadelphia, and another recommending him to General Washington because of "his character, information, and other circumstances."[c] The traveler must have spent several months in visiting the Southern States, for he did not reach Philadelphia before the end of the year. Here he speedily ingratiated himself with Rendon, who did not know that Miranda was under a cloud, and viewed him as an interested and inquisitive traveler. The Spanish minister admitted him into his house, and, according to his own report, introduced him as Colonel Miranda to the ministers plenipotentiary of France and of Holland, the superintendent of finance, and other persons, who entertained the tourist with dinners and balls. In a short time, however, word reached Philadelphia that the visitor was a deserter from the Spanish service. This put Miranda in a decidedly bad light in the eyes of Rendon. The latter now informed the quondam colonel that it was not fitting that a fugitive in his critical situation should reside in the same city as a representative of his Catholic Majesty. Perhaps this intimation hastened Miranda's departure from Philadelphia. Certainly the Spanish Government

[a] Eustace, Le Citoyen, 6, 7; Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.
[b] Antepara, 252, 253.
[c] Ibid., 251.

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was duly informed of the abiding place and the activities of the recreant officer.[a]

Other information which was transmitted at the same time must have caused added dissatisfaction. In the same letter as that which told of the arrival of Miranda in Philadelphia news was conveyed regarding his plans. It was intimated that because of his troubles with the Spanish officials the refugee had assumed a venomous and revengeful attitude toward the Spanish monarchy. It was asserted that he had actually confided his future schemes to a confidant of the Spanish minister. He proposed to go to London to present a project to that court for the capture of some places on the western coast of Spanish America.[b] This was not improbable, for there are other reasons to believe that Miranda was now entertaining or contriving some designs against the integrity of the American dominions of Spain. Beyond doubt it was at this time that he had several conversations with Barbé-Marbois, the secretary of the French minister to the United States, who described him as "a young, enterprising, and bustling creole from Caracas." Miranda informed the Frenchman that the Spanish dominions in America would soon experience a revolution similar to that which had occurred in the United States. "A wise and prudent government might moderate its violence or delay its effects. But such warnings only offend ministers. They have a great aversion to all wisdom except their own, and they always make their advisers who are too well informed for them feel their anger. I have told them that the uprising of the Mexican Indians in 1778 was a warning of the highest importance. I have spoken of

[a] Rendon to José de Gálvez, January 4, 1784, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9. After Miranda's arrival in England from his trip on the continent of Europe, Bernardo del Campo, the Spanish minister in London, wrote a letter to Floridablanca, October 8, 1789, in which he gave an account of Miranda's travels, which was evidently obtained from Miranda himself: "Sabe que de su proceder en los Estados Americanos han hecho montañas sin el mas leve ni remoto fundamento pues sus viages y sus occupaciones alli se dirijieron a adquirir conocimiento de aquel Pais y de aquella Nacion que acababa de hacer tan gran papel. En prueba de la sinceridad con que procedia hizo testigo de todo al encargado de España—Rendon y aun alojó en su casa hasta que Mr. de la Luserno lleno a aquel agente de España la cabeza de chismes y de historictas tan ridiculas como inverosimiles en perjuicio suyo; pero que forzaron al mismo Rendon á separarse de él sin que por su parte hubiese jamas tenido cargo alguno que hacerle." A. G. S., Estado, 8146, Documentary Appendix, No. 3.

[b] F. de Quintana to José de Gálvez, January 12, 1784, accompanying the letter of Rendon of January 4, A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9: "Dn. Francisco de Quintana da cuenta á V. E. de su arrivo a Philadelphia el 4 de Diciembre ultimo * * *. En esta Ciudad he encontrado al Capitan del Regimiento de la Princesa graduado de Theniente Coronel Dn. Francisco Miranda de cuio individuo me consta que V. E. há tenido que sentir bastante por sus hechurias en la Havana durante el Govierno del Theniente General Cagigal en aquella y fueron vastantes para indiguar la templada y dulce indole de V. E. este que la vitupera en terminos que manifesta el venemo que ha adquirido por sus mismos delitos pretende vengarla con la mayor viliza que sus torpes pensamientos le dictan, en esta Capital ha tenido a los principios alguna aceptacion mientras aquellos han estado en el silencio pero tan presto como se han hecho publicos se há visto despreciado de los que merecia mas favor; de manera que esto lo há decidido a ausentarse, me há dicho que desde esta se va á Londres á presentar un proyecto sobre tomar algunas Plazas en Nuestra Costa Occidental de America que a V. E. le será muy sensible, y a la España pernicioso * * *."

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admitting foreigners into all our colonies. From the manner in which the proposal was received I have thought it prudent to fly, as if I had been guilty of a crime."[a] Thus apparently did the young creole explain his flight to Barbé-Marbois.

Miranda met many other persons, some of them of eminence, at this time. He probably met General Washington and other military officers of the United States at Philadelphia or elsewhere.[b] According to the recollections of John Adams, the South American interested Winthrop Sargeant, later governor of the Mississippi territory, with the "ideas of wealth, glory, and liberty, which the independence of South America exhibited."[c] As his career shows, Miranda acquired considerable information regarding the campaigns and battles of the Revolutionary war and the politics and parties of the United States. In the absence of his diary or journal, it is not easy to fix the itinerary of his journey, but it is probably true that he visited all the important cities and all the great battlefields in the country.[d] It was at this time doubtless that Miranda met Col. W. S. Smith, a man of military tastes and ambitions, with a talent for intrigue, who had served through the Revolutionary war and had become one of Washington's aids.[e] It is very likely that Miranda confided to Smith his schemes regarding the future, for Miranda ever after looked upon him as one of his sympathizers and most probable cooperators. While making this tour Miranda met another man, who proved to be interested in South American politics. This was Stephen Sayre, who was thereafter a friend of Miranda; in fact, he later declared that in 1783 he loaned Miranda money "to carry him to Europe."[f] Liberty-loving Thomas Paine, the author of Common Sense, also admitted later that he, too, met Miranda at this time.[g] The traveler became acquainted with Rufus King,[h] a rising Massachusetts man, who was destined to become one of his most trusted confidants.

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[a] Barbé-Marbois, History of Louisiana, 149, 150.

[b] Adams; Works of John Adams, X, 134–.

[c] Ibid., 135.

[d] Petition of Miranda to the King of Spain, April 10, 1785, in which he describes his trip in these words: "Tuve puntuales avisos de sus tramas mas secretas; y me embarqué con seguridad, y equipage para Charleston en la Carolina meridional: á fin de substraerme por este medio de una Cabala tan poderosa; y aprobechár el tiempo al mismo paso, dando principio á mis viages por los Paises mas Civilizados del mundo, que lo tanto avia deseado * * * y así continue mi viage por todos los Estados-Unidos de America; visitando principalmente quantos Puestos, y Campos sirvieron de Theatro á las mas brillantes acciones militares de la ultima guerra; y combersando despacio con los Heroes, y Sabios que executaron aquella obra immortal! — — — en considerable adelanto de mi instruccion, y experiencia." A. G. S., Estado, 8141. See also Adams, Works of John Adams, X, 134, 135.

[e] Ibid., 135.

[f] Sayre to Jefferson, November 15, 1806, Jefferson MSS., series 2, LXXVII, f. 18–.

[g] Letter of Thomas Paine, March 20, 1806, The Aurora, April 5, 1806.

[h] King, Correspondence of Rufus King, III, 556.

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After leaving Philadelphia Miranda continued his journey in a northerly direction. He could hardly have omitted a visit to New York City, where the Spanish Government got wind of him in June, 1784.[a] In July he visited New Haven, Conn. He called on President Stiles, of Yale College, with letters of introduction from several men whom he had doubtless met, among them Governor Livingston. Miranda attended the recitations of some of the college classes. He imparted to Stiles some suggestive details regarding his devious career. He described the mode of education in Mexico and all New Spain and characterized their learning as "inferior, trifling, and contemptible." There were no "great Literary Characters" there, he said, as geniuses dared "not *read* nor *think* nor *speak*, for fear of the Inquisition." Miranda not only impressed Stiles as being too free-spoken and liberal minded to reside in either New or Old Spain but also convinced the latter that he had a "perfect acquaintance with the policy and history of all Spanish America." On July 30 this "learned Man and a flaming Son of liberty," as Stiles characterized him, left New Haven, bound apparently for Boston, Piscataqua, Nova Scotia, and England.[b]

It was evidently some time during the autumn of 1784 that the traveler visited Boston. More than twenty years afterwards James Lloyd declared that although he was only a schoolboy at the time still the impression on his mind was as "vivid" as though he had seen Miranda "within a twelvemonth." His graphic pen picture is worth quoting. "He appeared to me as the most extraordinary, and wonderfully energetic man that I had ever seen; * * * to this hour I recollect very distinctly the two topics of his conversation, the one doubtless his darling theme, was the prospect of revolutionizing the Spanish provinces of South America; the other, an expression of his disgust at the degree of liberty possessed by the People of this Country, and the abuse of it which he had witnessed at some turbulent popular election in one of our Southern Cities, I believe at Baltimore. While commenting on these subjects with great vehemence of enthusiasm and severity of denunciation, and in a rapid impassioned and commanding eloquence, with his whole frame in motion, and pacing the room with giant strides, he presented to my juvenile imagination a new and apparently more elevated sample of the human character, and seemed capable of leading a People impatient of their Government, and ripe for its subversion to any deeds of daring to which his ambitions might direct them."[c] Miranda evidently made many acquaintances during his stay in Boston. He seems to have met Governor Bowdoin; he certainly met General Knox.[d]

[a] Floridablanca to Campo, September 13, 1784, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.
[b] Stiles' Diary, III, 130–132.
[c] James Lloyd to John Adams, March 14, 1815, Adams MSS., General Correspondence of John Adams, 1813–1816, f. 179–.
[d] Miranda to Knox, February 9, 1785, Knox MSS., XVII, f. 172.

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Through his ardent and contagious enthusiasm he undoubtedly temporarily interested many people in the cause of Spanish America.

In 1804 Miranda appears to have informed Home Popham, an English naval officer who had become interested in his designs, that while in the United States he again received addresses from "the provinces of Santa Fe and Caraccas" and "laid the whole before Generals Washington, Knox, and Hamilton, who promised him every assistance and gave him assurances of raising troops in the province of New England, provided he could persuade Great Britain to assist with her navy."[a] As already indicated, it is probable that Miranda met General Washington, but there is no evidence that the South American ever disclosed his revolutionary designs to Washington.[b]

On the other hand, it can not be said with certainty that Miranda did not do so. As regards Knox and Hamilton there is a little more evidence. To judge by the letters which Miranda subsequently sent to Knox, several conferences were held between Miranda and this general, which probably related to the emancipation of Spanish America from the rule of Spain. Although we are unable to say definitely what was agreed on at these "symposiums," as Miranda later characterized them, yet it is possible that Knox may have drawn up some estimates which related to the projects of Miranda.[c] The later attempts which Miranda made to engage Knox in his schemes show that Knox left the impression on Miranda that he was much interested in the matter. Further, when Miranda left Boston he apparently left with Knox a copy of "a small Cypher."[d]

The relations of Alexander Hamilton to the adventurous traveler are also something of a puzzle. Miranda certainly met Hamilton and disclosed his views regarding the liberation of Spanish America. As their subsequent relations will amply show, Miranda certainly believed that he had encountered in Hamilton the one man who above all others in the United States would cooperate with him. Fourteen years later Hamilton thus described his attitude toward the South American: "Several years ago this man was in America much heated with the project of liberating S Am from the Spanish Domination. I had frequent conversation with him on the subject and I presume expressed ideas favorable to the object and perhaps gave an opinion

[a] Popham's memorandum, October 14, 1804, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 510.

[b] The published correspondence of Washington contains nothing on this topic, neither do the calendars of the unpublished correspondence; some of the uncalendared papers of Washington's correspondence with the Continental Congress were examined in search of some hint as to the South American, but nothing was found. In several of the letters of Miranda to Knox, the former asks to be remembered to Washington; in a letter of November 4, 1792, Miranda states that he will write to Washington at some other time. Knox MSS. XXXII, f. 176. See also Miranda's letter to Hamilton, October 19, 1798, Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 220. Documentary Appendix, No. 3.

[c] Miranda to Knox, March 15, 1790, Knox MSS., XXV, f. 178–; Sayre to Knox, June 15, 1790, ibid., XXVI, f. 76; Miranda to Knox, November 4, 1792, ibid., XXXII, f. 176, see below, pp. 290, 291.

[d] Miranda to Knox, April 9, 1791, Knox MSS., XXVIII, f. 119.

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that it was one to which the U States would look with interest."[a] Time and reflection had probably cooled Hamilton's ardor; hence these observations can not be accepted as an accurate index to his earlier attitude toward the agitator. It is not at all improbable, but rather likely, that Knox as well as Hamilton may have assured Miranda that they would, under certain circumstances, aid him in his self-imposed task.[b] The hypothesis that they did hold out such encouragement goes far toward explaining why he persisted in corresponding with them in after years. While the precise nature of the assistance that may have been promised will perhaps remain a mystery, the sequel will show that the interest of Knox and Hamilton declined when the magnetism of Miranda was withdrawn and when political circumstances changed.

If the inquisitive traveler visited Canada he did not spend much time there, for in February, 1785, he wrote to Knox informing him of his arrival in London, which he described as an "immense capital." Miranda was profoundly impressed with "the infinite number of different objects" and the "multitude of people" that he encountered.[c] Long before his arrival in London Bernardo del Campo had been informed regarding the character and the career of Miranda, and instructed that if the man should be found in England he was to watch his conduct and keep the court informed.[d] Miranda did not attempt to live secretly or to screen himself from the Spanish minister, for shortly after his arrival in the English metropolis he called on Campo, but did not find him at home. The Spanish minister soon returned the call with similar success. The Government of Spain was soon informed of the event.[e] Campo speedily took measures to spy on the movements of Miranda as he had previously done on other suspicious characters, for in a short time he made the first of a series of reports on the suspect to the Spanish Government.

[a] This is Hamilton's comment on a letter of Miranda to himself dated February 7, 1798. Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 208, 209.

[b] The supposed negotiations between Miranda and Hamilton and Knox later became the subject of correspondence between Miranda and James Monroe, see below, p. 305. On April 2, 1797, Miranda thus replied to a request of Monroe for papers relating to the affair: "Ce n'est que dans le moment que je reçois votre lettre du 17 Mars. M. Provost, qui me l'envoie, m'explique ainsi l'objet de votre sollicitud; 'the papers alluded to in the within note (votre lettre) are those which respect a negotiation with M. Pitt, confided to M. Miranda some time since by messieurs Hamilton and Knox, the object of which was to adopt some effectual measures to liberate South America.' Je puis vous assurer, monsieur, qu'il n'y a pas *un mot* de vrai dans tout ce rapport. M. Paine de qui vous dites le tenir s'est assurément trompé en prenant pour des *négociations* quelques notes, peut-être, qu'il a vues à ma campagne de Mesnilmontant, faites dans le tems de mes voyages dans les Etats-Unis, et qui m'ont été données par ces deux respectables amis quand ils n'étaient que de simples Citoyens, bien antérieurement à leur ministère." Monroe MSS., VIII, f. 1010. In chapter VIII it will be seen that Miranda later made an attempt to engage both Hamilton and Knox in his designs and also thought of interesting others, perhaps even Washington.

[c] February 9, 1785, Knox MSS., XVII, f. 172.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, August 11, 1784, September 13, 1784, A. G. S., Estado, 8139.

[e] Campo to Floridablanca, March 18, 1785, ibid., 8141. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 326, makes this statement about the date of Miranda's arrival in London. "* * * es de presumirse que su arribo á Inglaterra occurió á mediados de 1784 * * *."

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These reports are almost the only information which we now have of the activities of Miranda at this time. They are also valuable because they enable us to understand the attitude of the Spanish authorities toward the refugee. Campo declared that, availing himself of the letters of introduction which he had brought from Jamaica and the United States, Miranda had speedily become acquainted with many people in London, Englishmen and persons of other nationalities, making no mystery of his experiences and of his treatment by the Spanish Government. Those who visited the traveler had informed the Spanish minister that Miranda was a man of much talent, of great activity, and with a more than moderate education, but that he was a fanatic in maintaining the principles of liberty against all governments. Besides the confidants and go-betweens of Campo, he had met some of the English nobility. Lord Howe and other persons had gone to visit Miranda in his quarters, and the latter had actually had two long conversations with Lord Shelburne. Lord Sidney, Henry Pelton, M. P., and a former lord of the admiralty were also interested in the South American.

Miranda had other attractions beyond those of his personality to draw men. He had charts and plans of the Spanish fortifications in America, notably one of Habana, showing its weaknesses and the best point of attack. Besides these, he had other papers of the greatest importance; his own instructive memoirs regarding the true condition of various provinces of the Spanish Indies, plans of the last campaigns, and the correspondence of the Spanish generals and those of France during the recent war. Three trunks were filled with these papers. Campo attributed Lord Howe's visit to Miranda to the fact that the latter had indulged in the fantastic fancy of decorating the walls of his room with manuscript maps and plans. He had two clerks in constant employment, and was at work on a representation to the Spanish court, having resolved not to set foot in the Spanish dominions. The news evidently alarmed Campo, who expressed his belief that Miranda was a man capable of carrying on with tenacity and order whatever audacious project might in an opportune moment aid the enemies of Spain. The minister was convinced that the master stroke would be either to burn all these cherished papers or to rob Miranda of them before he succeeded in making an evil use of them. This would be most delicate, if not impossible of accomplishment, in England. Nevertheless he assured Floridablanca that he would leave nothing undone that would promote the happy result.[a]

[a] Campo to Floridablanca, undated, but undoubtedly written after April 26, 1785, and some time before May 26, 1785, when Floridablanca acknowledged the receipt of this letter which inclosed Miranda's petition, A. G. S., Estado, 8141. The credibility of Campo's reports is borne out to an extent by subsequent events and also by some of Miranda's own statements in his petition to the King, April 10, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

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On April 26, Miranda called again at the residence of the minister and left a sealed packet, asking that it be forwarded to the Spanish court.[a] This packet contained, in the first place, a brief letter to the Count of Floridablanca, dated London, April 10, 1785, stating that because of the position, integrity, and royal confidence which Floridablanca enjoyed, he had directed a petition to him in order that it might be placed at the feet of his Sovereign. This petition was accompanied by copies of a number of documents which were intended to act as proof of the statements made by Miranda. The petition was in reality an autobiographical sketch of the petitioner. In it emphasis was laid on the long-continued service which Miranda had performed to the King. It attributed the shabby treatment which he had been given in the Indies to the undermining influence of jealous enemies. Miranda said that he had heard that his friend Cagigal had been arrested on his arrival in Spain, and that he was to remain in that plight until his offending aide appeared. He was also aware that sentence had been pronounced against himself. He declared that Cagigal had had no participation in his withdrawal from Habana. The charges against himself were declared false. His greatest disadvantage, he declared, was that he was an American born. He was tired of struggling with powerful enemies, inveterate preoccupations, and the jealousies of all classes, for the triumphs of a creole, however complete they might be in theory, would never repay the injuries which they occasioned him in honor, in estate, and in that which was the most precious of all, time, from which inestimable advantages might be drawn, if it were dedicated to the solid studies and useful occupations more suitable to his genius. Consequently he besought His Majesty to dismiss him formally from the royal service and reimburse him the 8,000 pesos which the captaincy had cost. He declared that in the various duties which had been assigned him he had ever proceeded with purity, and had been animated by the lofty desire of advancing the service and glory of the King, without allowing emulation, persecutions, or the threatenings of chiefs and ministers to distort his intentions or incline his mind to indecorous submission.[b] In view of the suspicions with which the Spanish regarded the petitioner, one could hardly expect that the petition would receive sympathetic consideration from that court. Floridablanca characterized it as being aimed solely to upbraid and to defame the persons with whom the petitioner had quarreled or against whom he entertained resentment.[c] In fact, the Spanish Government would doubtless have made a formal demand upon the English Government

[a] Campo to Floridablanca, undated, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.
[b] A. G. S., Estado, 8141.
[c] Floridablanca to Campo, May 26, 1785, ibid.

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for the person of Miranda if the laws of the country and the attitude of the ministry had promised success.[a]

Campo continued to maintain a system of espionage in regard to Miranda. On May 27 the former told his court that he could not discover in the suspect the evil designs and depraved intentions which other persons had informed him were entertained.[b] On June 17 another report was sent, in which the minister reaffirmed this opinion and transmitted the items of information which he had acquired from his spies. The two amanuenses were still busy. Miranda was much engaged with such important personages as generals, naval men, and engineers. The tentative and colorless reply to the petition which had been sent by Floridablanca for the purpose of soothing Miranda had been communicated to the latter and had to an extent satisfied him. Campo characterized Miranda as an educated youth, possessed of great activity and much fire. He was happy in expression, and his manner and personality were such as pleased people. He was only occupying himself in such a manner as would make him more useful in serving his King and country. Nevertheless, whatever the real intentions of Miranda were, Campo declared that his residence in England, his conversational powers, his knowledge of America, and his acquaintances in London might cause Spain the same evil results as though he was actually sold to England. Probably the last suggestion was due to the reports which Campo had from his spies, who averred that when Miranda was not with that minister he at times conducted himself differently, declaring that once retired from the service of one sovereign, there would be no harm in joining that of another, that he would not return to Spain, and that each day he

[a] Floridablanca to José de Gálvez, May 18, 1785, A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9; "Hallandose en Londres el tenᵉ. Coronel Dⁿ. Francisco Antᵒ. de Miranda me ha dirigido la adjunta representacion para S. M. haciendo demision desde grado y empleo. Me la incluye Dⁿ. Berndᵒ. del Campo en la carta que tambien paso a V. E. en que este Ministro de S. M. trata y discurre acerca de aquel sugeto segun veia V. E. bien que sin tener conocimiento del contenido de su representacion, por que se la entregó en pliego cerrado. V. E. tiene completo de todo lo ocurrido con Miranda: por lo que espero que haciendolo todo presente al Rey me dire lo que he de responder á uno y otro en la inteligencia de que no produciria efecto alguno util al servicio de S. M. la reclamacion quiese hiciesa de Miranda en Londres, pues las leyes del Pais no permiten su entrega, aunque hubiese en el Ministerio Ingles voluntad de hacerla, de que no debemos lisongearnos." Accompanying this is a minute, unsigned, from which the following extract will show the conception which the Spanish Government had of Miranda: "Que enterado S. M. de todo se ha servido resolver, que se instruya á Dⁿ. Berndᵒ. del Campo de lo que representa Miranda, suponiéndose agraviado del Ministerio de Indias, y de los Grãles, Españoles especialmᵗᵉ. del Conde de Galvez, á quien devio el grado de tenᵗᵉ. Coronel por solo el influxo y solicitud de Dⁿ. Juan Manˡ. de Cagigal, su ciego protector. Que si pareciese conventᵉ. al Sr. Florida Blanca se envie copia á Campo de la representacion adjunta de Miranda advirtiendole de los excesos de este en la Jamayca, contrabandos qᵉ. hizo con motivo de su viage á ella autorizados por Cagigal, y demas manejos criminales de dho. Miranda; encargando sre. todo á aqˡ. Ministro que emplie todas su activᵈ. y eficacia en cortar por qᵗᵒˢ. medios sean posibles, y a qualqᵃ. precio, las perniciosas ideas de semejante hombre, en inteligenᵃ. de que sre. estuvo notado de fanatico partidario de los Ingleses, y que para irse entre ellos desertó del servicio del Rey, * * * fho. en 20 de Marzo."

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, May 27, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

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spoke with greater enthusiasm of England and her Government. Campo accordingly suggested to Floridablanca that Miranda be kept in a state of suspense.[a]

In spite of the fact that the Spanish foreign minister had decided that Miranda had lost his rank and office in the army,[b] the court continued the policy of dallying with Miranda. On May 26, 1785, the Count of Floridablanca had acknowledged the receipt of the petition of April 10, but informed Miranda that because of the length of the representation and the accompanying documents, he had not been able to master it as it deserved. As soon as he had done this and the King had reached a decision, he would reply through Bernardo del Campo.[c] On July 18, acting probably on the hint given by Campo, Floridablanca drew up another "ostensible" letter, in reply to one from Miranda dated June 8. In this the excuse of the previous letter was repeated, and it was added that in order to proceed with impartiality in the affair it was necessary to secure by indirect means information which was not subject to any prejudice or resentment. Miranda was again assured that he would be promptly informed of the King's decision.[d] This misleading communication was soon transferred to Miranda by Campo, who sought to delude him further by exhibiting a pretended dispatch of his to the Spanish court.

According to Campo, the South American was now in a somewhat vacillating state of mind. He was awaiting with anxiety the decision of the Spanish court, and at times seemed to desire restoration to the good graces of the King. At other times he seemed to be possessed by opposite ideas. The Spanish minister, however, flattered himself that this uncertain or changing mood prevented Miranda from delivering his papers or engaging his person to the English Government. Campo reported regretfully that thus far his schemes for the seizure of the much-coveted papers had not been successful. He was hatching new plots, however, for their seizure or destruction. If they could not be put out of the reach of the English Government in any other way, he hoped that the owner might be detached from them. Miranda was contemplating a continental trip and Campo fondly hoped that the precious papers would be left behind. They might then be examined. The minister even suggested that if on his return the traveler journeyed through Holland or Flanders it might be possible to induce him to pass into France, where nothing would be left undone to compass Miranda's arrest, which would accomplish the desired end. In the meantime the apparently unsus-

[a] Campo to Floridablanca, June 17, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] This is shown by a minute regarding Miranda dated March 20, in which this statement occurs: "Dho Miranda por su desercion y demás delitos tiene perdido el empleo y graduacion aunque está aun pendte. su causa de contrabandos en el consejo de Indias." A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

[c] Antepara, 248, 249.

[d] Ibid., 249, 250; a copy of the original is found in A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

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pecting Miranda busied himself much as before, becoming more and more intimate with English military leaders, visiting the notable sights of the metropolis, and attending the debates in Parliament. He had fixed on Colonel Smith, who was the secretary of John Adams, the minister of the United States at the court of London, as his traveling companion, much to the chagrin of the Spanish minister, who had hoped that Miranda would select instead one of his confidants.[a]

Miranda must have aired his views regarding Spanish America in the British metropolis, for in the summer of 1785 The Political Herald and Review declared that there was then in London a Spanish American of "great consequence and possessed of the confidence of his fellow-citizens," who aspired "to the glory of being the deliverer of his country." He was a man of "sublime views and penetrating understanding, skilled in the ancient and modern languages, conversant in books and acquainted with the World." This "distinguished character" had spent many years in the study of politics, governments, and the changes in political societies. He had proceeded from North America to England, which he regarded as "the mother country of liberty, and the school for political knowledge."[b] President Stiles, of Yale College, was doubtless correct when he identified this description with Miranda.[c]

It is possible that Miranda made approaches to men connected with the English Government at this time, as was indeed suspected by Campo, but it appears improbable that definite propositions were made to the Government itself,[d] for Miranda had not yet given up hope of reconciliation with Spain, and perhaps still counted on being reimbursed the cost of his commission. In his subsequent addresses to the English Government Miranda always referred to the year 1790 as the one in which he first entered into definite relations with it. After Miranda left London a certain Captain Brooks informed Campo that the engaging tourist had been employed in the same occupation as that which had engrossed Vidall, for he and several others had been plotting against the integrity and tranquillity of the

[a] Campo to Floridablanca, August 6, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[b] Political Herald and Review, 1785, 29, 30; this was reprinted in the London Chronicle, August 30–September 1, 1785, LVIII, 112.

[c] Stiles's Diary, III, 199, 200. Ed. Rev., XIII, 286, 287, note, shows that the author of that article believed this to be Miranda. The latter saw fit to preserve a copy of this description among his papers, where it was found when they were seized during his sojourn in France. Archives Nationales, W. 271, No. 30, f. 29, 49, and 53.

[d] In P. R. O., Spain, 1, are found papers which may have been submitted to the English ministers by Miranda in 1785, but they are undated and may not have been submitted until 1790; f. 29, are documents dealing with the revolt in New Granada in 1781; f. 77, 78, is a copy of a note denouncing the "conduct" of the Spanish Government, 1781–1783, in regard to the insurgents. The signature to this "Nota" was hastily scrawled and appears to be "Miranda."

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Spanish Empire in America.[a] The Spaniards were also informed that a few hours before his departure Miranda was seen cautiously sealing five letters; one was addressed to Lima, another to Santa Fé, the third to Buenos Ayres, the fourth to Carthagena, and the fifth to Morro Castle at Habana.[b] Certainly the Spanish authorities had food for thought while the suspected conspirator was touring the Continent.

Bernardo del Campo tried to keep track of both Miranda and his precious papers. He soon decided that not all the documents had been carried away. More than once did he flatter himself that he had found their hiding place,[c] but never did he lay his hands upon them or even succeed in having them examined. He busied himself setting on foot measures for the capture of the offender, if he ventured to visit France, kept the Spanish Government informed of his own activities in the matter, and, so far as possible, of the movements of the traveler.[d] He warned the Spanish representative in Paris of the character and career of Miranda and urged him to arrange for his seizure if he arrived in that capital or even ventured within the boundaries of France.[e]

In the meantime what had become of Miranda and Smith? On August 4, 1785, Smith had asked John Adams for permission to take "a small tour on the Continent."[f] This request was evidently granted. Curiously enough Miranda left London without having met John Adams, whom he later tried to engage in his schemes.

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[a] Campo to Floridablanca, June 2, 1786, A. G. S., Estado, 8143, gives an account of the various machinations which he has been told of by Captain Brooks. This is the most significant extract: "Se halla en parte enterado de lo ocurrido con Vidal y dice q^{e}. aunq^{e}. este sujeto está preso en Esp^{a}. hai otros q^{e}. siguen aqui sus mismos proyectos. Da por cabeza, grāl. de toda esta trama al Capitan Blumer; a Dn. Ant^{o}. Miranda de quien se espera por instantes para dar la ultima induvo (?); a Mr. Parker, Secret^{o}. particular de Mr. Adams, q^{e}. dice ser hombre finisimo; a un tal Cruddon, residte. in la Isla de Providencia, y a otro Hermo. suyo qe. se halla a la sazon en Londres. Añade qe. se forma aqui secretamte una subscripcion de algunos Nobles y de varios Comerciantes para la empresa de sublevar nōs. territorios y de enviar todos los socorros necesarios. Que en Holanda ha negociado Parker 300 mil pesos * * *." Near the end of the dispatch the minister indicates his lack of confidence in this story. Compare this account of Miranda's sojourn in London with Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 326–329, in the course of which Becerra tries to discredit the idea that Miranda influenced the London press at this time in favor of Spanish-American independence. That Spanish-American writer even holds that no such periodical as The Political Herald and Review figures in the history of the London press. No suggestion is made of the possible duplicity of Miranda. Neither is any mention made of this in Antepara, 250, for in commenting on the letter of Floridablanca to Miranda, July 18, 1785, it is stated that the "representation" referred to alluded to the tender of resignation from the Spanish service by Miranda sent from Habana in 1783. This statement is misleading, for the "representation" was the petition sent by Miranda from London to Floridablanca, April 10, 1785 (A. G. S., Estado, 8141), and there is no evidence that Miranda tried to resign before his arrival in London in 1785.

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, August 18, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[c] Ibid., August 18 and October 1, 1785, ibid.

[d] Ibid., October 1, 1785, ibid.

[e] Ibid.; Campo to Aranda, November 25, 1785; Aranda to Campo, November 4, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8157.

[f] Adams MSS., Gen. Corres. of John Adams, 1784–85, f. 174.

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Miranda and the secretary of this minister proceeded to Berlin by way of Harwich, Amsterdam, and Breslau, their object being to attend the military reviews in Prussia.[a] Miranda took with him a letter of introduction from Campo to the Spanish representative in Berlin. At the same time, however, Campo sent a cipher dispatch to Berlin to prevent the letter from having any beneficial effect.[b] Early in September the travelers were in Berlin, for on the 3d of that month they addressed notes to the King of Prussia requesting permission to attend the approaching review of his troops. This was granted on the following day.[c] After remaining some time in Prussia, and doubtless witnessing the military maneuvers the two friends proceeded on their journey. In the end of October, 1785, they parted company at Vienna.[d] Miranda continued his tour, and the Spanish Government tried to dog his footsteps through Europe, while Smith returned by way of Paris to London.

On October 25 Miranda had written a letter to Campo in which he addressed that minister as his "most venerated friend." He introduced Smith to Campo as his "friend and companion * * * a man * * * of true republican character." The Spanish minister was informed that Miranda would journey a little farther, as he did not wish to omit visiting Hungary and seeing the imperial troops that were quartered throughout that Kingdom.[e] Although no direct evidence is at hand regarding a trip through Hungary, it is very likely that the inquisitive tourist made it. He certainly traveled through Italy, where he seems to have visited Rome and to have made a list of the exiled Jesuits who were then sojourning in Italy.[f] Dissatisfied as Miranda was with the treatment of the Spanish Government, he would naturally have been attracted to these expatriated ecclesiastics, of whom many were in a revengeful mood, and some, as we have seen in the opening chapter, had actually been in indirect communication with the English Government before Miranda had left the Spanish army. Unfortunately we know little about the relations which may have sprung up between him and the Jesuits at this time, except that he undoubtedly became aware of their hostile attitude toward the Spanish monarchy.[g] Miranda must have spent some considerable time in Austria-Hungary and Italy, for on the 10th of March, 1786, according to advices received by Smith, who

[a] Smith to John Adams, September 5, 1785, Adams MSS., Gen. Corres. of John Adams, 1784–85, f. 203.

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, August 18, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141.

[c] In Antepara, 42, 43 and Adams MSS., Gen. Corres. of John Adams, 1784–85, f. 293–, are found copies of Smith's note to King Frederic, September 3, 1785, and the reply, September 4, 1785.

[d] Antepara, 43; Miranda to Campo, October 25, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8157.

[e] Miranda to Campo, October 25, 1785, ibid.

[f] Viscardo y Guzman, Lettre aux Espagnols Américains, 15–, note; Burke, Additional Reasons, 107, note.

[g] In 1790 Miranda suggested to Pitt that some of these Jesuits be engaged by the English Government. Am. Hist., Rev., VII, 713.

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had now reached London, he was at Naples.[a] If we may trust the information which Smith gave the Spanish minister in London a little later, Miranda soon determined to make a trip through Greece.[b] In all probability he did tour through Greece and may have visited Egypt and Asia Minor.[c] It is certain that late in the autumn of 1786 the active creole was found in Constantinople by the ever-vigilant agents of Spain. That Government, by means best known to itself, also learned that Miranda was contemplating going to St. Petersburg by way of Cherson, and that he had embarked for the Crimea in an imperial ship.[d]

In Russia Miranda and the servants of the Spanish Government were again brought into collision. In March, 1786, Normandes, the Spanish minister at St. Petersburg, had been warned by Campo to be on the lookout for the renegade officer, who was traveling through Europe contrary to the intentions of the Spanish court. Normandes was instructed to watch his designs and actions. Miranda was characterized as a man of education and talent, with an inflamed imagination—a great partisan of independence. The Spanish representative at the Russian capital was instructed to keep Campo as well as the Spanish court informed of the activities of Miranda.[e] When, therefore, early in February, 1787, the latter made his way to the interior of Russia, and was found between Kiev and Cherson, the Spanish authorities were speedily informed of his whereabouts. Miranda, with his faculty for making acquaintances, appears to have speedily interested some of the dignitaries of the Russian court,[f] among them Prince Potemkin. Through the influence of the latter, said Normandes to Floridablanca, Miranda was able to pay a visit to the King of Poland at Canoff.[g] It was probably also through the influence of that prince that the eager traveler was introduced to the Empress.[h] He soon won favor in the eyes of Catherine, who was holding her court at Kiev. It was reported that she invited him to enter the Russian service, but he refused an offer which Normandes declared had "advantageous conditions."[i] Later Normandes said

[a] Smith to Gandasqui "Saturday Morning," inclosed in Campo's letter to Aranda, April 11, 1786, A. G. S., Estado, 8157.

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, July 14, 1786, ibid., 8143.

[c] Chauveau Lagarde defending Miranda before the French revolutionary tribunal in 1793 corroborates some of the statements in the Spanish dispatches, Rojas, Miranda dans la Révolution Française, 171, 172; in his will, August 1, 1805, Miranda mentions his journeys and investigations in America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, December 22, 1786, A. G. S., Estado, 8145.

[e] Campo to Normandes, March 28, 1786, A. G. S., Estado, 8156.

[f] Normandes to Campo, February 16, 1787, ibid.; Normandes to Floridablanca, February 9, 1787, A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[g] April 5, 1787, A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[h] Antepara, 245; Normandes to Floridablanca, June, 1787 (undated, but marked No. 286), A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[i] Normandes to Floridablanca, May 16, 1787, A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

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that Miranda had declared on declining the position that he did not like the governments which were as despotic as that of Catherine.[a] Perhaps this was only a bit of court gossip. Apparently Miranda was still high in the favor of the Russian autocrat. In the article in The Edinburgh Review, which has been already referred to, it was declared that Miranda disclosed the views which he entertained regarding his native land to the Empress and that she "assured him, in case of his success, she would be the foremost to support the independence of South America."[b] It is likely that Miranda did express his views on this his favorite theme to the Russians, although the Spanish advices say nothing about it save that the loquacious visitor criticised Spanish affairs.[c]

To judge by the reports of Normandes, as well as by the later statements of Miranda himself, Catherine gave him signal marks of her favor before he left Kiev for St. Petersburg. To paraphrase Normandes, Miranda was given a letter of recommendation to the ministers of the Empress in foreign courts and a thousand ducats of gold for his journey.[d] The letter recommended the Russian representatives to afford the bearer imperial protection and assistance in case of need. They were even authorized to offer him the refuge of their embassy as an asylum. According to a letter printed later under the auspices of Miranda, Catherine even gave the fugitive from Habana the distinctive right to wear the Russian uniform as a "signal proof of her esteem."[e] The general impression which one can not help getting from the various accounts is that Miranda had every reason to feel flattered with his reception by the Russian Queen. Stephen Sayre, who conversed with Miranda after his continental tour, voiced his sentiments thus: "But seriously, he has such Letters, to all her Ambassadors, as no other man ever received from a Crown'd Head. They command everything he may wish or desire."[f]

When Miranda arrived in St. Petersburg, however, he was not so fortunate. That city was the scene of a reprehensible quarrel between Miranda and the Spanish representative there, Pedro Macanaz. The dispute was probably in large part due to the embittered attitude

[a] Normandes to Floridablanca, June, 1787 (No. 286), A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[b] Ed. Rev., XIII, 287.

[c] Normandes to Floridablanca, August 29, 1787, A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[d] Normandes to Aranda, undated, ibid.: "Dⁿ. Francisco de Miranda esta aqui. Habido mui distinguido y favorecido de la Corte: pero ha tenido un lance con Dⁿ. Pedro Macanaz. * * * Se habia dicho que tendria cartas de recomendacion para los Ministros en cortes estrangeros que pasaria por Suecia y Dinmarca que se le daría un pasaporte y la comision de Correo para su seguridad; pero nada de esto se sabe de positivo. * * * P. D. Me acaban de decir de buena parte qᵉ. a Miranda se esta poniendo una Carta de recomendacion pᵃ. los Mros. de la Emperatriz en cortes extrangeros y que se le daran mil ducados de oro pᵃ. su viage." See also Ed. Rev., XIII, 287.

[e] Antepara, 41.

[f] Sayre to Ogden, June 29, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70. Besides the authorities already cited, some suggestions on Miranda's visit to Russia are found in Ségur, Mémoires, Souvenirs et Anecdotes, II, 17, 18.

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which the Spanish officials had been goaded into toward the former servant of their King. Even while Miranda was at Kiev under the powerful protection of the Empress, the Spaniards had been scheming how to compass his arrest, or at least his discomfiture. They concluded that arrest was risky and impracticable in Russia. On the 31st of March Normandes had decided that all that could be done was to remain silent, observe, and give account. Nevertheless, if the authorities wished to hazard an attempt at seizing Miranda there was, he declared, time to send word to St. Petersburg, whither, it had been ascertained, Miranda was soon to direct his footsteps. Normandes deemed it the wisest course, however, to postpone decisive steps until the quarry had crossed over into Sweden.[a]

The occasion of the altercation which broke out between Macanaz and Miranda was the wearing of a dress by Miranda which was either the uniform of a Spanish officer or something very similar. If Miranda actually wore the Spanish uniform the Spaniards could hardly be blamed for becoming angry. Perhaps Miranda's own explanation is the correct one. He declared that finding himself poorly clad and finding nothing available but white and blue cloth, he was seized with the whim of having a dress made like the Spanish uniform.[b] The Spaniards were also displeased because of the title "Conde de Miranda," which Miranda was using or which was being applied to him. On July 14, 1787, Macanaz addressed a letter to Miranda in which he questioned his right to wear the Spanish uniform as well as to use the title count.[c] The reply could hardly have been soothing to the ruffled temper of Macanaz. Miranda said haughtily that he did not lack means to satisfy the incredulity or the vanity of Macanaz, if the request had been made in a more proper or decent manner, and not in a threatening or despicable way.[d]

Whatever the motive for this response, the obvious intimation was that the writer would not deign to justify himself to Macanaz. If the astute Miranda was even technically in the wrong, this was perhaps the easiest way out of the dilemma. Perhaps the Spaniards were simply trying to discover some means of discrediting Miranda and seized on his dress and the title applied to him as a pretext. Whatever the merits of the dispute were, this tilt, from which Miranda emerged to all intents and purposes victorious, could not elevate the estimation in which he was held by the ubiquitous agents of Spain.

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[a] Normandes to Floridablanca, March 31, 1787, A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[b] This was Miranda's explanation to Campo: "Y hallandose con desnudo y sin encontrar en el pueblo otra cosa que paño blanco ó azul tuvo que hacerse un vestido de capricho a manera de uniforme español." Campo to Floridablanca, October 8, 1789, A. G. S., Estado, 8146; Documentary Appendix, No. 3.

[c] Antepara, 247. A copy of this letter and of the reply are found accompanying a letter of Normandes to Floridablanca, August 29, 1787, in A. H. N., Estado, 6120.

[d] Antepara, 248.

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The Spanish Government did not lose sight of Miranda after he had left Russia. He went to Sweden as the Spaniards had expected. On October 12, 1787, Ignacio de Corrae i Aguirre, the Spanish minister in Sweden, wrote to Floridablanca informing him that the man whom they were trailing was at Stockholm. He had arrived secretly, he said, at the house of the Russian minister and was lodging in it under the name of Mr. Moreprovan. He had already traveled through that Kingdom with the secretary of the Russian embassy, and report had it that he was going to Copenhagen. It was clear that the traveler had the protection of the Russian Government and was sold to it; consequently he had decided not to meddle with him, but he had warned the minister of state and the King of Sweden of his suspicions regarding the man.[a] Two weeks later another report was made to the effect that the supposed Spanish count was still in Sweden, but that as a result of the conference which the Spanish minster had had with the Swedish King the latter had formed a bad opinion of the visitor.[b] On December 21 following Corrae i Aguirre made his last report on Miranda. In this he stated that the latter had left Sweden some time ago, according to his own account bound for London by way of Denmark.[c] Perhaps Miranda also visited Norway and Denmark as well as the Hanseatic cities, the Low Countries, and Switzerland.[d]

After Miranda left Sweden the Spanish Government seems to have lost scent of him. France and especially Paris must have attracted the curious traveler greatly. The Spaniards were conscious of this, and had busied themselves trying to perfect a scheme by which Miranda might be captured if he dared to go there. The Spanish representatives in England and France had been kept informed, as far as possible, of the whereabouts of Miranda; they had corresponded regarding his route and his plans, and had tried to set a trap to catch him. On August 6, 1785, Hereida, the secretary of the Spanish legation in Paris, wrote to Campo declaring that "of the history of Miranda one could make a novel * * *. I am toiling like a negro to secure him * * *."[e] The matter had been brought to the attention of the French minister Vergennes.[f] As early as November 4, 1785, Aranda had informed Campo that the police of Paris were charged with the task of discovering and arresting the

[a] A. G. S., Estado, 6717.

[b] Corrae i Aguirre to Floridablanca, October 26, 1787, ibid.

[c] Ibid., December 21, 1787, ibid.

[d] Chauveau Lagarde Rojas, Miranda dans la Révolution Française, 174, 175. Campo to Floridablanca, October 8, 1798, evidently reporting his conversations with Miranda, said: "En lo restante de su jiro por el Norte y otros Países." This follows a discussion of Miranda's experiences in Russia. A. G. S., Estado, 8146; Documentary Appendix, No. 3.

[e] Marked "copia," A. G. S., Estado, 8157.

[f] Hereida to Campo, August 28, 1785; October 1, 1785, ibid.

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man if he ventured within reach. In response to a request,[a] Campo sent a description of the recreant officer to Aranda which read in this wise: "Miranda is more than thirty years of age, quite well formed and of more than medium height: his face is inclined to be round, his features are regular and his complexion somewhat swarthy with hair to match: * * *. He is not toothless, but his teeth, unless I deceive myself, are fine."[b] Miranda had evidently contemplated a trip to Paris, but the experiences of Colonel Smith, who had visited that city on his way from Vienna, had convinced him that if Miranda visited Paris he would be in danger of being cast into the Bastille. Consequently Smith wrote to Miranda warning him that Aranda and his minions were on the lookout for him.[c] Perhaps his experiences in Russia may have roused the suspicions of Miranda and forced him to realize that the capital of France was not a safe sojourning place for a proscribed Spanish American. It is improbable, therefore, that Miranda visited Paris, although he may have rapidly traversed the southern part of France.[d] Fortunate was he to escape the many-meshed net that had been woven for him at Paris with the sanction of the Count of Floridablanca.

Miranda arrived in London from his extended continental tour in the last days of June, 1789.[e] He must have profited greatly by his journeying in America and Europe. The years of travel with their manifold experiences had enriched his mind. He had evidently studied the conditions of the military art and the workings of the government in most of the leading nations of Europe.[f] Observant by nature, he had acquired a superficial acquaintance with the political conditions of the United States and a more or less intimate knowledge of various European courts. He had become a better master of the English language. His grasp of the French language, which was afterwards to stand him in such good stead, had doubtless been much strengthened.[g] His mental horizon had been widened, his versatility increased, and his circle of acquaintances extended. In the United States he believed that Hamilton and Knox at least

[a] Hereida to Campo, August 28, 1785; October 1, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8157.

[b] November 25, 1785, ibid.

[c] Antepara, 43–48.

[d] Chauveau Lagarde, Rojas, Miranda dans la Révolution Française, 175, 176; in a letter of Stephen Sayre to Samuel Ogden, June 29, 1789, he said: "Colonel Miranda dined with me, two days since, and the day after his return from Paris. His prejudices are still the same against the French nation and their manners." This is the only reference to a visit to Paris, however, and is probably not correct. Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70.

[e] Sayre to Ogden, June 29, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70.

[f] Popham's memorandum, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 510; Miranda to Knox, August 30, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 151–.

[g] Sayre to Ogden, June 29, 1789, speaking of Miranda said: "He speaks French well." Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70. Miranda had doubtless had some knowledge of French before leaving the Spanish service. In a letter to José de Gálvez, August 13, 1781, Cagigal said, speaking of Miranda: "Mi edecan, cuya capacidad é instruccion reunidos al conocimiento de los Idiomas Estrangeras, que poseé, tengo suficientemente experimentada." A. G. I., Aud. de Santo Domingo, 84–2–9.

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would aid him in the accomplishment of the grand design that was soon to become with him a ruling passion. The powerful Empress Catherine had become the patron and protector of Miranda, and scandal soon played fast and loose with their names.[a] The retentive memory of Miranda had fastened on many anecdotes of courts and camps that were no small addition to the mental equipment of the man who, as we shall see, was to devote a large part of his remaining days to a persistent attempt, or, rather, to a series of attempts, to interest men of widely different types—statesmen, politicians, merchants, philanthropists, adventurers, vagabonds—in his conspiracies against the peace and integrity of the dominions of Spain in America. If he had not, indeed, like Hannibal, pleaded for aid at every court he visited,[b] he must nevertheless have interested many people, for some fleeting time at least, in the cause of Spanish America.[c]

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[a] Sayre to Ogden, June 29, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70.

[b] See the comparison of Emmet, Trial of Smith and Ogden, 202.

[c] Plaidoyer de Chauveau Lagarde, 1, and note, where in a list of Miranda's friends or acquaintances the following names are given: Francklin, Ramsey, Wasnington, Dickinson, Hamilton, Greene, Moultry, T. Paine, S. Adams, Livingston. In addition, in the manuscript letters of Miranda to General Knox, preserved in the Knox MSS., are mentioned Duar, Baron Steuben, and Governor Bowdoin in terms that would indicate that Miranda had met them.

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Chapter V.

MIRANDA AND THE NOOTKA SOUND DISPUTE.

The Spanish Government did not fail to hear of the safe arrival of Miranda in London. For some time it continued to watch over his conduct and to consider how any designs which he might be considering could be thwarted. It was hardly a month after Miranda had left England when Floridablanca sent to Campo another letter of a deceptive character, in which it was stated that Miranda's letter had not been answered because he was absent from England, and that his affairs at court required much time and examination for settlement. Campo was directed to let Miranda see this communication if he saw fit.[a] Evidently the Spaniards had decided that if Miranda succeeded in eluding their agents and returning to England they would still try to keep him in a state of suspense.

On October 8, 1789, Campo made a lengthy report to the Spanish court about the returned traveler. He had decided, he said, to treat Miranda as before, attempting to gain his entire confidence, and thus penetrating to the true intentions of the man. He declared that he could not detect any attempt on the part of Miranda to deal with English ministers or generals. Nevertheless he felt that the young man was in a critical position. An account of Miranda's adventures while traveling in America and Europe was transmitted. From the conversations and confidences of Miranda, Campo had made three deductions: First, he seriously desired to see his conduct vindicated and his honor reestablished in Spain; second, he would not return to his native land without a royal safe-conduct, and he was being urged by Russia to enter her service, and all the Russian representatives in foreign courts were under orders to protect and support him; third, that although there was no doubt that he would be similarly treated by England, he had as yet not dared to make any proposition to it nor had he listened to any. At the same

[a] Floridablanca to Campo, September 3, 1785, A. G. S., Estado, 8141: "Yo no tengo que decir á V. E. sino repetirle lo que le tengo escrito, y que en Francia estan prontos á arrestar á Miranda en los terminos que V. E. proponga y concierte con el embajador de S. M. ó con Dn. Ignacio de Hereida. Pero incluyo á V. E. esa otra carta ostensible á Miranda, por si V. E. necesita usar de ella." The inclosure is: "No respondo en esta ocasion á una carta de Dn. Francisco Miranda, que me dirigió V. E. por el Extraordo, de 6 de Agosto, así por que le repongó aun fuera ese Pais, como porque sus asuntos aqui constan de tantos antecedentes, que piden mucho tiempo y examen para tomar algún partido ó resolucion. El Conde de Florida Blanca to Sr. Dn. Bernardo del Campo."

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time Campo declared that the object of his study was a changed man. He requested that when Floridablanca replied he should send him a letter which he could show to Miranda, so that the latter would not withdraw his confidence from him, at the same time he asked to be apprised in a private letter of the measures which he was to take. "I shall rejoice in spirit", said Campo, "when I see this lost sheep return to the flock, whether through rigorous justice or as a result of the benignity of our sovereign. Unless this be done I shall live in constant anxiety, for although at the present day this youth does not evince the desire or the intention of engaging himself in the service of another power against his King and his country, yet circumstances may so change that when engaged in the service of another power he may be drawn from one thing to another into measures offensive to Spain. I have pictured his personality before today—exalted imagination, accomplishments more than moderate; fervour and impetuosity in his bearing, and above all an extraordinary activity. With such a combination of qualities, if this young man becomes exasperated and forced to accept the profit of foreign service I believe that he will always prefer action, movement, and singularity to following a quiet and indifferent life."[a]

It is probable that by this time at least so clever an intriguer as Miranda had some inkling of the real animus of the Spanish Government regarding himself. If he had not already attempted to play a double game, he was soon to demonstrate that he could do so with, for a time, perhaps, more secrecy than the Spanish Government. The favorable tone and expressions of Campo did not shake the resolution of Floridablanca. On January 20, 1790, the latter informed Campo that because of very grave reasons it was not possible for the King to have any confidence in Miranda, and that he was to act with that idea in mind.[b] In about a month Campo replied, asserting that all his efforts had been aimed to promote a disposition that would be least injurious to the interests of Spain. He again asked for a few written words which he could use, for without this he would be compromised, and the man might imagine that he had not forwarded his representations, but had been tricking him all this time.[c] On April 6 following, Floridablanca made a response. He declared that the King had considered what Campo had written and represented on various occasions, as well as on February 28, in favor of Miranda, but as the latter was involved in a suit in which it was necessary for him to appear and to purify his conduct, without such action His Majesty could not resolve to utilize him.[d]

[a] Campo to Floridablanca, October 8, 1789, A. G. S., Estado, 8146; Documentary Appendix, No. 3.
[b] A. G. S., 8148.
[c] Campo to Floridablanca, February 28, 1790, Ibid.
[d] A. G. S., Estado, 8148.

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Such was the final reply of the Spanish Government to the petition of Miranda after five years of delay, some prevarication, and much deceit. It must have been near the end of April when the communication of Floridablanca was made known to Miranda.[a] Campo informed his Government that when the decision was read to Miranda "he appeared somewhat surprised and extraordinarily saddened." He asked the minister for a copy of it, which was easy to grant, for the letter was conceived in suitable terms. In a few days Miranda returned and requested the minister to forward a packet to the Spanish court, which he declared contained a letter to Floridablanca and a humble representation to the King. Campo concluded that the object of his study no longer considered himself as in any way dependent upon or attached to Spain, and that he was thinking of placing himself at the disposal of some other power. He believed that henceforward Miranda would avoid him, but expected that he would be drawn to Russia.[b]

Miranda never seems to have dreamed of proceeding to Spain to answer the charges against himself and Cagigal. Consequently, the odium still rested on his shoulders. He had expatriated himself. Moreover, he withdrew from the society of the Spanish minister after asking him to return a life of Frederick II,[c] and giving him "a thousand thanks" for the favors which he had wished to dispense to him.[d] For a time the correspondence from the Spanish embassy in London relating to the refugee ends. Miranda did not immediately leave London, however, for before Floridablanca had written his letter of April 6, the man who had been petitioning the Spanish Government for honorable dismission had entered into definite relations with the English Government and gradually unfolded a project for the liberation of Spanish America from the rule of Spain.

The circumstances which provoked the first formal presentation of Miranda's designs to the Government of England were the outcome or the concomitant of that international controversy known as the Nootka Sound dispute. No attempt will be made here to follow the intricacies of that affair further than to furnish a background for the schemes of Miranda. Nootka Sound was on the northwest coast of America. It was claimed by both Spain and England. The Spanish claim was based upon discovery, exploration, and declara-

[a] Miranda to Campo, April 26 and April 29, 1790, A. G. S., Estado, 8148.

[b] Campo to Floridablanca, May 6, 1790, ibid.

[c] Miranda to Campo, April 26, 1790, ibid.

[d] Ibid., April 29, 1790, ibid. This was the last communication of Miranda to the Spanish Government regarding his request for honorable dismission: "Va la Carta consavido para el Conde de Floridablanca, con la adicion de alguna otra expresion al proposito de lo que V. me decia esta mañana, con lo qual estará mas del agrado de V. Mil gracias por los favores que en bondad de V. ha querido dispensarme, y crea soi con un perfecto reconocimiento, y maior respecto . . ." The packet which Miranda asked to be forwarded to the Spanish Government has not been found.

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tion of the rights of possession, rather than upon actual settlement.[a] The English claim was based upon discovery, trading voyages, and actual settlement.[b] From the point of view of modern investigators, in 1789 England had the better claim.[c] In that year, however, the matter was complicated by attempts on the part of both nations to make or to perfect settlements. The viceroy of Mexico sent two vessels to the sound under Estevan José Martinez for the purpose of making an establishment.[d] Capt. James Colnett left China in the *Argonaut* under the auspices of an English company with the aim of making a permanent settlement called Fort Pitt.[e] At Nootka Martinez and Colnett met and soon quarreled, perhaps because of a faulty translation. The Spaniard seized and imprisoned the Englishman, later giving as the reason his belief that Colnett would have gone to some other point on the adjacent coast and established a post. The officers and crew of the *Argonaut* were also seized and imprisoned. The *Princess Royal*, another English vessel belonging to the expedition, was seized on its arrival. The vessels and the prisoners were taken to Mexico.[f] This seizure of English property and men caused a long diplomatic wrangle between the Governments of England and Spain, in which the fundamental question was the right to the territory about Nootka.

The controlling influence in both England and Spain in 1790 was in the hands of strong men. In England, which had not yet recovered from the loss of prestige resulting from the successful revolt of the English colonies in America, the head of the cabinet was the great prime minister, William Pitt. The Duke of Leeds was in charge of the foreign office. In Spain, which, in spite of external signs of power and glory, was beginning to suffer from decay, the chief minister of state was still the Count of Floridablanca. Because of the industry, integrity, and genuine ability of the Spanish minister he had enjoyed the confidence of King Charles III, but after the death of that monarch in 1788 his position was less secure, as the other nobles were jealous of him because of his humble birth, high ambitions, and power.[g] The position of Spain among the nations seemed secure; she was bound to France by the offensive and defensive alliance of 1761, known as the family compact;[h] Floridablanca was negotiating for

[a] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 310. In this monograph a careful and detailed study is made of the dispute.

[b] Ibid., 286–296.

[c] Ibid., 311.

[d] Floridablanca to Campo, June 4, 1790, A. G. S., Estado, 8137. See also Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 304, for the instructions to Martinez.

[e] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 296–299.

[f] Ibid., 330–360.

[g] Tratchevsky, L' Espagne à l'époque de la rév. fr., Rev. Hist., XXXI, 5.

[h] Danvila y Collado, Reinado le Carlos III, II, 158–, gives the text of the family compact.

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an alliance including Spain, France, Austria, and Russia.[a] England on the other hand, was allied with Holland and Prussia. The Nootka Sound controversy was a trial of strength between the two great powers. Early in 1790 accounts of the events at Nootka reached both England and Spain. These distorted reports, based mainly upon Spanish rumors,[b] produced much excitement in England, as it was some time before English accounts of the event arrived.

The diplomatic contest was initiated on February 10, 1790, by the Spanish Government. On that day two notes were drawn up by Campo and addressed to Leeds. In one of these a complaint was made regarding the approach of English vessels to the Spanish settlements at Montevideo, Arequipa, and Valparaiso. It was affirmed that these vessels were reconnoitering the coast under the pretext of fishing. The English King was requested to prohibit such occurrences in the future.[c] In the other note an account was given of the events at Nootka, which was not altogether correct.[d] The King of England was requested to "punish such undertakings in a manner to restrain his subjects from continuing them on these lands, which have been occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for so many years."[e] On February 26 the English minister replied that all discussion of the pretensions set forth was to be suspended "until a just and adequate satisfaction shall have been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain." The vessel in question would have to be restored; "the details of the ultimate satisfaction" would have to await fuller information regarding the details of the occurrence.[f] On receiving this response Floridablanca felt, because of "its tone and disagreeable conciseness," that the English Government wished to avail itself of the dispute as a pretext for a rupture.[g]

While this negotiation was being carried on England and some of the other countries of Europe were preparing for war. In Spain an attempt was made to preserve the outward signs of peace, but the ministers gave secret orders for the preparation of a squadron at Cadiz and at other stations in the Spanish Peninsula, as well as for the strengthening of Honduras, Trinidad, Porto Rico, and other points in the Spanish Indies.[h] On April 29 Campo presented another note. In this he again asked England to prevent her subjects from trespassing upon the Spanish dominions in America. He declared

[a] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 364.
[b] Ibid., 365, 366.
[c] Draft in French, A. G. S., Estado, 8137.
[d] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, see comments, 368, 369.
[e] Draft in French, A. G. S., Estado, 8137. This is given in translation in Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 367, 368, from the French archives. Another paragraph is found in the copy at Simancas.
[f] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 369, 370.
[g] Floridablanca, June 4, 1790 (copy), evidently an inclosure to Campo, A. G. S., Estado, 8137.
[h] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 372–375.

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that the prisoners had been released. He set forth what he characterized as "the incontestable rights" of Spain "to exclusive sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, founded on the most solemn treaties, on the discovery of the Indies, and the islands and the continent of the South Sea, on ancient laws and on immemorial possession." No notice was taken of the English demand for satisfaction.[a]

At this juncture the English were spurred to more vigorous measures by the receipt of further notices regarding the seizure. Late in April the English cabinet held a meeting, in which it was decided that orders be given for fitting out a squadron of ships of the line.[b] Leeds informed Campo that England could never agree to the extensive claims of Spain to the territories in question and that the negotiations were thenceforth to be conducted in Spain.[c] The experienced and skillful diplomat, Alleyne Fitzherbert, was now sent to Madrid. On the night of May 4 sailors were seized in English ports and pressed into service.[d] On May 5 a message from the King was read in both houses of Parliament, in which he discussed the Nootka Sound affair and asked the Commons for the necessary financial support.[e] After debate the address was carried, and a vote of credit for £1,000,000 was made "to enable His Majesty to act as the exigency of affairs might require."[f] Orders were issued for the preparation of a fleet. Public opinion was enlisted in favor of an aggresive policy.[g] Extensive preparations were made to fortify the English dominions against attack.[h] Holland and Prussia were summoned to fulfill their treaty engagements by preparing to aid England.[i] Well might the French minister in England, writing on May 25, say that if "one judges of the projects of the English Government by the preparations which it is making on all the coasts, one ought to expect a war of the greatest length and seriousness."[j] While these and other preparations were being carried on Miranda was developing his schemes and urging them upon the English ministry. The degree of consideration which they received doubtless fluctuated according to the exact state of the negotiations.

Francisco de Miranda informs us that his designs regarding Spanish America were first made known to William Pitt through Governor Pownall.[k] The overtures of Pownall were favorably received, and

[a] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 374, 375.
[b] Dropmore Papers, I, 579–.
[c] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 377.
[d] Report on Canadian Archives, 1889, 281–.
[e] Parl. Hist., XXVIII, 764–.
[f] Ibid., 784–.
[g] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 383.
[h] Ibid., 385.
[i] Ibid., 386, 387.
[j] Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 85.
[k] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, found in the Chatham MSS., Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 711–. Unfortunately Miranda gives us the only detailed information which we have of this intrigue. The main outlines of the negotiations as given are probably correct; some of the inferences of Miranda may not be.

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on February 14, 1790, Miranda appears to have met Pitt by appointment at Hollwood. Here a long conference was held and the general nature of Miranda's proposals considered; "the new form of Government—intended to be introduced in South America," Miranda's "personal circumstances and actual situation * * * were fully explained." Pitt seems to have favored the scheme, but declared that it could be put in operation only in case of a war with Spain. On the 5th of March Miranda forwarded to Pitt, by request, a detailed memorandum of the conversation, with a statement of the total produce of South America, its population, the exports and imports from Spain, and the naval and military forces in both Spain and Spanish America.[a] According to Miranda's own admission, "great commercial advantages" were promised to England in return for her aid in promoting "the happiness and liberty" of Spanish America.[b] Other conferences were held later at which, according to Miranda, the English preparations for a war with Spain on account of the Nootka Sound affair and the "disposition of the People in South America towards joining the English for their independency against the Spaniards" were discussed. Miranda seems to have been given fresh assurances that his plans would be carried out if there was a rupture between England and Spain. There seems no reason to doubt that Miranda asked the minister for some sort of financial support, but in vain.[c] Pitt doubtless deemed it wise to keep Miranda in leading strings.

Some time afterwards Miranda presented to the consideration of the prime minister the system of government which he "thought proper to be introduced in South America according to the principles of *Freedom and Independency*" that had been agreed upon as fundamental.[d] This frame of government was intended to serve as the constitution for a federation including all Spanish America. The projected state was to be bordered on the east by the coast line, the boundaries of Brazil and Guiana, and the Mississippi River. The northern boundary was to be a straight line, the parallel of 45° north latitude, drawn from the source of the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. On the west the Pacific coast line was to form the

[a] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 711, 712.

[b] Antepara, 220.

[c] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 712, 713; Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), makes the following statement regarding his relations with Pitt in 1790: "Que ce fut en février 1790 qu'il eut L'honneur de faire ses ouvertures à Mr. Pitt;—Et que, d'après une discussion très approfondie, il fut stipulé qu'il soumettroit par l'écrit tout le projet, avec les tableaux politiques et commerciaux du Carja (?) qui devoient l'accompagner, sous la promesse solemnelle que ce projet seroit entrepris sans faute par L'Angleterre, en cas de guerre avec L'Espagne; et uniquement pour leur indépendance absolue, comme l'avoient obtenu les E. U. de L'Amérique; ce qui fut ponctuellement exécuté, et réunir à Mr. Pitt par le Soussigné le 5 Mars 1790.—Depuis cette époque le soussigné continua les mêmes communications avec le très Hon^e. Ministre, jusqu'à la convention de Nutka Sound avec L'Espagne, ce que mit une terme indéfinie aux Stipulations antécédentes de la part de L'Angleterre." Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.

[d] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 713.

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boundary which was to extend as far south as the uttermost point of Cape Horn. The islands situated within 10° of the western coast were to be included within this imperial domain, but on the east Cuba alone was to be included, as the port of Habana was "the key to the Gulf of Mexico." It was declared that the vast continent ought to be sufficient for a purely land and agricultural power.

The executive power in this vast state was to be vested in an inca, who was to be styled emperor. His power was to be hereditary. The legislative power was to be placed in a bicameral legislature. The upper house, or senate, was to be composed of a fixed number of senators or caciques, who were to be chosen by the inca for life from citizens who had honorably occupied the first offices of the empire, such as general, admiral, chief justice, and questor. The members of the lower house, or "chamber of communes," were to be chosen by all the citizens. They were to hold office for five years and their persons were declared to be inviolable for that period, except in case of capital crimes. Reelection was possible. The members of the judiciary were to be chosen by the inca from the most distinguished members of the judicial corps. These federal judges were to hold office for life unless deprived of their positions by a judgment of forfeiture. They were the only officers mentioned in the constitution regarding whom it was specified that they were to receive a salary.

Provisions were also made for the choice of censors, ediles, and questors for five-year terms. The questors and the censors were to be eligible for reelection. The two censors, to be nominated by the citizens and confirmed by the inca, were to watch over the morals of the senators, of the youth, of educators, and of educational institutions. They could expel a senator from the legislative body if they thought such a step necessary for the public welfare. The ediles were to be chosen by the senators and confirmed by the inca. They were to be intrusted with the care of the ports, canals, highways, public monuments, national feasts, and similar public utilities. They were to render an account to the chamber of communes for the moneys used in public buildings, and to the senate for the ships, monuments, and other works which they undertook. The questors, chosen by the chamber of communes and confirmed by the inca, were to take care of the financial interests and to supervise the financial agents of the empire.

Various provisions were made regarding the growth of this constitution. No law contrary to the spirit of the constitution was to be valid. The fundamental law of the state could, however, be modified or amended in two ways. Proposals for the amendment of "a constitutional law" could be made by two-thirds of both houses of the

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legislature and were to become operative when approved by three-fourths of a council composed of the Emperor and the judges presiding over the high tribunals of justice. A change could also be made if proposed by two-thirds of this council and approved by three-fourths of both houses of the legislature. It was declared that the law was then to be established and the constitution corrected.[a]

This frame of government, for which Miranda probably deserves most of the credit, is of a composite and somewhat artificial type. As was stated in the constitution itself, in form it resembled the Government of Great Britain. This is particularly true of the provisions for a hereditary executive and the regulations regarding the upper house of the legislature. In some respects, notably in the mode of amending the constitution, this sketch shows traces of having been modeled on the Government of the United States. Miranda had doubtless embodied in this proposed plan those parts or principles of governments which he most admired. Such provisions as those regarding ediles and questors were evidently suggested by the Roman constitution. Almost the only trace of Spanish-American influence is found in the use of the names "cacique" and "inca." One of the most striking features about Miranda's proposed constitution is the lack of any attempt to utilize the local institutions which existed in Spanish America. The cabildos are not even mentioned. No provisions were made for the local government. Nothing was said about the relations of the various provinces to the central government.

According to the account of Miranda, about the same time that this constitution was presented to the consideration of the English Government he made further suggestions to Pitt. The method of carrying on the war was discussed, and Miranda was probably requested to indicate the most available points of attack. The South American suggested that some of the embittered Jesuits who had been exiled from Spanish America should be invited to England from Italy and employed in the affair. In order that the minister might be able to estimate the attitude of the people toward the Spanish Government, Miranda sent for perusal his papers relating to the insurrections of 1781 at Lima and Santa Fé, which showed the force of the militia, the small number of regular troops, and the course of the insurrections. He appears to have believed that these papers would show the minister "how ripe the general mass of the people" were for "emancipation, if the delicate points of their *Religion and independency*" were properly adjusted. A few days

[a] "Projet de Constitution pour les Colonies hispano-américaines," Chatham MSS., 345. Although undated and unsigned this constitution was doubtless a part of the plan proposed in 1790 by Miranda, being found with the other papers relating to that affair among the official papers of William Pitt. Miranda may have had help in framing it. Compare with his later plan, pp. 417–420, and Documentary Appendix, No. 7, below.

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later Miranda appears to have presented his plan of attack and operations and elucidated his ideas with the aid of maps and plans. The plan of Habana was left with Pitt.[a]

About this time a proclamation was drawn up, which was apparently intended for distribution among the Spanish Americans on the landing of the attacking forces. In some respects it supplements the federal plan of government already described. It consisted of sixteen articles providing for the establishment of a provisional local government. Henceforth all officers, civil or ecclesiastical, were to be native or naturalized citizens. All persons desiring to leave the country were to be permitted to depart in peace with their movable property. They could sell their landed property or retain it under government protection. A "Native and Noble Citizen of South America" was to be permitted to assume temporarily the post vacated by the Spanish viceroy or governor. The power of this governor was declared to be limited. He was to hold his office for five years and was to govern with the advice and consent of a council of thirty-five members. Until this supreme council was assembled, however, the governor was to be the sole civil and military ruler "by and with the advice of the Corporation of the Capital."

Complicated arrangements were made for the choice of this supreme council. The members were to be chosen for four years, not by direct election. The regidors and alcaldes of each "district" were to choose two deputies, the capital district, however, was to choose four. These deputies were to meet in the capital and to elect twenty-five of their number, who were to be members of the supreme council. On being notified of the elections, the governor was to assemble the council. Twenty members were to constitute a quorum. A majority of those present was required to approve any measure. In case of a tie, the governor was to have a casting vote.

Several provisions were made for a change in the existing order. The laws of the Indies were to hold good unless altered by the governor and council. The right of jurisdiction over purely ecclesiastical cases was reserved to the clergy, but the Inquisition, having become "unnecessary," was to be "forever abolished." The tithes and the properties of the church were to be preserved as before. Taxes and duties were to be levied as under the Spanish régime, but the revenue accruing was to be the "property of the nation." The governor and the council, who were to be in charge of the local finances, were to try to adjust the taxes to the expenditures, so that the duties, taxes, and contributions might be diminished. All monopolies were to be swept

[a] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 713. In the same bundle (345) of the Chatham MSS. as that in which papers relating to Pitt and Miranda were found there were also manuscripts pertaining to the revolt of 1781 in Peru. Perhaps these were submitted by Miranda in 1790.

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away. The capitation tax on the Indians was to be "immediately abolished."

It was declared, in general, that the governor and council were to have all the powers previously exercised by the royal governor or viceroy. Certain of their powers were specifically mentioned. They were to have the power to appoint members of the civil courts and to amend temporarily their jurisdictions and proceedings. They were to formulate laws for organizing and disciplining "the land and naval forces." They could grant commissions and establish courts-martial. They were also empowered to contract with any foreign power for land and naval forces. They could, if they saw fit, negotiate a "Foederal Alliance, and Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain" and with all such powers as should recognize their "Sovereign Independency." The same body was to have the power to issue ordinances and decrees that were to have the force of laws until a "general Representative Legislature" should be formed and assembled.[a] We can say of this, as of the plan for a federal government, that it was probably in the main the work of Miranda. If he had followed his later custom, he had submitted his governmental plans to the consideration of various persons and adopted some of their suggestions.

Unfortunately the plan of attack and operations which Miranda apparently drew up at this time[b] has not been found. If we may judge by his later projects, his particular point of attack was in the northern part of South America.[c] In any case, it appears that the revolution once begun was to extend over all Spanish America. Sir Archibald Campbell was interested in the affair,[d] and seems to have expected the command of an armament against South America at this time. He appears to have consulted Home Popham, an English naval officer who was interested in Spanish America, with regard to cooperation from India. To judge by the recollections of the latter, Valparaiso, Lima, Panama, and Acapulco were considered to offer the best points for military establishments in the South Sea.[e]

The English Government had other information and other plans than those derived from Miranda and Popham. It was busily gathering information relating to such important places as Chagres, Panama, and Veracruz in Central America and Mexico. Intelligence regarding strategic points in these regions was transmitted to

[a] Chatham MSS., 345. This document is in the form of a rough draft in English. The only part of the instrument in Miranda's handwriting is the indorsement, "August 3, 1790." Whether it was exclusively the work of Miranda or not, it was a part of the general scheme. It may have been a translation from the Spanish made for the perusal of Pitt or of others.

[b] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 713.

[c] See below, pp. 322, 323, 386–390.

[d] Campbell to Pitt, October 26, 1790, Chatham MSS., 120.

[e] Castlereagh, Correspondence, VII, 288, 289, 290.

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the governor of Jamaica, as well as a list of "men of tried fidelity, attachment, and enterprise" fit to be employed with the Mosquito Indians in any operations carried on "against the Spaniards" on the continent. In October, 1790, a squadron was dispatched to the West Indies to rendezvous at Barbados.[a] In the same month steps were taken to fortify the English settlements on the Mosquito shore against attack by the Spaniards.[b] The plan for an attack on the Spanish-American settlements beginning on the Mosquito shore, which had been drawn up in 1776 by Captain White, was again submitted to the consideration of the English Government through Sir Archibald Campbell.[c] A plan of Major Despard for an attack on Guatemala was also presented.[d] About the same time the cabinet was considering the advisability of taking possession of the Floridas with the aid of the dissatisfied and adventurous men of the western waters,[e] of attacking the city of New Orleans,[f] and of marching an army "through Savannahs and Forrests" from the mouth of the Mississippi to the City of Mexico.[g] As early as May, 1790, measures were taken to prepare for an attack on the west coast of America or Manila.[h] The English ministers certainly had in their hands the threads of many far-reaching designs.[i]

In the spring and summer of 1790 Miranda perhaps entertained the hope of securing aid from the United States in support of his schemes. Shortly after his arrival in England from the Continent he had written to General Knox, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from that general and asking for information regarding the state of the Government, the fate of the colony on the Ohio, and the condition of the War Department.[j] The Secretary of War of the United States evidently did not reply, for on March 15, 1790, Miranda wrote again, complaining that his previous communication remained unanswered. "Pray what is the mater," wrote Miranda, "are you in want of health? are you too busy about the settling of the new constitution? or have you forgot your friends and promises? * * * no I sup-

[a] Draft of dispatches to the Earl of Effingham, October 23 and 25, 1790, P. R. O., Jamaica, 30.

[b] Draft of dispatch to Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter, October 26, 1790, P. R. O., Am. and W. I., 549.

[c] Campbell to Pitt, October 26, 1790, Chatham MSS., 120.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 716–719, 722, are printed documents from English archives which show these and other designs of England.

[f] Ibid., 716, 717, 725.

[g] Ibid., 717.

[h] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 385.

[i] The lack of appreciation still shown by some English writers with respect to the designs which were being considered in England in regard to Spanish America at this time may be illustrated by an extract from Hunt, Political History of England, 319, where after stating that the Spanish minister Floridablanca believed that England wished to establish "direct commercial communication" with the Spanish-American colonies and to separate them from Spain, Mr. Hunt says of Floridablanca: "He was determined to prevent these designs, which had no existence in England * * *."

[j] Miranda to Knox, August 30, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 151.

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pose!—But for god sake let me see a few lines from you; and then I shall communicate you the progress of that 4 (?): that has begun already, about 38: I hope the new form of your Constitution, will produce all the favorable effects you expects, and I wish for america;—Do me the favor to present my respects, and congratulation to Genl. Washington, the worthy President—and to my friend Col: Hamilton—and to Col. Duar—Chancelor Livingston &c. &c."[a]

A reasonable and certainly a possible interpretation of this letter is that it was a reference to the schemes of Miranda which were then being considered by Pitt. Two weeks later Miranda wrote again and expressed a hope that he would receive an answer by the "first opportunity."[b] Miranda's friend, Stephen Sayre, was also in London at this time and appears to have become interested in the scheme. On May 10 he wrote to Knox and chided him for not having answered "our common friend Colon—"[c] meaning, mayhap, Miranda. On June 15 Sayre wrote another letter to Knox which may have referred to the projects of Miranda; "M. must have wrote you, your calculations have been shown the 537—he highly approves their accuracy." On the other hand, this may not have concerned the affairs of the South American at all.[d] The interpretation is rendered difficult, if not impossible, because of the use of a cipher to which Knox evidently possessed a key.

[a] Knox MSS., XXV, f. 178.

[b] March 29, 1790, ibid., XXVI, f. 10.

[c] Ibid., f. 49.

[d] Ibid., f. 76. The entire letter is such that the statement may be interpreted differently according to the context: "I have done myself the honor of writing you several letters, but still have to regret the mortifying neglect, of being unanswer'd. I lament it the more, because you do me a sort of negative injury, that must, in time, impel you to wish me no longer intitled to expect it * * *. You must remember, I presume, the application I made to Congress in 1785—as to my improvement in ships of war; and your friendly advice to persue the Idea no farther, till there was more solidity and vigor in the federal Government. I have, by this conveyance wrote to my old friends Mr. Izard and Mr. Floyd, to make some fresh propositions. I trust you will not think me, in any degree, too pressing, when I request you will learn of them, my present wishes, as to that object; and lend them your assistance, so far, as you can do it, with good Will. They may not think proper to give you any trouble in the matter, unless you are kind enough to mention it to them, as *I am not to live always* (if I may form my opinion by the example of other men.) I do not mean to lose the present moment, to benefit myself by the Invention—for tho America—I mean our own Country—may not be immediately drawn into the war, you know, I presume, thro our friend Duer, that I am not to be idle. When I had the honor of your acquaintance at New York, I did not think myself at liberty to ask any questions. I supposed you had been consulted. I now know it, from the only person who has a right to mention it—he has shown your estimates &c &c as to a proposed 753, or 261, in 25—I presume you have a key to those figures—if not Duer can furnish you with one. I mention this now, because the present moment makes it necessary. You ought to know, in time, the solemn covenant made by the party, that Duer and myself were to have the exclusive right of 816 ing the 58. I mean along with the original parties. Now if anything can be done here, so as to double the benefit, I conceive the original projectors are all to share an equal benefit. I only request we may set out on the fair and just principles, originally settled and understood—you may settle all points with Mr. Duer, as to how you wish matters to stand relative to your own interest. M. must have wrote you, your calculations have been shown the 537—he highly approves their accuracy. I hear that Mr. Duer has resigned his Employment—I wonder at it—I hope he has something better in possession."

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Whatever Miranda's plans or hopes were with respect to Knox and aid from the United States, the Secretary of War had no immediate intention of entering into Miranda's plans. On September 5, 1790, he wrote to Miranda. He declared that he had postponed answering Miranda's letters because it was not in his power to communicate anything relating to the Government beyond what was published. "But notwithstanding my omissions be assured that * * * my warm friendship for you is still undiminished a single particle and that I look forward with pleasure to the period of enjoying your Conversations and letters with pleasure."[a] Miranda could hope for no encouragement from Knox, for the latter had declared in August, 1790, that: "The true interests of the United States dictate a state of neutrality in the affairs between Spain and England."[b] It appears that Miranda made no attempt to draw Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury under Washington, into his designs.[c] It is possible, however, that Miranda dreamt of bringing the United States and England together for the prosecution of common ends. A little later Miranda again met his friend, Colonel Smith, who was visiting London, and they apparently discussed at length the re-establishment of "good intelligence between the two countries for their mutual advantage."[d]

Despite the neglect of Miranda by Knox, the statesmen of the United States had early realized the significance of a war between England and Spain. Some of them speculated on the advantages which they might draw from such an occurrence and the possibilities of a European alliance. Washington expressed the opinion of many when he declared that the true policy of the United States was opposed to any entanglements in the "crooked politics of Europe, wanting scarcely anything but the full navigation of the Mississippi."[e] On the assumption that war between England and Spain might break out, Carmichael, our envoy at Madrid, was instructed to urge on the Spanish Government "warmly and firmly" the demand for the "immediate and full" navigation of the Mississippi, but if the dispute had been adjusted he was warned to press the matter "more

[a] Knox MSS., XXVI, f. 177, draft dated September 5, 1791. See Drake, Life of Knox, 188, 189. About this time, however, General Knox's brother, William, went to London charged, among other things, with the task of reporting on the actions of Miranda and Sayre. W. Knox to General Knox, October 29 and November 3, 1790, Knox MSS., XXVII, f. 38 and f. 47.

[b] Ford, The United States and Spain in 1790, 104.

[c] No indication of correspondence on this topic between Miranda and Hamilton at this time was found in the Hamilton MSS.; on the other hand, a letter from Miranda to Hamilton, April 5, 1791, was found in which no reference was made to any previous letter from Miranda to Hamilton. Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 198; in part in Hamilton, Republic, IV, 285.

[d] Miranda to Knox, April 5, 1791, Knox MSS., XXVIII, f. 8.

[e] Ford, The United States and Spain in 1790, 20.

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softly."[a] It was hoped that Spain might be induced to cede Louisiana and Florida to the United States. It was believed that in case of war England might proceed to attack the Spanish possessions near the United States. The prospect of English control or possession of Louisiana and the Floridas as the probable result of such a conflict alarmed many statesmen. The future of the Mississippi Valley was felt to be at stake. Our representative to France was instructed to influence that power to induce Spain to cede to the United States "a port near the mouth of the river, with a circumjacent territory sufficient for its support, well-defined and extra-territorial to Spain," leaving the idea to future growth.[b]

Washington and the members of his Cabinet felt that the United States would be in grave danger of being drawn into a war on one side or the other. Consequently, on August 27, 1790, Washington asked the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and the members of his Cabinet what he should tell the English authorities if they should ask for permission to march troops through the territories of the United States from Detroit to the Mississippi and what should be done if such action was taken without leave.[c] It was felt that the attitude of the Administration on this question might draw the United States into the struggle. Although the answers differed in detail, in general they argued that the United States should, if possible, avoid any entanglements in European politics and remain neutral as long as possible.[d] It will be seen, therefore, that the Nootka Sound controversy was significant in its bearings on the history of the United States because it influenced some leading statesmen, notably Washington, to decide that the best interests of the nation dictated a policy of strict neutrality in regard to European affairs. Moreover, it forced Jefferson to meditate regarding the future of the Mississippi valley and to formulate a policy which doubtless influenced him at the time of the Louisiana purchase.[e]

The United States was not forced to choose between the Spanish and the English as her European allies, nor was she called upon to decide what her action would be if the English attempted to march troops across her territory. While preparations for war were being made, negotiations for an amicable settlement of the difficulty continued. Early in June Floridablanca again instructed the Spanish minister in London regarding the Spanish contentions. The basis of the Spanish claims to territory on the northwest coast of America was again stated. It was declared that the viceroy of Mexico had

[a] Works of Jefferson, VIII, 72, 73.
[b] Ibid., 80.
[c] Ford, The United States and Spain in 1790, 43, 44.
[d] Ibid., 45–.
[e] Turner, The Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley, Atlantic Monthly, XCIII, 682, 683.

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decided to restore the vessels, leaving open for settlement the question of the territorial dispute. The seizure of the vessels had been remedied by their restitution. The King wished to establish a permanent and solid peace.[a] Fitzherbert soon reached Madrid and laid the demands of England before the Spanish Government. On June 13 he asked for the restoration of the vessels, the full indemnification of their owners, and "a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered" to the English flag. If the Spanish King would make a declaration to that effect, the English King would make a counterdeclaration.[b] Floridablanca replied that his sovereign would make the desired declaration if the English would agree to a modification of the terms. Three amendments were offered, one of which the English were to choose.[c] To this the English would not agree, showing, said Floridablanca later, the lack of confidence which they had in the justice of their cause.[d] As later negotiations more fully demonstrated, the English wished to destroy the Spanish claims to the territory, arguing for the growing principle, now generally accepted, that claims to territory to be valid must be fortified by settlements.

As the negotiations progressed it became evident to both England and Spain that the action of France in regard to the family compact would be to an extent pivotal and might incline Spain toward peace or war. It was clear that if Spain could count on the whole-hearted support of France, a war would be more likely to take place. As the sequel will show, the French were far from unanimity in supporting the family compact. This was probably in part due to the internal changes and disturbances which were taking place in France. Early in May the Spanish minister in Paris, the Count of Fernan Nuñez, held long conferences with the French foreign minister, Montmorin, regarding the method of making an attack on England in case of a rupture.[e] But as early as May 21 Montmorin made evident to the Spanish Government that France favored the maintenance of peace between England and Spain and that the French Government might not be able to carry out the treaty engagements with Spain because of the alleged popular opposition and the incalculable difficulties of carrying on a war against England.[f] This must have made Florida-

[a] Floridablanca, June 4, 1790 (copy), evidently an inclosure to Campo, A. G. S., Estado, 8137.

[b] Quoted in a letter of Valdes to Fitzherbert, June 21, 1790, ibid., Annual Register, XXXII, 298, 299.

[c] Quoted in a letter by Valdes to Campo, June 21, 1790, A. G. S., Estado, 8137.

[d] Memorandum of Floridablanca, October 19, 1790, A. H. N., Estado, 3400.

[e] Fernan Nuñez to Floridablanca, May 11, 1790, ibid., 4038.

[f] "Pour une résumé en deux mots, vous pouvez compter sur le désir le plus sincere de la part du Roi de remplir ses engagemens envers le Roi, son cousin, et il ne feraît en cela que suivre le vœu de son cœur, les loix de l'honneur, et ce que exige l'interêt bien entendu de la France; mais il est possible que la volonté générale soit en contradiction avec ce désir; alors impossibilité absolu d'agir en consequence, et en supposant que ce premier obstacle soit surmonté, les difficultés de la conduit de la guerre seraient incalculable sous tous les rapports, la paix donc être le but de tous nos soins." Montmorin to Floridablanca, ibid.

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blanca question the value of the compact in case of war. To render matters less favorable, the English were striving in various ways to isolate Spain. Earl Gower, the English minister at Paris, was instructed to notify the French ministry that any assistance rendered by France to Spain would compel England to "adopt such measures" as would be "most likely to render that assistance ineffectual."[a] Hugh Elliot and W. A. Miles were sent on a secret mission to France, probably with the expectation that their representations would influence Mirabeau and others against cooperation with Spain.[b]

The Spanish Government soon decided to ascertain more definitely the intentions of the French with respect to the alliance. Accordingly, on June 16, 1790, the Count of Fernan Nuñez addressed a long communication to Montmorin on this subject. After furnishing extracts from the diplomatic correspondence regarding Nootka, the Spanish minister passed to what was evidently the main object of the note. The assurance of the "exact accomplishment" of the family compact, said he, was "a necessary preliminary to successful negotiation." England had asked for aid from her ally, Holland. Consequently, Spain desired from the King of France a declaration in "the most clear and the most positive terms" which would prove authentically to all Europe that the new order established in France would not alter the engagements in the treaty of 1761. Further, Spain asked for the successive execution of the agreements embodied in articles 5, 10, 12, 13, and 16 of that treaty.[c]

The attitude of France toward this formal demand for the execution of the agreement of 1761 had already been foreshadowed by speeches in the national assembly. On May 14 Montmorin had informed the assembly that because of the preparations of England the King had ordered 14 vessels of the line to be equipped. The assembly judged this to be the occasion for fixing the principles which should govern French diplomacy.[d] There was a lively debate in which many Utopian ideals were displayed. Speeches were made by men who favored national rather than dynastic treaties.[e] On May 22 the decision was reached that the assembly and not the King was to control negotiations and to ratify treaties. It was decreed that the French nation renounced any intention of making war with the object of conquest and that it would never employ its forces against the liberty of any people.[f] On July 29 the comité diplomatique of five members, headed by Mirabeau, was appointed to consider the existing French treaties. It was not until after this

[a] Ford, The United States and Spain in 1790, 27.

[b] Ibid., 27, 28; Adams, The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, 8, 9; Smith Papers, 368; see also Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 430, 431.

[c] A. H. N., Estado, 4038; Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 93, and note 2.

[d] Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 85.

[e] Ibid., 86–89.

[f] Ibid., 89, and note.

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committee had been appointed that Montmorin submitted the demand of the Spanish Government to the assembly. It was naturally referred to the comité diplomatique. Mirabeau inclined to the belief that the only method of preserving the treaty was to revise it and to replace the family compact by a national agreement. On August 25 Mirabeau made the report of the committee to the assembly embodying this idea. After some modification it was adopted.[a] On September 1 Montmorin informed Fernan Nuñez of the decision of France. The national assembly had confirmed and recognized only the defensive and commercial stipulations of the family compact. It wished that the bonds between the two nations be strengthened by a national treaty. It had asked the King that 45 vessels be prepared for service. In addition, it was declared that the King hoped that the differences between Spain and England would not cause war, and that the two powers would consent to a reciprocal disarmament. The national assembly had voted, further, that a copy of its decree be forwarded to the court of London.[b] When Floridablanca was informed that France would not hold to the exact terms of the compact, he could not fail to realize the import of that decision. The attitude of France, as Pitt had perhaps foreseen, was to an extent determinative.[c]

Even before the family compact was thus in effect broken, Floridablanca, realizing in all probability its weakness under the existing circumstances, had taken steps for the amicable settlement of the dispute. On July 24 a declaration and counter declaration were drawn up, which satisfied the English demand for satisfaction for the alleged insult, but which left the vital question of the relative claims to territory unsettled.[d] It was not until October that a basis of settlement was reached, which was necessarily more satisfactory to England than to Spain. It was provided that the buildings and lands of which the English had been dispossessed at Nootka were to be restored. Reparation was to be offered for any acts of hostility or violence "by the subjects of either of the contending parties" against the other since April, 1789. The English were confirmed in the right to fish and to navigate in the "South Sea" at a distance of 10 maritime leagues from the coasts occupied by Spain, but they were prohibited from engaging in "illicit trade" with the Spanish settlements. As regards the eastern and western coasts of South America and the adjacent islands "already occupied by Spain," England was not to form settlements south of these, although her subjects could land and

[a] Sorel, L'Europe, et la Rév. Fr., II, 93, 94.

[b] A. H. N., Estado, 4038.

[c] Ford, The United States and Spain, 29; Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 434–437; Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 94, 95.

[d] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 405, 406.

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make temporary structures for the purpose of promoting the fisheries. The subjects of both powers could land in parts "not already occupied" for the purpose of carrying on commerce or of making establishments. The subjects of both powers were to have the right of access to the northwest coast of North America north of the parts "already occupied by Spain." It was further provided, in case of any infraction of the convention, that the two courts would settle the differences in "an amicable manner."[a]

This convention was significant for a number of reasons. It gave England the right of access to a large strip of seacoast. It was a formal renunciation by Spain of her exclusive claim to the American littoral of the Pacific.[b] It is properly held to mark a change in the diplomacy of Spain. Pitt had broken the family compact; France was isolated, Spain now inclined toward England.[c] It was the first decisive step in a series of events by which the English-speaking people in America extended their territory and their sphere of influence at the expense of Spain. Of much less general interest, but of more importance for the subject of our study, the project of attacking Spanish America was openly cast aside for a time by England.

The Nootka Sound convention naturally disgusted Miranda, who characterized it as a "futile convention." It would never, he declared, compensate England for her expenses and for the immense advantages she might have drawn from war.[d] He expressed his conviction that England was pursuing a "strange political system."[e] Neither the Spanish-American adventurer nor the English prime minister immediately or willingly relinquished the idea of revolutionizing Spanish-America. Three months after the convention had been signed Miranda, anxious to secure some settlement of his financial affairs, applied to Pitt for an interview. On the request of that minister he drew up "his future views" and his "terms" in a letter dated January 28, 1791.[f] In it Miranda declared his willingness to enter into some "judicious arrangements" that might "bring to maturity, in a future period, the same generous and benevolent plan * * * for the happiness and prosperity of South America; for the grandeur and opulence" of England. He again broached the subject of a pension and affirmed that as his purpose was "purely *patriotic*" with a view of promoting the interests of Great Britain and Spanish America as "perfectly compatible," services should not be required of him against Spain "with any other motive." Miranda declared that his request for "a competent annual support" was due

[a] Manning, Nootka Sound Controversy, 454–456.
[b] Ibid., 461, 462.
[c] Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 95.
[d] Miranda to Knox, April 5, 1791, Knox MSS., XXVIII, f. 8.
[e] Miranda to Hamilton, April 5, 1791, Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 198.
[f] Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 714.

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to his "personal situation * * * being deprived for a long time from receiving any income from Caracas. Any sums of money that may be granted to me, on any account whatsoever, either for services done or expected hereafter, shall be repaid by me at the time I may come to the possession of my property in South America."[a] In reply Pitt probably assured Miranda that his plans would receive favorable consideration in case war broke out between England and Spain.[b]

The financial question was not speedily adjusted. Miranda seems to have been fed on promises and requested to wait. He remonstrated at the protracted delay and declared that his only resource lay in the magnanimity of the Empress of Russia. On July 10, 1791, Pitt seems to have sent Miranda £500 and to have promised to conclude the other arrangements in a few days. In spite of this assurance early in September following Miranda felt compelled to make another appeal in which he asked for the payment of the £500, which he still considered his due, as well as the grant of an annual pension of £1,200 as a loan to support him in England.[c] Although Miranda was doubtless given many hundred pounds by the English Government for his services at this juncture, yet there is no evidence that the desired pension was granted;[d] on the contrary, it is likely that his departure from England was accelerated by the failure to grant the desired pension.

In the eventful months after his arrival from the Continent Miranda made new acquaintances and renewed old ones. He doubtless met Grenville[e] and other Englishmen of greater or less prominence.[f] He dined frequently with a Canadian, General Haldimand,[g] who found him every day "more interesting."[h] Stephen Sayre and Miranda met in London and discussed Miranda's travels and doubtless also his plans against Spain.[i] Col. W. S. Smith, who was visiting London, had a number of confidential talks with Miranda regarding Europe and America,[j] in which we may feel sure the favorite theme of the latter was not forgotten. After the Nootka Sound affair had

[a] Antepara, 220, 221.

[b] Such was Miranda's later contention, Miranda to Pitt, January 16, 1797, Chatham MSS., 345; Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.

[c] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 714, 715.

[d] Dropmore Papers, II, 310, a reference is made to £800 which Miranda had received from the English Government some time before September 17, 1790; perhaps this was the final payment made to Miranda for his services in 1790. In 1806 Thomas Paine declared that while he was in France he saw some correspondence which had passed between Pitt and Miranda regarding the Nootka Sound affair and that the content of one letter was that "Pitt compromised with Miranda for his services by giving him £1,200 sterling." Letter of March 20, 1806, The Aurora, April 5, 1806.

[e] Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 712.

[f] Plaidoyer de Chauveau Lagarde, 1, note, mentions as the friends of Miranda, Price, Melville, Priestley, Fox, Pigott.

[g] Report on Canadian Archives for 1889, 289, 291, 293.

[h] Ibid., 269.

[i] Sayre to Ogden, June 29, 1789, Knox MSS., XXIV, f. 70.

[j] Miranda to Knox, April 5, 1791, ibid., XXVII, f. 8; Miranda to Hamilton, April 5, 1791, Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 198.

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blown over Miranda appears to have encountered Thomas Paine at the house of Turnbull and Forbes, the London merchants.[a] Probably with a view to securing aid or encouragement, Miranda continued to correspond with General Knox, whose brother he soon met.[b] On April 5, 1791, Miranda wrote to Alexander Hamilton informing him that his work as Secretary of the Treasury had merited "the admiration of persons of the first consideration" in England and had given "the highest idea of the new Government." Hamilton was asked to send Miranda news, if his activities permitted.[c]

While the Nootka Sound controversy throws the plans of Francisco de Miranda into comparatively clear relief, the same can not be said regarding the designs of England. Beyond doubt Miranda aimed at the liberation of all Spanish America from the oppressive rule of Spain through the aid and connivance of England. In return for the material aid which England was to give she was promised commercial advantages and perhaps territorial possessions.[d] On the other hand, we do not know exactly what was in the mind of William Pitt, but we are aware to contemplate an attack on Spanish America in case of war was in entire harmony with previous English policy. It is unfortunate that no material has yet been found which accurately conveys Pitt's ideas regarding the South American agitator. The writer believes it extremely likely that Pitt cherished other designs than those of purely commercial conquest. If he did not, it is evident that other Englishmen did entertain thoughts of territorial acquisition in Spanish America. If the contest between England and Spain had been precipitated in 1790, such ideas as "military establishments in the South Sea," and "conquest of Florida" would have been the working bases of some English military and naval commanders. The very nature of some of the designs submitted to the English Government shows that the idea of territorial aggrandizement in the domains of Spain in America had a firm hold on the minds of Englishmen. There is no reason to doubt that some of these schemes would have been submitted to the English cabinet even if Miranda, with his keen vision for diplomatic openings, had not opportunely arrived. There is every reason to believe, however, that the representations and the agitation of the enthusiastic Miranda brought the problem of Spanish American emancipation as a great make-weight in the scale of European politics most forcibly to mind and were to a considerable degree responsible for the extensiveness of the preparations that were made. In whatever capacity Pitt in-

[a] Letter of Thomas Paine, March 20, 1806, The Aurora, April 5, 1806.

[b] Drake, Life of Knox, 188, 189; this letter is dated February 2, 1791, and is found in the Knox MSS., XXVII, 174.

[c] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 198; in part in Hamilton, Republic, IV, 285.

[d] There is a hint of this in the reference to the "granted coasts of South America," in Miranda's letter of January 28, 1791, to Pitt, Antepara, 220, 221.

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tended to employ Miranda, whether as agent, commander, guide, instigator, the latter would have found it as difficult perhaps to control the actions of the English Government if an attack on the Spanish dominions had once begun as to carry into successful execution his visionary scheme of establishing a vast Spanish-American federation. England would have been false to her instincts and traditions had she willingly relinquished territorial acquisitions. After all prospect of a war between England and Spain had faded away, Miranda did not despair of carrying out his revolutionary projects, however, and he soon decided to go to France, which seemed to offer him a new theater.

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Chapter VI.

MIRANDA IN FRANCE.

Miranda was probably attracted toward France at the beginning of the French revolution by the hope that the French leaders would adopt his schemes in regard to Spanish America. Several years later he was alleged to have declared that he had received letters from the South Americans residing in Paris "assuring him that France was well disposed to countenance his project."[a] In 1799 he informed Pitt that he went to Paris at this time having learned that the French Government was thinking of promoting and protecting the independence of the Spanish-American colonies.[b] Whatever were Miranda's ideas regarding the attitude of France toward his native country, there is no doubt that he must have been influenced by the ideas of universal liberty entertained at this time by the French. The South American agitator reached France at an auspicious moment, for the revolutionary enthusiasm was soon to be transformed into an apparent crusade for liberty.

Miranda was in Paris in the middle of August, 1792. By letters of introduction or by other means Miranda secured the recognition of some of the French leaders, among them Pétion, the mayor of Paris, and Brissot, a leader of the Girondists.[c] On August 16 Miranda wrote to his friend, Mr. John Turnbull, of London, declaring that his friends in the French capital had made him "very advantageous proposals" to join them in supporting "the cause of liberty."[d] He was evidently deliberating whether or not he should join them. On August 20, true to what was probably a long-established habit, Miranda began to write his "journal of observations" at Paris.[e] Urged by the French minister of war, Servan, as well as

[a] Popham's memorandum, October 14, 1804, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 510, 511.

[b] Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–. See below, p. 293, note *e*.

[c] Miranda à ses Concitoyens, 2, declares that he went to Paris in April, 1792; Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 7, where the reference is doubtless to Pétion as the one with whom Miranda has left his papers.

[d] Smith Papers, 369.

[e] In the report of the examination of Miranda's goods and papers in Paris at the time of his trial, April 22, 1793, this is found, "Item, un autre livre * * * 'Journal des observations à Paris de 20 Août 1792.' Ecrit de la main du dit Miranda." Archives Nationales, W. 271, No. 30, f. 87.

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by other Frenchmen,[a] Miranda decided to enter the French military service as adjutant-general on the condition that when peace and liberty were established the Government would grant him the military grade merited by his services and such as would assure him an honest existence.[b] About the middle of September Miranda was ordered to proceed to the army of the interior under the command of General Labourdonnaye. He presented himself to General Dumouriez, who gave him command of a division of the French army.[c] Early in October, 1792, Miranda was appointed lieutenant-general.[d] The favorite theme of Spanish America was not forgotten, for Miranda's papers relating to the Nootka Sound dispute followed him to Paris.[e] The sentiments of Miranda regarding his native land must have become known, for his name was soon connected with a proposed expedition to Spanish America which some of the French leaders had been meditating upon before his arrival.

The attitude of France toward Spanish America was due largely to the policy of General Dumouriez. In March, 1792, as minister of foreign affairs, he had formed the plan of allying France with England, and, if necessary, with the United States. He felt that such a political combination might render Spain hostile to France, but in that coalition he saw the power which would open to these nations the commerce of Spanish America, and which might enable them to divide the New World.[f] An attack on Spanish America naturally became a topic of great interest to Frenchmen.

Early in August of the same year Admiral Kersaint projected a scheme to be put into execution in case of a war between France and Spain. "We ought," he said, "to carry on an active and offensive war against Spain. It is necessary that Spain be the basis of a new political system." He thought that an alliance against Spain might be perfected whereby the Spanish possessions in America might be conquered. He proposed that the French troops rendezvous at Santo Domingo, which could be made a base of attack against Cuba, Cartagena, Veracruz, and Louisiana. Kersaint believed that the French ought to employ 6,000 regular troops, 4,000 volunteers, and 6,000 colored troops. France was not to operate alone, however, for it was proposed to ally France, England, the United States, and Holland in the enterprise. It was suggested that if this quadruple alliance was

[a] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 251, 252, 255.

[b] Ibid., 252.

[c] Miranda to Servan, September 27, 1792, Guerre, Archives Administratives, Dossier Miranda.

[d] Ibid., October 9, 1792, ibid.

[e] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr. 7. Miranda's papers are referred to in the official report on his belongings on the occasion of his trial, Archives Nationales, W. 271, No. 30, f. 100—.

[f] Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., II, 422.

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once formed, it might be possible to induce Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark to join it. Kersaint believed that the center of this negotiation ought to be in London. He volunteered to go there if the executive council approved the idea. England would be attracted to the plan by the immense commercial possibilities involved. In addition, she was to be promised the possession of Cuba. France was to get the Spanish part of Santo Domingo. Porto Rico was to be given to the United States. Trinity and other small islands along the coasts of Caracas and Louisiana were to be the reward of Holland. There were to be four main attacks north of the equator and three south of that line. The attack on Louisiana was to be confided to the United States, aided by France. The attack on the kingdom of New Granada or the provinces of Caracas and Santa Marta was to be carried on by the Dutch, aided by the Prussians. Cuba and Yucatan were to be attacked by the English and the French. The French, assisted by the English, were to operate against Santo Domingo and Mexico. It was also proposed that the English, reenforced by the French and the Dutch, proceed against Peru, Chile, and the Philippines. If Portugal would not remain neutral, her colonies were also to be attacked and to be declared independent. Kersaint proposed that the commander of St. Lucia, Grinat, be given charge of the expedition.[a]

Not long after the arrival of Miranda in Paris, Brissot picked him as the best leader for such an enterprise. He suggested this to Miranda on October 13. Like Kersaint, Brissot proposed that Santo Domingo be used as a base. He suggested that ten or twelve thousand soldiers located at that island be reenforced by a body of eight or ten thousand mulatto troops that could easily be raised in the French colonies. He believed that the French squadron at Santo Domingo was strong and that a large number of valiant soldiers, who were "sighing for this revolution," could be drawn from the United States. "Your name and your talents guarantee success. I have presented my views to all the ministers; they have recognized its advantages. They have consented to give you the vacant government of Santo Domingo from the base of which you can operate this revolution; a single consideration has arrested them." That was the close relations then existing between Miranda and his commander, Dumouriez, who was known to have the revolutionizing of the New World at heart.[b]

The proposal must have appealed to Miranda, revolutionist that he was. Early in November he entertained high hopes of success in the proposed project. He wrote to his old friend, General Knox, asking to be heard upon an important occasion. "You will see by the oficial communications of the new apointed minister of France,

[a] Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Espagne, 210, f. 38.
[b] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 7, 8; Antepara, 171, 172.

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and the information our friend Col: Smith will give you, how things are coming to maturity; and the Period advancing when our dear Country America shall become that glorious part of the Globe, that nature intended her to be—and that those schemes our patriotism sugested to our minds in our Semposiums at Boston, are not far from being realized * * * I beg you to present my best compliments to the President of the United States * * * in another moment I shall take the liberty of writing to him personally."[a] About the time of writing this letter Miranda conferred with Lebrun, the minister of foreign affairs, regarding the plan of promoting a revolution in Spanish America.[b] On November 25, Monge, the French minister of marine, wrote to the minister of war declaring that Miranda ought to replace Thowenot in the expedition to the colonies and that a prompt embarkment was necessary at Dunkirk, Ostend, or Antwerp.[c] About the same time Monge asked Dumouriez to allow Miranda to become governor of Santo Domingo.[d]

It was in a letter of Brissot to Dumouriez on November 28, 1792, that the plan of employing Miranda in the revolutionizing of Spanish America was most fully presented. "It is necessary," said Brissot, "to promote this revolution in European Spain and in Spanish America at the same time. The fate of the latter revolution depends upon one man * * * that is Miranda. Recently the ministers have been searching for some one to succeed Desparbès at Santo Domingo. A ray of light struck me; I said name Miranda. Miranda will soon quiet the miserable quarrels of the colonies, he will soon bring to reason the whites who are so troublesome, and he will become the idol of the people of colour. And then with what ease will he not be able to revolutionize either the islands of the Spaniards or the American Continent which they possess? At the head of twelve thousand troops of the line which are now at Santo Domingo and of ten to fifteen thousand brave mulattoes that our colonies will furnish him, with what facility will he not be able to invade the Spanish possessions, having besides a squadron under his orders, and the Spaniards having nothing to oppose him? The name of Miranda will be worth an army and his talents, his courage, his genius all promise success. But in order to insure this there is not a moment to lose, * * * it is necessary that he depart before Spain discovers our views. I know well that his nomination will strike Spain with terror and confound Pitt with his poor dilatory politics; but Spain is impotent and England will not move." Brissot assured Dumouriez that the ministers had all agreed to the choice and that

[a] Nov. 4, 1792, Knox MSS., XXXII, f. 176.

[b] Lebrun to Dumouriez, November 6, 1792, Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., III, 157. Miranda to Knox, November 4, 1792, had this: "N. B. Write me under the ministre des affaires etrangeres—à Paris." Knox MSS., XXXII, f. 176.

[c] Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Novembre 1792.

[d] Monge to the minister of war, November 27, 1792, ibid.

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Monge had promised to make Miranda the governor-general of Santo Domingo if he would consent, but that they feared that he would not part with Miranda.[a]

On November 30 of this same year Dumouriez seems also to have been charmed with the comprehensive possibilities of the design, for on that day he wrote to Lebrun declaring that the mastery of the Dutch navy and the cooperation of the United States "in the execution of a superb project of General Miranda" would make France strong enough to crush England.[b] Miranda again turned toward the United States, hoping apparently to interest his friends in the scheme. He thought of Knox, and wished also to engage Henry Lee, of Virginia, in the plan.[c] Colonel Smith, who was in Paris at this time, became acquainted with the outlines of the scheme. It is likely that through the agency of Smith, Miranda as well as Lebrun hoped to interest the Government or the statesmen of the United States in the revolutionizing of the Spanish possessions. In February, 1793, Smith interviewed Jefferson, Secretary of State of the United States, on this topic and delivered a letter from Lebrun to President Washington.[d]

This far-reaching project, involving possible cooperation between France and the United States, was not carried out. As the latter part of December approached the enthusiasm of Miranda, if it had ever been at white heat, cooled. On December 19 he wrote to his advocate Brissot. He did not refuse the commission and characterized the scheme as a "great and magnificent" one, but declared that he knew almost nothing about the actual condition of the French West Indies, and pointed out that his departure for Santo Domingo would be a signal of alarm for the courts of London and Madrid, which would thus be enabled to throw fresh obstacles in the way of his cherished plans.[e] The plan was not given up, however, and late in December Miranda commissioned Dumouriez to confer with Brissot on the matter.[f] There were no material results from the conference, but the anxiety of Dumouriez to cooperate with Miranda in the expedition was manifested. It is possible that the personal ambition of Dumouriez had some influence in retarding the development of the plan. In January, 1793, political circumstances combined to cause even Brissot, the ardent champion of the design, temporarily to relinquish it. The French were then less disposed to execute the project as some of them believed that Spain was demonstrating a strong tendency toward

[a] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 2, 3.
[b] Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., III, 175.
[c] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 9; see also the letter of Miranda to Knox, November 4, 1792, quoted on pages 290, 291, above.
[d] Ford, Works of Jefferson, I, 216, 217.
[e] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 5, 6.
[f] Ibid., 9.

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neutrality. Above all, the war with England, which was threatening, engrossed the serious thoughts of Brissot himself.[a] It was not until January 12, 1793, that the minister of marine was reluctantly forced to desist from his well-settled purpose of sending Miranda to the French West Indies because of the appointment of that general to the command of part of the army of the Republic in Belgium.[b] Perhaps the somewhat half-hearted attitude which Miranda himself had assumed had something to do with the retarded development of the project. Several years later he appears to have declared that his hesitation about embarking in the Brissotin scheme was due to his apprehensions regarding the radical alterations which he conceived were taking place in the "principles of the French Government."[c]

The discussions provoked by this proposal to revolutionize Spanish America were not, however, altogether fruitless. They doubtless encouraged other schemers to formulate and to present their plans. Although the plan of initiating a general insurrection in Spanish America was at least temporarily suspended, yet it was from the proposal to employ Miranda in such an operation that the revolutionary mission of Genet to the United States had its origin. As early as November, 1792, Lebrun had decided to dispatch that agent to America with "the secret mission of fomenting this revolution,"[d] Indeed it is entirely possible that the plans of the French were so all-embracing that at one time they contemplated sending Genet to the United States and Miranda to Santo Domingo for the purpose of directing simultaneous operations against both the northern and the more southern part of Spanish America.[e] If the French had been able to secure the aid or sympathy of American leaders like Washington and Knox, and to enlist the western frontiersmen in the cause as well as the mulattoes and the adventurers of the French West

[a] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 10, 11.

[b] The minister of marine to the minister of war, January 12, 1793, Guerre, Archives Administratives, Dossier Miranda.

[c] Memorandum of Popham, October 14, 1804, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 511. See also Antepara, 263.

[d] Lebrun to Dumouriez, November 6, 1792, Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., III, 157.

[e] Monge, the French minister of marine, did not give up the design of employing Miranda until January 12, 1793, while Genet was selected as agent to the United States in November, 1792. Sorel, L'Europe et la Rév. Fr., III, 157. Genet's instructions were not made out until December of that year and were supplemented by others on January of the following year. In 1799 Miranda made this explanation of his relations with the French Government in regard to the revolutionizing of Spanish America; "Mais le soussigné, ayant appris peu de tems après que le Gouvernement français s'occupoit d'offrir un appui aux Colonies Espagnoles, pour les inviter à L'indépendance sous sa protection, il passa à Paris en 1792; Là il trouva que le projet étoient effectivement sur Tapis, et parvint à le faire ajourner en promettant de conduire lui-même l'entreprise dans un moment plus favorable, le seul motif qui occasiona son entrée au service de France; En Novembre 1792, il fut en conséquence nommé par le Gouvernement français Commandant général des Isles en Amérique pour l'exécution de ce projet; mais il fit encore tout son possible pour le faire remettre à une autre époque, croiant le moment peu favorable, et craignant que les principes anarchiques qui fermentoient déjà ne fussent d'un sinistre augure pour l'entreprise, ce qui probablement sauva alors les Colonies de L'influence fatale de ce Sistème." Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150.

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Indies, with the support of a fleet and an army from France, then, indeed, might there have been a revolution.

Some time in the year 1792 an anonymous project for setting on foot a revolution in Louisiana was also presented to the French Government. In this communication the idea of engaging in a revolution which was to include the immense expanse of territory from New Mexico to Chile was characterized as chimerical. After thus disposing of what was perhaps the Miranda project, the author of this plan suggested various measures to promote a revolution in Louisiana where he believed that there was promise of a "more immediate, more certain, and less expensive success."[a]

In the same year Captain Imlay, an American living in Paris, made some proposals on the same theme to the French Government. He declared that many of the westerners living on the banks of the Mississippi would embrace the opportunity of attacking Spain. In addition he believed that a small army could be raised in Louisiana which would be strong enough to overturn Spanish domination in that country. It was pointed out that the French and the American settlers living in the Spanish territory along the east banks of the Mississippi were discontented with the tyrannical rule of Spain. The troops defending the territory were small in number; some of them were French. Imlay calculated that the total expense of such an attempt would not exceed 750,000 livres.[b]

The instructions of citizen Genet, drawn up at a time when Miranda's schemes were not discarded, directed that, if he was not successful in securing a treaty with the United States that would establish an intimate concert between the two nations for the extension of the empire of liberty, guaranteeing the sovereignty of the people, and punishing the powers that maintained an exclusive commercial system, he was to adopt all the measures in his power to spread the principles of the French revolution in Louisiana, Kentucky, and the other provinces bordering on the United States.[c] Genet's intrigues with Moultrie, the veteran of the Revolution, with George Rogers Clark, the discontented frontiersman, with the French naturalist, Michaux, and others, as well as his relations with Washington and Jefferson, can not be considered here. Suffice it to say that after much agitation and many preparations Genet failed to execute the commission, largely because of the opposition of Washington.[d]

Pereyrat, a French officer, Beaupoils, and Sayre, who was now in Paris, dated a scheme on March 4, 1793, for fomenting an insurrec-

[a] Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1896, I, 945–.
[b] Am. Hist. Rev., III, 491–.
[c] Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1896, I, 958, 963.
[d] On the progress of Genet's intrigues in the United States, see Turner, The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas, Am. Hist. Rev., III, 663–; Turner, The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley during the Period of Washington and Adams, ibid., X, 261–.

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tion in Spanish America. They declared that a general, evidently Miranda, had presented much more extended designs on the same subject, which could not be carried out without a fleet and a formidable army, which were not available at this time. Their scheme proposed a general revolution in Louisiana to be effected by a comparatively small land and naval force, aided by the settlers of Kentucky. This, they believed, might result in provoking a general insurrection in Spanish America. They called attention to the fact that this project would leave the Government the option of adopting the more comprehensive plan of the general, whenever it thought best to do so.[a] Lyonnet, who had lived in New Orleans, also presented a plan for an attack on Louisiana. He, too, declared that such an enterprise would be supported by inhabitants of the western part of the United States. He described the condition of the Spanish posts on the east bank of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans. He suggested that six men be sent to the United States to concert with the French minister and other suitable persons the best means of executing the attack. A general, evidently Clark, was to be placed at the head of these "filibusters of the woods." The free navigation of the Mississippi and the hope of seeing Louisiana part of the United States were to be attractions for the westerners as well as the pleasure of liberating a region under the government of a rival power.[b]

As on previous occasions, these revolutionary plottings were not altogether unknown to the Government of Spain. In July, 1793, Governor Carondelet of New Orleans had heard rumors of a French invasion and informed his Government that his forces were inadequate for the defense of that region.[c] The governor of Florida, Juan de Quesada, was also greatly alarmed at the preparations for invasion which Genet was making, of which he had been warned by Spanish agents in the United States. He sent word of the threatened attack to the captain-general of Cuba, asking for military aid. The authorities in Spain were also informed that Quesada lacked money and other essentials for defense.[d] It was not until after the recall of Genet that the harassing fears of Quesada disappeared.

These multiform schemes which were presented to the French Government in the years 1792 and 1793 show that in the early period of the French revolution the French people and the French Government were alive to the importance of reestablishing their colonial

[a] Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1896, I, 954–.
[b] Am. Hist. Rev., III, 496–.
[c] Am. Hist. Assn., Rept., 1896, I, 996.
[d] Quesada to Campo Alange, January 27, 1794, A. G. S., Guerra, 7235. It is interesting to note that one of these informants was in all probability James Wilkinson, general in the army of the United States; see the letter of February 26, 1794, to Carondelet, signed W. (translation), ibid.

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power and believed that this could best be done at the expense of the Spanish monarch's dominions in America. The schemes which were entertained by the French ministers, especially those with which the names of Miranda and Genet were associated, vie in their comprehensiveness with some of the plans submitted at different times to the Government of England.

While these designs were being presented to the French Government, Miranda was passing through some interesting experiences, which will only be briefly considered here, as they are not directly connected with the revolutionizing of Spanish America. In April, 1792, France had declared war upon Austria. As Austria was allied with Prussia, the latter became involved in the war. In September, 1792, the Prussians, who had invaded France, were defeated at Valmy. The French followed up their success by invading Belgium, which was a part of the Austrian dominions. On being made lieutenant-general of the French army Miranda declared that "this inestimable honor" would be the greatest pleasure to him if his talents equaled the "zeal and the inviolable love of liberty" which had made him a member of the French Republic, to which he "wholly dedicated his life and his feeble powers."[a]

On November 26 Miranda replaced General Labourdonnaye in command of a division of the army of the north.[b] This appointment was due to the influence of Dumouriez,[c] the commander in chief of the armies operating against Belgium. On assuming command of Labourdonnaye's troops Miranda vigorously prosecuted the siege of Antwerp, which capitulated on November 29. On that day the commanding general issued an order to his troops declaring that when they entered the citadel "all the emblems of despotism were to be replaced by those of liberty;" the names of the Spanish leaders engraved on the bastions were to be replaced by those of Dumouriez, Pétion, Helvétius, and Rousseau.[d] If we may trust a document printed later through the agency of Miranda, before leaving Antwerp, the latter gained the esteem of the bishop of that city, who presented him with some Spanish and Latin classics as a token of the "homage due to the philosopher, the man of letters and science, to the great military character."[e]

In about a week Miranda left Antwerp to rejoin his advance guard at Maeseyck on the Meuse.[f] His next step of importance was to take possession of Austrian Flanders and to drive the enemy out of the

[a] Miranda to Servan, October 9, 1792, Guerre, Archives Administratives, Dossier Miranda.

[b] Miranda to Pache, November 26, 1792, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Novembre, 1792.

[c] Dumouriez to Pache, November 23, 1792, ibid.

[d] Moniteur, December 3, 1792.

[e] Antepara, 217.

[f] Miranda to Pache, December 6, 1792, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Décembre, 1792.

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capital, on December 11.[a] On December 15 Miranda issued a proclamation to his troops, informing them of the praises which they had been given for the capture of Ruremonde.[b] More than once were the operations of the commanding general praised by the minister of war, Pache.[c] The attempts of Miranda to raise money from the inhabitants of the conquered territory by requisitions and forced loans, however, sometimes met with protests from the inhabitants and criticism from Pache.[d] On January 5, 1793, Miranda was intrusted with the command of the army which had been managed by General Valence.[e] On February 11 Miranda announced the capture of Stevensweert, which he believed insured the control of the Meuse. In a postscript he congratulated the new minister of war, General Beurnonville, on his appointment, declaring that there was "absolute need of a man of the profession."[f] On February 13 Miranda proclaimed to his brothers in arms that war had been declared against England and Holland.[g] On the following day his troops under Champmorin also gained possession of Fort St. Michel, on the left bank of the Meuse. In the dispatch announcing the capture of that place Miranda informed Beurnonville that in order that their contemplated invasion might succeed it was necessary to foment a revolution in Holland.[h] Dumouriez soon promised Miranda that this would be done.[i] Miranda was not to have the pleasure of initiating any such measure, however, for his dazzling rise to position and influence was soon to receive a disastrous check.

On February 14 Dumouriez ordered Miranda to begin speedily the bombardment of Maestricht.[j] The latter soon took steps to invest the city.[k] The plan of operations drawn up by Miranda, under the directions of Dumouriez, was approved by the minister of war.[l] It was arranged that after the capture of Maestricht Miranda was to cooperate with his superior officer, Dumouriez, in driving the enemy from the province of Utrecht.[m] On February 24 Miranda summoned the city to surrender.[n] On the following day he reported that the

[a] Miranda to Pache, December 11 and December 14, 1792, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Décembre, 1792.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Pache to Miranda, December 5 and December 7, 1792, ibid.

[d] December 19, 1792, an anonymous letter was addressed to the minister of war from Cleves which discussed the demands of Miranda; on December 31, 1792, the provisional authorities of Antwerp sent a protest to Miranda regarding his requisitions, ibid. Pache to Miranda January 4, 1793, blames him for levying a forced loan, ibid., Janvier 1793.

[e] Pache to Miranda, January 5, 1793; Pache to Valence, January 5, 1793. Ibid.

[f] Ibid., Février, 1793.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 60–

[i] Dumouriez to Miranda, February 14, 1793, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Février, 1793.

[j] Ibid.

[k] Ibid., various orders by Miranda showing the measures taken; some account is given in the dispatch of Miranda to Beurnonville, February 17, 1793.

[l] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 77.

[m] Ibid., 78.

[n] Ibid., 83, note.

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city was on fire in five different places, and that he calculated on being able to advance from Maestricht in four or five days.[a] As the governor and magistrates of the city refused to surrender, Miranda again called on the magistrates to deliver up the city on February 27.[b] The plans of the French were frustrated, however, by the defeat of General Lanoue's troops at Aix la Chapelle. On March 2 Miranda decided to raise the siege of Maestricht in order that he might join Valence and meet the advancing enemy.[c]

In spite of the check to the French arms Dumouriez clung to his plan of campaign in Holland.[d] Nevertheless some of the French leaders were at times in dismay. On March 3 the commissioners of the convention wrote that everything was well, again that the situation was "dreadful."[e] General Dumouriez soon took charge of the united armies of Valence and Miranda. On March 19 the decisive battle of Neerwinden took place between the French and the Austrians. In this engagement Miranda was one of the generals in charge of the left wing of the French army which was forced to retreat precipitately. The defeat of this wing by the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg was, to say the least, partly responsible for the loss of the battle. On the same day as the battle Dumouriez wrote to the minister of war declaring that the defeat at Neerwinden was due to the ill-success of Champmorin and Miranda.[f]

This charge was followed by a complete change in the relations between Miranda and Dumouriez. In the course of their correspondence the latter had frequently made expressions of esteem for Miranda.[g] On November 14, 1792, in a letter to Pache, Dumouriez characterized Miranda as "a brave and wise general."[h] The admiration seemed to be mutual, for early in October, 1792, Miranda had sent two telescopes to Dumouriez "as a proof" of his esteem.[i] This is also shown in a note from Miranda to Dumouriez, January 28, 1793, in which Miranda assured Dumouriez that he could count upon him with all the power of his body and mind in the execution of his orders and the service of the Republic. "I do not like the idea of an embassy from you to England; but am much pleased with the plan of a conference at the frontiers of Holland, in which, like Scipio at

[a] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 79.

[b] Ibid., 88, note.

[c] Ibid., 92, 93; Miranda to Valence, March 2, 1793, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Mars, 1793.

[d] Dumouriez to the commissioners of the convention, March 3, 1793, ibid. Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 96, 98.

[e] The first letter was addressed to the convention, the second to the comité de défense générale, Guerre, Archives Administratives, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Mars, 1793.

[f] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 135.

[g] Ibid., 12, 32, 83.

[h] Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Novembre, 1792.

[i] Miranda to Dumouriez, October 5 (1792), Archives Nationales, Police Générale, Comité de Sûreté Générale, F.[7] 4691, f. 19.

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Zama, you will decide with dignity the fate of the Republic."[a] Miranda replied to the charge of Dumouriez regarding the battle of Neerwinden by denouncing Dumouriez and declaring that the latter had proposed to march upon Paris with the army.[b] Dumouriez soon took refuge with the enemies of France, while Miranda stood trial at Paris.

Two days after the battle of Neerwinden, which forced the French to evacuate the Netherlands, an order was issued by the commissioners of the convention directing Miranda to appear before the bar of the convention without delay to render an account of his conduct at the battle of Neerwinden, in regard to which complaint had been made.[c] On March 24 the convention decreed the arrest of Miranda, and instructed Dumouriez to transmit all the available information regarding Miranda to Paris.[d] The minister of war directed Dumouriez to execute rigorously the decree against Miranda.[e] The complaint of Dumouriez was not the only one that had been lodged against Miranda. On February 24 Liebaud, one of the national commissioners, had written to the executive council complaining that Miranda had left the advance guard of the army under La Marlière very weak.[f] On April 1 the citizeness Dubois had declared that the soldiers of Miranda were badly equipped, that reproaches were made against him in the army, and that if the commanding general had been "sincere and patriotic" the French would have captured Maestricht.[g] Some of these complaints were doubtless considered before the accused general was tried.

Miranda left his army and proceeded to Paris. On April 4 he wrote to the president of the convention asking that he be heard in his own defense.[h] On April 8, he was examined by the committee of war.[i] He was soon arraigned for treason before the revolutionary tribunal. Chauveau Lagarde, who subsequently defended Marie Antoinette, pleaded eloquently for the accused general, whose conduct and motives he lauded.[j] The defense was very skillfully conducted, and on May 16, 1793, after examining Miranda and summoning witnesses to give evidence, the jury unanimously declared that Miranda had not betrayed the interests of the Republic in the operations at

[a] Miranda to Dumouriez, January 28, 1793, Archives Nationales, Police Générale, Comité de Sûreté Générale, F.[7] 4689, liasse 3, No. 41; the quotation is in Spanish. See also Chuquet, La Trahison de Dumouriez, 22.

[b] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 163; Miranda à ses Concitoyens, 21, 22.

[c] Ibid., 137, 138.

[d] Moniteur, March 25, 1793.

[e] Beurnonville to Dumouriez, March 24, 1793, Guerre, Archives Historiques, Armées du Nord et des Ardennes, Mars, 1793.

[f] Ibid., Février, 1793.

[g] Archives Nationales, W. 271, f. 5, the declaration is dated April 1.

[h] Ibid., F.[7] 4474[47], f. 394.

[i] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 138–.

[j] Plaidoyer de Chauveau Lagarde; Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 166–.

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Maestricht, Liège, or Neerwinden.[a] When the decision was announced Miranda took advantage of the dramatic moment to declare that his case was an example of the ease with which calumnies were credited. In the words of the Moniteur, "The people applauded the judgment and the discourse of Miranda; they received him in their arms, carried him in triumph, and crowned him."[b] In spite of this apparently triumphant acquittal the general was still suspected of perfidy by some Frenchmen, as subsequent events will demonstrate. Others, like his friend Champagneux, did not doubt his probity, but believed that he had materially contributed to the inglorious defeat at Neerwinden by incompetency.[c]

Miranda was soon forced to realize that he was not above suspicion. After his acquittal he took up his abode at Belleville, a suburb of Paris, where he surrounded himself with books, engravings, pictures, and other mementoes of his travels. According to his own account, he proposed to busy himself in arranging his correspondence and writing his process. Shortly after his arrival, however, one of his servants was arrested. At the same time, or a little later, Miranda's house was searched, perhaps because of suspicion that he had smuggled arms and ammunition into his residence. The general declared that these persecutions were provoked by the personal enmity of Pache.[d] Whether Miranda knew it or not, he was under close surveillance by the police of Paris. As a result of the gathering suspicions, early in July, 1793, Miranda was again arrested by order of the committee of public safety. The seals were to be placed upon his papers, which were to be examined.[e] On July 9 he was thrust into the prison of La Force.[f] The register of the prison states that the cause of the imprisonment was "not explained."[g] But a report on the activities of Miranda declares that one of his most intimate friends was an Englishman called Stone, "who was strongly suspected of being an agent of Pitt." Pétion and Montané were also declared to be Miranda's intimates. The valet de chambre of the retired general had denounced him to the police authorities.[h] Perhaps Miranda was suspected of entering into a royalist conspiracy.[i]

[a] Plaidoyer de Chauveau Lagarde; Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 210–; Archives Nationales, W. 271, contains documents relating to this affair, the examination of Miranda, the seizure of his property, etc.

[b] Moniteur, May 21, 1793; Wallon, Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire, I, 99.

[c] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 406.

[d] Miranda to the convention, July 13, 1793; Moniteur, July 15. 1793. The reports of the officers who sealed the papers and other belongings of Miranda show that he had a considerable amount of property; one box of "marbres" is mentioned. Archives Nationales, ++ F.[7] 4474[47], f. 346. Montané said "J'ai trouvé chez lui une Bibliothèque immense, composée des livres les mieux choisis et les plus rares, les cartes de tous les Pays et des meilleurs géographes * * * " (July 22, 1793, to "Citoyens Représentans," ibid., f. 328–).

[e] July 7, (?) 1793, Archives Nationales, A F II. 22, 170, No. 9.

[f] Ibid., ++ F.[7] 4474[47], f. 318.

[g] Ibid., Alboise et Maquet, Les Prisons de l'Europe, 199.

[h] Le 16 Ventôse, Archives Nationales, ++ F.[7] 4474[47], f. 316.

[i] Cambon, to the convention, July 11, 1793; Moniteur, July 13, 1793.

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The prisoner, however, did not tamely submit to this treatment. He demanded permission to appear before the bar of the convention. The request was granted, and on July 13 Miranda harangued the members. He protested vigorously against the way in which he had been treated since the dispatch of the commissioners to Belgium. He declared with truth that the authorities of Belleville had dismissed all suspicion regarding him. Referring to his unexplained imprisonment, he exclaimed: "I demand revenge for this infringement on liberty. I read the justice of my cause in the constitution; there is oppression against the social body when one citizen is oppressed. * * * Yes, citizen-legislators, I am oppressed, I, who have always been the firmest support of liberty." Delacroix, one of the commissioners to Belgium, arose to defend the commission. He said that they had received numerous complaints of the conduct of Miranda at Neerwinden. "He complains that we sent him to Paris without hearing him; but how could we speak to him when his army had been searching him for three days?" Miranda demanded a chance to reply to the scathing denunciation, but the order of the day was called for, and he was sent back to prison.[a]

The life of Miranda did not cease to have its interesting incidents even when he was imprisoned. Many men of rank and distinction were in La Force when Miranda was there. There was Champagneux, sent from his post under the minister of the interior inside those "terrible doors." It is from his recollections that we get a picture of Miranda's life in the prison. Achille de Chatelet, an ardent scholar and lover of liberty, was languishing there still suffering from a wound received in battle. The sincere republican, Adam Lux, the deputy from Mayence, had also been thrust into this prison, partly at least because of his expressed admiration for Charlotte Corday. The deputies, Valazé and Vergniaud, were also there.[b] There were many other prisoners, but it was with this group of men that Miranda became especially intimate. Above all were he and Champagneux attracted to each other. Miranda seems to have aided Champagneux in writing a history of France.[c]

Miranda did not easily resign himself to prison life, however, and on August 12, 1793, he again protested against his imprisonment, denying the allegations of Cambon.[d] Montané, the president of the revolutionary tribunal, praised the personal qualities of Miranda, denounced his imprisonment, and asked for justice.[e] Nevertheless, Miranda was compelled to reconcile himself to life in prison and to the company of his fellow-sufferers. According to the recollections

[a] Moniteur, July 15, 1793.
[b] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 407; Dauban, Les Prisons de Paris, 455–.
[c] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 407.
[d] Archives Nationales, ++ F.[7] 4774[47], f. 362.
[e] Ibid., f. 328, 329.

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of Champagneux, the two friends held many conferences on the art and science of war, in which Miranda championed the rules by which such generals as Turenne had gained victories. Champagneux expressed his belief that Miranda would not consent to win a battle except in accordance with the rules of Alexander and Cæsar.[a] In these discussions in which Champagneux praised the tactics of the contemporary French generals, Achille de Chatelet seems to have often acted as arbitrator. Miranda and Champagneux also compared views regarding the great governments of the world. We may well believe that Miranda displayed a strong predilection for the Government of England, declaring that the English constitution was the best that had ever existed, for in England alone did man enjoy full civil liberty. Miranda praised Pitt and denounced Robespierre in language, said Champagneux, which was "picturesque with choler and indignation."[b]

One by one Miranda's closest companions passed from the confines of the prison. In October, 1793, Lux was summoned to appear before the revolutionary tribunal, from which he speedily passed to the executioner. Achille de Chatelet, overcome with despondency, committed suicide in March, 1794, bequeathing some of his property to Miranda and Champagneux. The debates between Valazé and Vergniaud had been cut off by a summons from the dread tribunal.[c] Happy was Miranda that he escaped such an invitation.

According to Champagneux, about the middle of July, 1794, Miranda and he were transferred to the Madelonettes, where they were crowded into more narrow and uncomfortable quarters than at La Force.[d] The two friends were not able to study undisturbed, and the time passed wearily. Champagneux depicts only one of their companions in that prison, the architect-sculptor De Quinci.[e] Miranda did not cease to protest against his imprisonment,[f] but in vain. News from the outer world was awaited with great eagerness. Alternate fits of hope and despair possessed the prisoners, according to the tenor of the reports which filtered through the walls of their prison. The report of the fall of Robespierre, said Champagneux, was greeted with great rejoicings.[g] It was in August, 1794, that Champagneux bade farewell to his companion in captivity.[h] It was not until the middle of January, 1795, that the convention decreed

[a] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 409–414.
[b] Ibid., 415, 416.
[c] Ibid., 416–421.
[d] Ibid., 430, 432; Alboise et Maquet, Les Prisons de l'Europe, 199.
[e] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 133.
[f] "Miranda au Comité de Sûreté-générale, de la Convention Nationale, 16 Vendémiaire, l'an 3e," Archives Nationales, ++ F.7 4474[47], f. 319.
[g] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 434, 435.
[h] Ibid., 437.

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that Miranda be set free.[a] The seals were soon removed from his papers and effects.[b]

This long and wearisome imprisonment, that must have been especially galling to a man of Miranda's temperament, had not caused him to forget or to relinquish his plans for the emancipation of his native land. In about two months after his release he wrote to General Knox: "I take the pen only to tell you that I live and that my sentiments for our dear *Colombia* as well as for all my friends in that part of the world have not changed in the least. * * * Oblige me by conveying my sentiments to all my friends, especially to Messrs. Hamilton, Smith, Duar, Livingston, etc., etc."[c]

The released general, who had been praised by Pelet to the convention as an "enemy of slavery" and a "friend of liberty,"[a] was not long in informing the people of France what he thought of their political condition. Like other men he tried to formulate a policy and to frame a government. In July, 1795, he published a pamphlet on the affairs of France and the remedies which he deemed appropriate for the existing evils. He declared that the terrible convulsions of despotism had placed France on the borders of a precipice. From this perilous situation only the intimate union of virtuous and capable men could save her. Peace and a government were desired by all and were in a manner reciprocal.

He maintained that the concentration of power in the hands of one body had facilitated revolutions. It was only by a wise division of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers that stability could be imparted to the Government. Two conditions were essential for the absolute independence of these powers. "The first was that the source from which they emanated be the same; the second, that they exercise a reciprocal supervision over each other." He declared that the people would not be sovereign if one of the ruling powers did not emanate immediately from them; they would not have independence if one of them was the creator of the other. The executive and not the legislative power ought to appoint the administrative agents of the State. Each of the three powers ought to watch over the security of the State. If one of the departments exceeded the powers prescribed the others ought to give the alarm. One chamber of the legislature ought not to have the sole power to propose laws, but in proposing and sanctioning laws the two chambers ought to be on an equality.

The confidence which foreign nations would have in such a government would be the surest means of opening conferences which would give peace to Europe and tranquillity to France. Miranda laid down certain principles that, in his opinion, ought to guide the French nation. The glory of conquests, said he, was not worthy of a republic

[a] Moniteur, January 17, 1795.
[b] Minute dated 12 Pluviôse, l'an 3, Archives Nationales, ++ F.[7] 4474[47], f. 315.
[c] 22 Ventôse, 3me année, Knox MSS., XXXVII, f. 52.

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founded upon the respect due to the rights of man and the sublime maxims of philosophy. Territorial acquisitions would augment the embarrassments of the Government. France ought to retire within her former boundaries defended by a line of fortresses. The people between the Rhine and this boundary ought to be declared free and would then serve as buffer States. The free navigation of the rivers, such as the Moselle, should be insured to the adjoining nations. A peace founded upon such a basis would in some respects make amends for the manifold evils which the French had inflicted on humanity. A government animated by such principles would reestablish confidence and restore the credit of France.[a] This was indeed a comprehensive programme.

It was not long before Miranda again fell under suspicion. He was denounced to the convention as one of the faction which had prevented the passage of the Rhine. Consequently, on October 21, his provisional arrest was decreed in company with Shomont and Aubrey, who were also supposed to be conspirators.[b] Miranda, ever alive to what he considered attacks on his liberty, drew up a petition defending himself against the charges which had been made, and demanding either the recall of the provisional decree or a trial. After the directory had deliberated over the matter and it had been considered by the council of five hundred,[c] Miranda was arrested on November 27, 1795. His papers were again examined and he was cast into the prison of Plessis. He appears to have been arrested in virtue of article 145 of the constitution, which was aimed against conspirators. This article declared, however, that in case of arrests on suspicion, the suspect was to be sent before a police officer within two days. It was not until four days after his arrest that Miranda, having been examined, was set at liberty, because nothing had been adduced against him. On liberation Miranda issued a protest against the violation of the constitution involved in his imprisonment beyond the constitutional limits without examination.[d]

Apparently Miranda was suspected of engaging in new intrigues or was distasteful to the French Government, for he was soon ordered to depart from the soil of the Republic.[e] The duty of executing this order fell upon Champagneux, who had regained his post in the ministry of the interior. He later declared that he yearned to crown Miranda with flowers and to reward him with praise.[f] The latter, however, had the audacity to leave the escort that had been provided

[a] Opinion du Général Miranda sur la Situation actuelle de la France et sur les remèdes convenables à ses Maux.

[b] Moniteur, 6 Brumaire, an 4; the arrest was decreed by the convention on 30 Vendémiaire.

[c] Ibid., 2 Frimaire, an 4; the letter of Miranda was dated 6 Brumaire.

[d] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 324–.

[e] Mémoires de Barras, II, 36; Champagneux, Madame Roland, 416.

[f] Champagneux, Madame Roland, 416.

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for him and to return to Paris. He addressed a communication to the executive power declaring that he had returned to adjust his affairs and demanding a passport that he might go to Copenhagen. He also asked that the Government pay him the sums which were owing for his services in the French army and asked for time that he might regulate his affairs.[a] Whether because of the public sentiment evoked by this bold defiance or for some other reason, Miranda was permitted to dwell in what he called his "asylum" near Paris in peace and tranquillity until the coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor, September 4, 1797. On that day he was included in the general deportation with Aubry, Boissy d'Anglas, Barbé-Marbois, and many others.[b] Strange though it may seem, Miranda did not leave France at once, however, but continued to live in retirement near Paris. Although Miranda often praised Anglo-Saxon institutions, it is evident that for some reason he loved French soil at this time.

During his checkered career in France Miranda had doubtless met many people, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans. As has been already indicated Colonel Smith visited Miranda in Paris and they discussed politics together. Stephen Sayre also saw the South American again,[c] and probably drew from him some more inspiration on the great theme of Spanish-American emancipation. Miranda also had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Thomas Paine, who appears to have testified to his character before the revolutionary tribunal.[d] It is likely that, as Miranda alleged, the two men discussed the political condition of South America.[e] It is very probable that Miranda met many other Frenchmen besides those who have been already mentioned, for he appears to have had many acquaintances in the gay French capital. During his abode in Paris, Miranda also met James Monroe, who then represented the Government of the United States there. The South American was not strongly attracted by the American minister, however, for on being repeatedly requested by the latter to intrust to him on his return to the United States certain alleged documents of importance to the Government of the United States regarding "a negotiation with M. Pitt, confided to M. Miranda some time since by Messrs. Hamilton and Knox, the object of which was to adopt some effectual measure to liberate South America," he finally replied that Paine, from whom Monroe had evidently derived the information, had been mistaken.[f]

[a] Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 328–331; Moniteur, January 4, 1796.
[b] Moniteur, September 6, 1797.
[c] Sayre to Jefferson, November 15, 1806, Jefferson MSS., series 2, LXXVII, f .13.
[d] Letter of Thomas Paine, March 20, 1806, The Aurora, April 5, 1806.
[e] Miranda to Monroe, April 2, 1797, Monroe MSS., VIII, f. 1010–.
[f] Ibid., Monroe to Miranda, March 17, 1797 (copy), Hamilton MSS., VIII, 201; Provost to Miranda "Duodi," Monroe MSS., VIII, f. 1008. The quotation is from the letter dated "Duodi."

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Further Miranda speedily transmitted copies of the correspondence which he had with Monroe and his secretary, J. W. Provost, to his friend Alexander Hamilton, informing him that he suspected a cabal or an intrigue between Paine and Monroe.[a]

Though internal difficulties and foreign wars had drawn the attention of Frenchmen for a time from Spanish America, yet it was not by any means forgotten. It was a fertile topic of discussion in the diplomatic negotiations between France and Spain which were carried on during Miranda's residence in France. In March, 1793, France had declared war on Spain. In the peace negotiations of 1795 France asked Spain to cede Spanish Santo Domingo and to restore Louisiana to her. The instructions declared that "all the efforts" of the envoy, Barthélemy, were to be directed toward the acquisition of Louisiana. The French urged that this transfer of territory would be of "immense advantage" to Spain as it would place a buttress between her possessions and those of the United States.[b] By the treaty of Basel, July, 1795, however, Spain only relinquished to France her part of Santo Domingo. She clung to Louisiana.

Not less tenaciously did France cling to her colonial ambitions. In the spring of 1796 France sent General Perpignan to Madrid to arrange an alliance with Spain. Again the cession of Louisiana was urged. It was argued that that province had now actually become a menace to Spain because of the advance of the western frontiersmen. It was declared that France alone "could trace with a strong and respected hand the limits of the power of the United States and the boundaries of her territory."[c] But again France failed. After Spain declared war on England in October, 1796, France renewed her efforts. She now offered to transfer Portugal to Spain for Louisiana and Florida.[d] Again France was unsuccessful. While these negotiations were being carried on, France, through agents in America, was intriguing with the Indians, stimulating discontent among the westerners, and gathering information regarding the military condition of the Mississippi Valley.[e] To judge by the report of the Spanish minister in Paris, it was a little later that certain Spanish-American agitators as Nariño and Caro appeared in Paris and vainly appealed

[a] Miranda to Hamilton, April 1, 1797, with undated postscript, Hamilton MSS., XV, f. 204; copies of the letters between Miranda and Provost are found ibid., f. 201–.

[b] Sorel, La Diplomatie Française et l'Espagne de 1792 à 1796, Revue Historique, XIII, 46, 72.

[c] Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1897, 669.

[d] Sorel, La Diplomatie Française et l'Espagne de 1792 à 1796, Revue Historique, XIII, 274, 275.

[e] Turner, The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley during the Period of Washington and Adams, Am. Hist. Rev., X, 270–273.

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to France for aid in inciting an insurrection in the northern part of Spanish America.[a]

The policy of France toward Spanish America was also discussed in various memoirs which were presented to the French Government. After the signing of the treaty of Basel, the Marquis of Poteratz criticized it and declared that Louisiana ought to be secured. In 1796 another memoir was presented. After considering conditions in the French colonies, the writer pointed out the value of Louisiana to France. It was described as a good region in which to plant colonies; the inhabitants, it was declared, hated Spain and viewed the French as their brothers. The acquisition of this territory by France would be of great advantage to that power and would help to conserve the rest of Spanish America to the mother country. It would benefit French commerce and would be a source of provisions to the French Antilles. Hence it was suggested that Louisiana be secured by negotiation.[b]

In the following years similar representation was made by Massé. He, too, praised the vast domain given by France to Spain in 1763, described its productions, and called its cession a sacrifice. The author declared that the inhabitants of the United States coveted this region. If they secured it the other Spanish possessions in America would be threatened. It was therefore declared to be the interest of Spain to cede the territory to France. In it that power would form a colony which would forever remain a barrier between the English in Canada and the inhabitants of the United States on the one hand and the Spanish colonists on the other. A scheme for the colonization of Louisiana was appended.[c] Frenchmen and the French Government then had not relinquished their colonial aspirations and still yearned for some of the dominions of Spain in the New World. As in some other respects, this period forms a prelude to the age in which Napoleon was to dominate French policy.

Although Francisco de Miranda had been frequently imprisoned and remained under a cloud of suspicion during much of the time that he was in France, despite the fact that he was not paid for his services in behalf of the French Republic, and even though his schemes for the revolutionizing of Spanish America were laid aside, yet his residence in France was not altogether unfruitful. His later career will amply show that, willingly or unwillingly, he had been affected by the contagion of the French revolutionary philosophy. His knowledge of European politics and diplomacy was improved. He had met old friends and made new ones. He had received valuable training

[a] Alvarez to the captain-general of Cuba, August 21, 1798, quoting the dispatch of the Spanish minister in Paris of July, 1798, Cuban MSS., see below, p. 326, note *a*.

[b] This mémoire is signed Joseph ferge (?), Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique (Colonies Espagnoles), 33, f. 204–.

[c] Dated "2 Thermidor, an 5," ibid., f. 208.

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in the art of war and had performed notable services for the French nation which were later signally recognized. In 1836, at the order of the French minister of the interior, the name of the South American general was inscribed on the arch of triumph of the Étoile beside the names of the most distinguished generals of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic era.[a] General Miranda had not forgotten his native land; on the contrary, it is probable that his purpose of emancipating Spanish America had become more deeply rooted than ever. He was beyond doubt the moving spirit in that coterie of adventurers who in one way and another had drifted to Paris and who were more or less interested in Spanish America. It was evidently during the last part of his sojourn in Paris that Miranda was busily engaged in preparing the propositions for the revolutionizing of Spanish America with the aid of England and the United States, with which he appeared opportunely in London early in 1798.[b]

[a] Thus did the minister of the interior inform a journalist, July 6, 1883, Guerre, Archives Administratives, Dossier Miranda.

[b] Evidence has been found which has been interpreted to mean that Miranda made proposals to the English ministry in 1796. For the evidence see Popham's Trial, 138; Castlereagh, Correspondence, VII, 284. In 1812 Pavia, a friend or rather a fellow-conspirator of Miranda, declared that when he was in New Granada in 1812, "Nariño candidly told me that in the year 1796, in conjunction with Miranda, he used every endeavor with the Government of Great Britain to induce them to accept a plan for the emancipation of Spanish America * * *". P. R. O., Spain, 140. It was in 1797 and 1798 that Nariño and Miranda urged their plans rather than in 1796 (see the following chapter). The writer does not believe that the evidence warrants the conclusion that Miranda presented his schemes to the English Government in 1796. On February 26, 1797, Miranda averred that he had not been outside of Paris for four years. Rojas, Miranda dans la Rév. Fr., 300. Further, in the various reviews which Miranda made of his relations with the British Government he never alluded to any negotiations in 1796. For his statement in 1798 see below, p. 318. The Spanish Government suspected that Miranda was to be sent against Spanish America in 1796, for on December 24, 1796, the following warning was sent to the governor of St. Augustine, Florida: "Ha sabido el Rey por noticias directas de Inglaterra que aquel Gobierno havia resuelto una expedicion contra Nueva España y demás posesiones de S. M. en la América Septrional encargando de varios Comisiones relativas á esta empresa al famoso Español Miranda que sirvió de General en Francia á los principios de la Guerra y ahora se halla al sueldo de la Inglaterra. Aseguran las mismas noticias que ya havia salida de aquellos Puertos con destino á México. Lo participo todo á V. S. de orden de S. M. afin de que esté con la maior vigilancia para oponerse á una sorpresa de los Ingleses y procure V. S. prender á dicho Miranda si llegase á este país." A. H. N., Estado, 5555. This was, so far as Miranda was concerned, a false alarm.

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Chapter VII.

MIRANDA, ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES IN 1798 AND 1799.

The idea of separating the Spanish colonies in America from the mother country had not by any means lain dormant in England during Miranda's romantic experiences in France. We are sufficiently well informed regarding the attitude of England during this period to be assured that the continuity of English policy remained essentially unbroken. Indeed the Nootka Sound convention had hardly been signed when the English Government was again considering how it might extend its influence and territory in America at the expense of other powers, not excepting Spain. Early in January, 1791, William Augustus Bowles, another roving adventurer of varied experiences, who had lived with and become attached to the Creek Indians, appeared in England, and entered into negotiations with the ministry. Bowles had acquired much influence among the Indians, having become, he declared, "the adviser and the leader of an independent and populous Nation."[a] As the representative of the Creeks and the Cherokees he addressed himself to Lord Grenville, hoping for the acceptance of certain designs.

He declared that if the Spanish Government did not accede to his demand for two ports on the coast of Florida by the time that he returned to America he would at once attack the Spanish forts in that region. He flattered himself that, in the short space of two months, he would be able to oust the Spaniards and secure the possession of both the Floridas and the lower part of Louisiana to the Creek and the Cherokee nations. That done he would invade Mexico and might even proceed with a strong force into the interior of that country. Thereupon, in conjunction with the natives, he proposed to proclaim the independence of Mexico. He expressed his belief that the project would receive the substantial support of the American frontiersmen to the extent of six thousand effective men. He proposed that England enter into an alliance with the Creek and the Cherokee Indians for commercial and political reasons and then he would apply to that Government for arms and munitions of war.[b] As the basis for a

[a] Bowles to Grenville, January 3, 1791, Am. Hist. Rev., VII, 726–728.
[b] Ibid., January 13, 1791, ibid., 728–733.

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peaceable adjustment of difficulties had been reached before Bowles made his propositions, his suggestions could hardly have commended themselves to the English ministers as measures capable of being executed with their open connivance and aid in the immediate future. Nevertheless, the English Government expressed its intention of granting the Indians admission to the free ports in the English West Indies, and thus the relations between England and these Indians were more closely joined.[a]

After the treaty of Basel Spain could once more, as in the three decades before 1790, act in unity with France, but henceforth Spain was rather in the position of a dependent than of an equal. England, being at war with France, could once more openly consider plans and take steps for attacking the Spanish Indies, while Spain, and in time France, had the colossal task of shielding that domain against the intrigues and the designs of England. England did not wait long before indicating her intentions. On October 24, 1795, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of Canada was sent "most private and secret" instructions to promote such relations with the adventurous settlers in the western part of the United States as would enable England to secure their cooperation against the Spanish settlements in North America, if there was a breach between England and Spain. He was also to ascertain what aid might be expected from the southern and western Indians in such a conjuncture; and was asked to gather information regarding the connections between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River. As England and Spain were still on a peace footing, Simcoe was warned to be cautious lest Spain become suspicious; he was to avoid committing England with the United States Government or making her a party to any attacks on the Spanish-American colonists unless circumstances called for such steps. Evidently England was contemplating an attack on the American dominions of Spain from the base of Canada with the aid of the men of the western waters and the Indians.[b]

Another English plan for a more extensive attack on Spanish America was outlined before the declaration of war against England by Spain was to precipitate the intrigues of Blount and his fellow-conspirators and to draw Miranda once more to London as to a magnet. In August, 1796, the same month in which Spain and France entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, Nicholas Vansittart sketched a plan of an attack on the Spanish colonies in America to be made in the succeeding year. The project began by stating the opinion of the writer that the previous expeditions which had been undertaken against these dominions had either failed en-

[a] Report on Canadian Archives, 1890, 153.

[b] Portland to Simcoe, Am. Hist. Rev., X, 575, 576. See also Turner, The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams, ibid., 273, 274.

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tirely or been very destructive of life because of the unhealthfulness of the regions which had been the scene of action, Terra Firma, and the West Indies. This section was neither the most vulnerable point of attack nor was it, with the possible exception of Habana, the section where an attack would most injure the Spanish power. On the other hand, the climate of the Spanish domains in the Pacific Ocean was "known to be remarkably temperate and healthy;" an attack could be made there with "greater ease," and, if successful, would "immediately afford a very considerable revenue and great commercial advantages." Vansittart expressed his belief that England might get such aid from her forces in India as to "render the success of the enterprise almost infallible."

He then proceeded to outline his plan of operations. Thirteen thousand Indian troops might be drafted from the battalions at Madras and Bombay. The first division ought to leave Trincomale in May and proceed by way of either the Philippines or the Ladrones to America, under the escort of ships of war. To cooperate with this force, a naval squadron should be sent from England bearing on board a few regiments of infantry and dismounted light horse with a detachment of artillery. Buenos Ayres, Valdivia, Valparaiso, and La Concepcion were to be successively attacked by the expedition from England. On the arrival of the Indian army, the English having made themselves masters of Chile, which would afford a good naval base, were to attack Callao and Lima with the combined forces, aided perhaps by some of the Indian tribes. The road to Mexico was to be opened up by an attack on Acapulco. A feint on Habana and an attack on Manila were also suggested.[a] Whether this plan was ever submitted to the English Government or not, it is of interest as showing how the thought of Spanish-American liberation lived in the minds of Englishmen, and also because the author later became a warm friend of Miranda.

The war which was declared by Spain against England in October, 1796, gave fresh life to the idea of revolutionizing Spanish America. An early evidence of that activity was the so-called Blount conspiracy. This was more or less the outcome of the English policy outlined in the instructions to Simcoe in 1795. The leading figure, though not the guiding influence in this conspiracy, was William Blount, then United States Senator from Tennessee, who was a large and influential landowner in what was then the debatable land on the east banks of the Mississippi. The scheme was concocted in 1796 and 1797 by Blount, Captain Chisholm, Doctor Romayne, and others. American frontiersmen, aided by Indians, were to attack the Spanish settlements in Louisiana and the Floridas. Dissatisfied Tories were

[a] Bexley MSS., Misc. Papers, 1796–1844, f. 1–.

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expected to join the invading forces. England was to send a fleet to blockade the mouth of the Mississippi River, and, in all probability, aid was to be sent from Canada. Blount even seems to have made attempts to engage the Indian agents of the United States in the southwest in his plan. This tangled net of intrigue was discovered, however, Blount was expelled from the Senate, and the English Government attempted to disavow any connection with the design in spite of the fact that her minister in the United States, Liston, had been acquainted with the labors of Chisholm, although there is no evidence at present to show that he or his Government knew of the participation of Blount.[a] Any hopes which the English Government or her agents might have entertained regarding the acquisition of the Floridas or of Louisiana as the outcome of such an enterprise were of course shattered by the degradation of Blount.

Spain was not by any means ignorant of the plots that were being hatched against her American dominions. Through Gen. Victor Collot the Spanish minister in the United States was apprised of the scheme which Blount and his fellow-conspirators were forming.[b] By reports from England the Spanish King had been informed that that Government had not only considered but had actually decided upon an expedition against his dominions in America. The warning had also been transmitted that the "famous Spaniard, Miranda," had been charged with various commissions regarding the enterprise and had even embarked for Mexico. Consequently, on December 24, 1796, a royal order was sent to the viceroy of New Spain conveying this intelligence and warning him to exert the utmost diligence to capture Miranda on his arrival.[c] This false alarm aroused the viceroy, for in June, 1797, he informed his Government that he had secured a description of Miranda from an official in Veracruz who knew him and that steps had been taken to distribute this means of identification throughout the province. The military authorities had been admonished to watch for the conspirator, and steps had been taken to fortify New Spain against surprise by the English.[d] On December 24, 1796, the same or a similar order had been sent to the captain-general of Yucatan. In June, 1797, he reported that he had taken measures to guard against surprise by the English.[e] On December 24, 1796, a similar warning was also sent to the captain-

[a] Am. Hist. Rev., X, 574–; see also Turner, The Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley, Atlantic Monthly, XCIII, 812–815.

[b] Am. Hist. Rev., X, 585–.

[c] A. G. M., Reales Cédulas, 165.

[d] Marquis de Branciaforte to the Prince of Peace, June 30, 1797, A. G. I., Aud. de Méjico, 7. The description sent to Spain, however, was not of Miranda, but of a suspect in New Spain, for the original "Media filiacion del Hombre sospechosa" is found in a letter from an official dated Orizava, June 19, 1797 (A. G. M., Historia, 415), the statement being made that the conspirator was supposed to be in hiding in that place.

[e] Arturo O'Reilly to the Prince of Peace, June 20, 1797, A. G. I., Aud. de Méjico, 16.

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general of Caracas.[a] It is very probable that he also took measures to protect his province against the conspirator. Although the warnings sent regarding Miranda were premature, yet they illustrate the apprehensions of the Spaniards regarding his designs. If, then, an expedition had been undertaken by England against certain parts of Spanish America at this time, the Spanish officials would not have been found unprepared.[b]

In England also new schemes of attack on Spanish America were formulated and old ones modified. In March, 1797, an anonymous communication was sent to the prime minister, William Pitt, suggesting that an attack be made on the province of Nicaragua. The author of the plan, who amusingly described himself as "a very young man, of little consequence in the country, only having just left the University," said that the object of his address was not so much to possess the country as to secure "a lodgment" in the Nicaraguan lakes, which would separate Mexico and Peru and furnish a general rendezvous for the English and a storehouse for English vessels. The enemy, he said, should be seized in "their weakest and tenderest part * * * to revenge their desertion by a single blow—to force them to a Peace or carry on the war with advantage to ourselves."[c] This communication was opportune, for the English ministers were thinking seriously of severing at least a part of Spanish America from the parent country.

In this plan the island of Trinidad, that had been recently wrested from Spain, was to be used as a base. The military commander at Trinidad at this time was Thomas Picton, who became very much interested in the condition and the future of Spanish America. Picton was a man of Welsh birth, who at a very early age decided to follow a military career. In 1772, at 14 years of age, he became an ensign, and by 1778 he had become a captain. He had seen service in the West Indies under Sir John Vaughn and Sir Ralph Abercrombie. On the capture of Trinidad in February, 1797, by the English, the latter commander at once made Picton governor and commander of the island.[d] In April, 1797, Henry Dundas, the English secretary of war, instructed Picton to pay particular attention to the

[a] Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, August 12, 1797, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–3–9.

[b] In the viceroyalty of New Spain far-reaching measures were taken to check any designs of the English and to capture Miranda. The viceroy, Marquis of Branciaforte, describes them in a dispatch to M. J. de Azanza, May 28, 1798, A. G. M., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, A. 36; in ibid., Historia, 415, is found an "expediente" of about 200 pages entitled "No. 164 Reservado, Providencias para el cumplimiento de R^l. orden expedida por el Ministerio de Estado con fha. de 24 de Dizre. de 1796, sobre designios de los Ingleses contra este Reyno y solicitud de descubrir al famoso Miranda," which contains the reports of local officials in New Spain evidencing the attempts made to ferret out any suspected conspirators. A certain Manuel Montecino was found in Tampico and actually suspected of being Miranda.

[c] March 18, 1797, Chatham MSS., 344.

[d] Robinson, Life of Picton, I, 1–36.

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method of conduct "most adapted to liberate the people of the continent near to the island of Trinidad from the oppressive and tyrannic system" which supported so rigorously the "monopoly of commerce under the title of exclusive registers." He was to encourage the inhabitants of Trinidad to keep up the communication which they had had with Terra Firma before the capture of that island by the British. He was to assure the Spanish colonists that they would find in the island a commercial emporium. To encourage the trade between Trinidad and the adjacent continent the port of Trinidad was declared a free port, "with a direct trade to Great Britain." Picton was to assure the inhabitants of Spanish America that whenever they were disposed to resist the oppressive authority of their Government, they would receive from him "all the succors to be expected from H. B. Majesty; be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition to any extent; with the assurance that the views of H. B. Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people, nor in their political, civil or religious rights."[a]

On June 26 of this year Picton issued these declarations in the form of a proclamation in Spanish, which was widely distributed along the Spanish main.[b] The sentiments expressed in this proclamation became widely diffused in the adjacent continent. The Spanish Government soon became aware of the activity of Picton as a propagandist.[c] Almost eighteen years afterwards a copy of this proclamation with some similar documents, emanating from the English, was sent to the English Admiral Douglas by two representatives of the revolutionary government of Carthagena, who declared that this official declaration of the English attitude toward Spanish America was one of their justifications for the revolution.[d] There is no doubt that the wide circulation of this proclamation of English policy fostered the revolutionary spirit in the Spanish colonies near Trinidad; it also gave the inhabitants of these colonies good reasons for believing that the English Government would materially aid their revolutionary endeavors.

Picton soon entered enthusiastically into the designs of the English Government. Early in July, 1797, he was instructed to avail himself of his situation to acquire information regarding the civil and military conditions in the neighboring Spanish colonies, "the nature and extent of their Trade, and the Laws and regulations by which it is conducted, with the general disposition of the Inhabit-

[a] Walton, Spanish America, Appendix, document A.
[b] Ibid.; Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 283, 284.
[c] Copies of many of the documents circulated by the English are in the A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–3–9, 133–3–10.
[d] Caverno and Robertson to Douglas, June 12, 1815, P. R. O., Spain, 182.

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ants."[a] Accordingly on September 18, 1797, Picton transmitted an account of the captain-generalship of Caracas written by a gentleman who had lived there for many years, accompanied by some supplementary observations of his own. The governor of Trinidad called attention to the strategic location of the city of Caracas. The captain-general was old and had only one regiment of regular troops in the whole province. There was a considerable number of militia, but they were not supposed to interest themselves much in the preservation of the existing régime. He urged upon his Government the commercial importance of the Spanish possessions in the Orinoco Valley. Either St. Thomas de Guyana or Barancas was eminently fitted to become a commercial emporium. The Orinoco could be navigated for 150 miles. The soil was fertile. The rivers afforded access to the Spanish as well as to the Portuguese settlements. The Spaniards had no regular troops in this territory nor any strong forts. The naval force was "very inconsiderable," intended merely for revenue purposes. "A temporary Conquest of the Country in the neighborhood of this River might be effected without much difficulty and with a moderate Force," but he doubted much, "considering the immense extent and great Population of the surrounding Provinces, whether it would be possible to retain it. The only certain Method of opening an extensive Trade with this Country would be by bringing about a Revolution, which might be easily secured by generally arming the People."[b]

Three months later, divining perhaps the intentions of the ministers, he took occasion to inform his Government that he considered all ideas of territorial acquisition or conquest on the neighboring continent as "Chimerical and Ruinous." He believed, however, that the inhabitants were "generally dissatisfied" with their government and looked "forward to Independence." Profiting by this disposition, he declared, "it would be no difficult matter to subvert the Spanish Government in the Provinces of Cumana and Caraccas, the Example and Effects of which would shake their Empire over the whole Continent and would open immediate as well as immense Commercial Advantages to Great Britain."[c] In November of this year, in spite of the hostilities between England and Spain, Jamaica and the Bahamas were accorded privileges regarding trade with the Spanish colonies similar to those which had been given to Trinidad.[d] It seemed, however, as though an attempt to promote trade might only be the forerunner of designs for territorial aggrandizement on the Spanish dominions in America.

[a] Draft of supplementary instructions to Picton, July 5, 1797, P. R. O., Trinidad, 1.
[b] Picton to Dundas, September 18, 1797, incloses his own account and the one by the inhabitant of Caracas, P. R. O., Trinidad, 1.
[c] Ibid., December 17, 1797, ibid.
[d] Minutes of the Board of Trade, November 8, 1797, Chatham MSS., 349.

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Some Spanish Americans eagerly seized the opportunity offered by the war. Early in February, 1797, Pedro José Caro came to London. Some Spanish officials thought that he was one of the escaped conspirators from Caracas.[a] He represented himself to be a native of Cuba, owning large properties there and in the City of Mexico, who had been engaged for the past fourteen years in traveling through the different parts of Spanish America and Europe for the purpose of concerting the best means of procuring liberty for Spanish America.[b] His attempts to engage the sympathies of the English Government at that time were without result, and he withdrew to Paris in the summer of the same year. About this time a fugitive conspirator from Santa Fé made a similar essay and failed to secure a favorable hearing. This was Antonio Nariño, who many years later attempted to make himself the autocrat of New Granada.[c] It is possible that both these emissaries were sent or directed to London by Miranda. It is also possible, as stated by Miranda later, that other alleged agents from South America were sent to London while the master intriguer remained at Paris.[d]

Caro certainly had recourse to Miranda for consolation and advice. From his retreat in or near the French capital the latter wrote two notes introducing Caro to men in England whom he doubtless thought would be of aid to this agitator. One of these was dated September 27, 1797, and was addressed to Joseph Smith, the private secretary of William Pitt.[e] The other, addressed to John Turnbull, an English merchant whom Miranda had interested in Spanish America, declared that the bearer was charged with papers "de haute Importance." With this last epistle Caro sent a brief note requesting a passport to come to London. Turnbull secured the required permission and Caro soon arrived in the English metropolis. Here the latter soon divulged his plans to Turnbull, who, on October 18, 1797, communicated the propositions to Pitt. These were apparently a repetition of Caro's previous overtures. Caro declared that most of the inhabitants of Spanish America and even many of the Spanish officers stationed there were dissatisfied with the oppressive Government of Spain and "on the Eve of a general Insurrection." There were fourteen hundred persons, "of some Fortune and Character," he declared, "dispersed over Spanish America" and employed "in

[a] Alvarez to the captain-general of Cuba, August 21, 1798, Cuban MSS., see below, p. 326, note *a*. In 1800 a conspirator called Caro and others were associated with Antonio Nariño by the Spanish officials in an investigation regarding the publication of The Rights of Man in northern Spanish America; a report, September, 9, 1800, is found in the Add. MSS., 13,985, f. 168.

[b] Turnbull to Pitt, October 18, 1797, P. R. O., Spain, 45.

[c] Communication of Caro (unaddressed), October 19, 1797, ibid. Alvarez to the captain-general of Cuba, August 21, 1798, Cuban MSS., see below, p. 326, note *a*.

[d] Popham's memorandum, October 14, 1804, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 511; see also Miranda's memoir to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.

[e] Smith Papers, 271.

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the same manner with him." In the province of Santa Fé, the ripest for insurrection, there were thirty thousand men "ready to rise in Arms, Money in Abundance, and Plenty of Gunpowder." The position of this province admirably adapted it to be the starting point of a general revolution which could easily be extended on the one hand to the neighboring provinces of Quito, Chile, and Peru, and on the other to the Isthmus of Panama, Guatemala, and Mexico.[a] Such was the highly colored picture drawn by Caro of conditions in that region.

The system of government had been already meditated upon. The revolutionists aimed at the establishment of a government which would be absolutely independent of the rule of Spain or of any other power whatsoever. Caro, however, solicited the beneficent aid and protection of the British Government. He wished that Government to send a naval squadron to blockade Carthagena and to intercept any succors which the Spaniards might attempt to send from Habana or from Spain to Santa Fé. He also asked that 5,000 acclimated troops be sent to cooperate in the revolutionary movements by seizing the Isthmus of Panama. He requested that 20,000 muskets be provided for the revolutionists besides 20 small fieldpieces, a few cannon, and all the necessary ammunition except gunpowder. The revolutionists, said Caro, would pay for this aid as soon as the new independent American Government was established. No special commercial or other privileges were promised to England. Annexed to the petition was a detailed statement of the veteran troops and of the militia in the Kingdom of Santa Fé.[b] If Caro had made alluring promises of commercial advantages or territorial acquisitions he might have been given serious attention by the English ministers. Perhaps Caro was only feeling the pulse of the English Government. Whatever his real intentions were, and however weak an authorization he may have had from a few daring revolutionists in Spanish America, he was only a forerunner of the arch conspirator. In a note of April 19 he informed the English Government that Miranda, "whose reputation was worth an army," was laboring on the plan and was on the eve of coming to England.[c]

It is clear then that the arrival of Miranda in England early in the following year was with the full knowledge and consent of the English Government.[d] Perhaps, as Miranda later alleged, he was invited to reopen negotiations with William Pitt.[e] Whether urged to come

[a] Turnbull to Pitt, October 18, 1797; also the communication of Caro, October 15, 1797, P. R. O., Spain, 45; the quotations are from the communication of October 18, 1797.
[b] Communication of Caro (unaddressed), October 15, 1797, P. R. O., Spain, 45.
[c] Ibid., April 19, 1797, ibid.
[d] King, Correspondence of King, II, 650, III, 555, 556.
[e] Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.

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to England or not, Miranda could not neglect the favorable opportunity. It was probably with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret that Miranda gave up his life of seclusion at Paris to proceed to London. As on other critical occasions, Miranda appears to have traveled under an assumed character. To judge by the passport, which is still preserved in the French archives, Miranda passed from France as a merchant, "Gabriel Edouard Leroux," who was going from Altona to Hamburg on "commercial matters." He was described as being "five feet four inches in height, with black hair and eyebrows, large forehead, nose and mouth of medium size, gray eyes, round chin, and oval face."[a]

By January 16, 1798, Miranda had crossed the Strait of Dover and arrived in London. On that day he addressed a letter to William Pitt, which begins with these words: "The undersigned, principal agent of the Spanish-American colonies, has been named by the junta of deputies of Mexico, Lima, Chili, Buenos Ayres, Caracas, Santa Fé, etc., to present himself to the ministers of H. B. M., in order to renew in favour of the absolute independence of these colonies, the negotiations begun in 1790, and to conduct them, as quickly as possible to that stage of maturity which the present moment appears to offer, finishing them by a treaty of amity and alliance, similar (so far as the different circumstances permit) to that offered by France and concluded by her with the English colonies of North America in 1778. This example can serve as an apology in the absence of strict legality in the present case. * * * The spirit of frankness and loyalty which animates his compatriots and which attaches them to the interests of Great Britain is best expressed in the instrument which serves the undersigned as powers and instructions for this important commission." Miranda declared himself happy at being able to claim "by a lucky chance" the "protection of the English nation in favour of the independence of his country and the establishment of a treaty of amity and alliance mutually useful and advantageous to both parties." Miranda expressed his regret at having been separated from Pitt since the beginning of hostilities between England and Spain. He declared that it was the tyranny of France which had prevented him from having sooner approached the English prime minister, "full of confidence in the importance and the reciprocal utility of his mission. Convinced besides that the present moment is the most favourable, for a violent war is being waged by Spain against England, an epoch which the very honourable William Pitt has always stated to the undersigned as one for the beginning of this enterprise; he is pleased to believe that his compatriots will not long languish in uncertainty. It is only these motives and still

[a] Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 22; the document is dated 26 Frimaire, an 6, and indorsed "enregistré à Calais le 17 Nivôse an 6me de la République."

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more the sacred duty of a citizen whose support is implored by his suffering country, which have torn him from the retreat which has served him as an asylum and made him resolve to risk the dangers which encompassed him at the moment of his departure from France, as well as the odd chances to which one is always exposed in great enterprises."[a]

With this letter Miranda submitted a copy of the instrument which he declared served him as instructions. These powers purported to be articles drawn up by a South American revolutionary junta and were dated Paris, December 22, 1797. This junta professed to be composed of deputies from the principal provinces of Spanish America who had been sent to Europe to concert with Miranda a plan for the liberation of their native land. The instructions affirmed that the Spanish-American colonies, having unanimously resolved to proclaim their independence and to place their liberty on a firm basis, addressed themselves to the British Government, inviting it to join them in the accomplishment of that enterprise. Spanish America, it was declared, agreed to pay England for her assistance. The aid demanded from England was not to exceed 27 vessels of the line, 8,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry. It was declared that a defensive alliance of England, the United States, and Spanish America was the "only hope which remained to liberty so boldly outraged by the detestable maxims" which had been avowed by the French Republic. It was suggested that a treaty of alliance be entered into by England and Spanish America, which, although not granting monopoly privileges, was to be conceived in the most advantageous terms to Great Britain. A proposal was made for the opening of navigation between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the Isthmus of Panama as well as by Lake Nicaragua, and the freedom of such transit was guaranteed, though not exclusively, to both England and the United States. It was provided that, after independence had been achieved, deputies from the different parts of Spanish America were to meet in a representative body to make general regulations for internal commerce. It was pointed out that the intimate relations which the bank of London would be able to form with the banks of Lima and Mexico would not be the least advantage which the independence and the alliance of Spanish America would insure to Great Britain. The thirteenth article intrusted the military operations on the American continent as well as the arrangements to be made with England to Miranda. It ought to be noticed that these instructions as first submitted by Miranda to Pitt did not fix the amount to be paid to England for her assistance; they did not draw the boundary line between the United States and a liberated Spanish America; they

[a] Chatham MSS., 345.

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did not decide upon the disposition of the insular possessions of Spain in America.[a] These blank passages, Miranda declared, were to be considered as "secret instructions," which were to be filled out when by subsequent conferences, "the principal points of the stipulation" were agreed upon.[b]

These propositions raise the interesting and difficult question as to what authorization these so-called deputies had for their actions. The instructions bore the signatures of Josef del Pozo y Sucre, Manuel Josef de Salas, and Francisco de Miranda. With the exception of Miranda, very little is known of these men beyond what is stated in the document itself. It declared that Miranda was to act as commissioner with Pablo de Olavide, who did not otherwise figure in the affair, so far as our knowledge at present goes. Many years afterwards John Adams scoffed at the idea of his acquaintance Olavide being in any way connected with the affair.[c] It is quite possible that Sucre and Salas may have been Jesuits, as suggested by John Adams.[d] No warrant for the statement that they were authorized agents has yet been discovered. Nothing is known of the alleged Spanish junta which was to take cognizance of the negotiations. Nevertheless, it is possible that some revolutionary spirits from Spanish America, like Caro and Nariño, did meet in Paris and discuss a plan of campaign. Europe was no stranger to such emissaries. Caro may have had some loose authorization from the revolutionary sympathizers in Spanish America.[e] The same may be true of the other emissaries, if there were any.

Whatever authorization there was, it is the opinion of the writer that it could not have been much more than an expression of the desire of a very small minority of Spanish Americans to free themselves from what they considered the oppressive rule of Spain. Viewed in this light, the instrument of December 22, 1797, did not even have the appearance of legality. Furthermore, it seems to the writer certain that the authorization which Miranda presented to the English minister in its minor features, such as the borrowing of money, the appointing of agents, as well as in its more general propositions, was

[a] Chatham MSS., 345. Compare with the form of completed instructions presented to Adams later. Adams, Works of John Adams, I, 679–684.

[b] Miranda to Pitt, January 16, 1798, Chatham MSS., 345. It was in referring to these passages that Miranda said: "Les passages indiqués par des points, devant être considerés comme des instructions secrettes, seront remplis du moment où, dans les conferences subsequentes, on seroit convenu des principaux points de la stipulation."

[c] Adams, Works of John Adams, X, 142, 143.

[d] Ibid., 142.

[e] The secret instructions of Miranda to Caro, London, April 6, 1798, P. R. O., Spain, 45, suggest this; see below, p. 325.

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mainly, if not entirely, the embodiment of Miranda's ideas. Miranda was probably to a large extent a self-constituted agent.[a]

Miranda, following out the plan thus outlined, soon attempted to get into touch with the Government of the United States. He first approached Rufus King, the minister of the United States in London, to whom he was drawn partly because he knew him to be a close friend of Alexander Hamilton.[b] Miranda made a beginning on January 30, 1798, by partly disclosing his scheme. The South American declared that he had just come from a conference with Pitt, with whom he had gone over the whole subject. England, he said, desired to cultivate friendship and harmony with the United States. If England and the United States should be driven by joint operations to oppose France, nothing would be easier, he declared, than to separate Spanish America from Spain. The population of the Spanish settlements on the continent of America was ten millions. The people were civilized and "capable of being happy as members of a polished Society." Everything was "ripe for the completion of the plan." Commissioners from Spanish America had empowered him to cooperate in the movement for independence. There were no possible grounds of disagreement which could arise between the northern and the southern "departments," for the social conditions in the two areas would prevent them from becoming rivals. The Mississippi was a natural boundary. Spain had already given to the United States good reasons for going to war with her. "I have," continued Miranda, "as yet taken no measures to develop the plan to the American Government. All must first be arranged here with the British Government." King, while pleased to learn what was on the tapis

[a] In 1816 John Adams had a correspondence with Colonel Smith, his son-in-law, in regard to Miranda's plans. In reply to a letter of Adams, Smith said on February 24, 1816: "Several Deputies and Commissioners from Mexico and other principal provinces of South America met Miranda at Paris for the purpose of concerting with him the measures to be pursued for accomplishing the Independence of their Country. * * * It was decided he should, in their name, again repair to England, and make such offers to the British Government as, it was hoped, might induce it to lend them the assistance requisite for the great object of their wishes * * *. The instrument, which was drawn up and put into the hands of Miranda, as the document to the British Government, of the proposals of the South Americans, is a remarkable evidence of the views and plans of the leading members of the South American communities, these articles are eleven in number, the document is dated Paris, Decr. 22 1797. * * * A Proposal was made to Mr. Pitt, for the return of Miranda to England, which was acceded to with alacrity, and Miranda had a conference with Mr. Pitt in January following. It accorded with the plans of Mr. Pitt at that time, to enter with promptitude into the scheme proposed for the emancipation of South America, the outline of the proceeding was fully agreed upon, and a communication was made to Genl. Hamilton dated April 6th. 1798, a copy of which I have furnished you with." Adams MSS., Correspondence of John Adams, 1813–1816, f. 236. The writer has no reason to believe, however, that Smith had any other basis for these statements than the information derived, directly or indirectly, from Miranda, whom Smith met again in New York in 1806.

[b] Miranda to Hamilton, February 7, 1798, explains in that way his confidences to King. Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 208.

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regarding South America, declared that it would be improper for him to commit either himself or his Government.[a]

On February 8, however, King returned the visit. Miranda further explained his plans. He described his frame of government for independent Spanish America. This, so far as can be gathered from the meager details at hand, resembled the plan proposed to Pitt in 1790. The attack was to be made on the east side of the Isthmus of Darien. He asked of England 8,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, seasoned West Indian troops. A squadron was to be sent from England to the coast of Peru. Miranda desired from the United States 5,000 woodmen or soldiers that understood new countries, and hoped to attract many of the veteran officers of the Revolutionary war. He did not anticipate a vigorous opposition, as many of the best troops in South America had been sent to relieve Manila. Miranda entertained sanguine hopes of cooperation from the Spanish forces stationed at the Isthmus, for many of the officers, he declared, were in the plan. The principal points in the stipulation had now evidently been agreed upon, in Miranda's mind at least, for he declared that England was to be paid £30,000,000 sterling for her aid. England and the United States were to enjoy the future trade of Spanish America. The goods from England and the United States which passed over the Isthmus were to pay lower tolls than those of other powers. As regards the islands possessed by Spain in America, the Spanish Americans cared nothing about them except Cuba.[b] The propositions in their final form, which Miranda was now in the main rehearsing, provided that they were to be divided between the cooperating powers.[c]

Other evidence confirms the impressions of King regarding the objective point, or at least the main objective point, of the projected attack. Miranda probably had in his possession at this time, and used in making his plans, a copy of a map of part of the Isthmus of Panama and the adjacent section of Spanish America. This map with accompanying explanations had been given him by Caro, who informed Miranda that the map was a faithful copy of one made in 1782 under the direction of the viceroy of Santa Fé by the general engineer of the Kingdom, Antonio de Arevalo. According to Caro's account, which was declared to be based on a paper prepared by this Spanish engineer, the object was to consider the construction of different fortifications in this region in order to prevent the frequent attacks of the unconquered Indians upon the Spanish settlements,

[a] King, Corespondence of King, III, 556, 557; a few of the words in the quotations are abbreviated in the printed source.

[b] Ibid., 558, 559.

[c] Ibid., 559; Adams, Works of John Adams, I, 679–684.

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and also to prevent the introduction of strangers by these coasts for the purpose of carrying on contraband trade or of bringing aid to these Indians. On the map the rivers, mountains, bays, islands, roads, mines, and various settlements were marked, as well as the location of the Indians. The strategic points and lines where fortifications could be profitably made were pointed out, while the character of these defenses was briefly discussed in the notes. It was also suggested that the Indians be reduced and that colonies of Spaniards be planted among them to keep them in subjection.

If the document and the map are authentic, they go far to show that the Spanish Government itself considered this area as a most vulnerable point. To the notes is appended a brief paragraph by Caro to the effect that very little, if any, of the project had been carried into execution. That cautious individual declared that he did not venture any more reflections lest by chance the paper in other hands might serve as a lantern to sleepers.[a] It is very likely that Miranda hoped to carry out the plans as perhaps outlined by the Spanish engineer.

In the development of Miranda's schemes the attitude of England and of the United States was all-important. Miranda appears to have viewed the attitude of the English Government as favorable. He was certainly in a state of expectancy.[b] As in 1790, we have no statement emanating from Pitt himself which might show his real attitude toward the agitator. But we have the declarations of Lord Grenville, which are important as showing the attitude of the English foreign minister toward Miranda. On February 1, 1798, that minister expressed himself to King unfavorably regarding Miranda's character. He stated that he did not favor the plan presented by Miranda, fearing that it might lead to "scenes of wretchedness" on the American continent like those which had characterized the French revolution. The revolution in Spanish America could not be long

[a] A copy of the note is in the Documentary Appendix, No. 4. The map and the accompanying explanation are found in the Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 87–. They were among the documents taken from Miranda, on his arrest during a subsequent visit to France. Most of the papers were returned, but these were not, for a note of Miranda dated "24 Ventôse, an 9," acknowledges the receipt of his papers, but with a P. S., "manque une Carte geopraphique et une M. S. de l'istmé de Panamá.." Ibid., f. 80. Notes taken on the papers of Miranda also show that the map and the description were his, for the statement is made that the other pieces found "prouvent que ce Plan se rattache a une expedition projettée par L'Angleterre," ibid., f. 83. It is difficult to set the exact date when these came into Miranda's possession, but they were probably delivered to him by Caro before the latter left for Spanish America in 1798.

[b] This can be gathered from the course of events. The same impression is given by some statements in Miranda's memoir to Pitt, March 19, 1799, Pickering MSS. (copy), XXIV, f. 150–.

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delayed, but the terrible scenes in France instilled a doubt in Grenville's mind whether that moment was the best in which to consummate the movement.[a] The attitude of Grenville then did not augur favorably for the acceptance of Miranda's plans at once.

As early as the middle of February the English cabinet had reached apparently a definite though tentative conclusion upon the matter. Grenville informed King that they had concluded to keep Miranda in England; "that if Spain should be able to preserve her independence and prevent a Revolution in her Government, they should not enter into the project respecting South America; but if it was really to be apprehended that Spain should fall beneath the control of France, then it was their intention to endeavour to prevent France from gaining to their cause the resources of South America. In this event they should immediately open their views and commence a negotiation upon the subject with the United States. At present they deemed it impolitic to engage in the plan of Miranda." This attitude of England toward Spain, with which she was nominally at war, led King to conjecture that there was a "secret understanding" between the two powers.[b] The statements of Grenville to King were made in confidence apparently; there is no indication that King ever communicated these views to Miranda, despite their intimacy.

This decision of the English Government was communicated to the Spanish Government, but England did not put much confidence in the ability of Spain to fulfill these conditions. While the English ministers declared on the one hand that they would aid the Spaniards to resist the attempts of other powers to revolutionize Spanish America,[c] on the other hand, to judge by the information received by King, England made preparations for a South American expedition, and "correspondent arrangements" were made at Trinidad.[d] On April 6 King informed the American Secretary of State, Pickering, who had been kept posted on the doings of Miranda, that, if the expedition was finally decided upon England would at Philadelphia ask the cooperation of the United States.[e]

Meanwhile Miranda, who was apparently kept in ignorance of the provisional decisions of the English cabinet, was becoming impatient. On March 5, 1798, he asked Pitt's private secretary to get some decision for him.[f] He soon decided to dispatch one of his associates, Caro, to the United States with papers to the President, a plan which

[a] King, Correspondence of King, III, 558.
[b] Ibid, 561.
[c] Ibid., II, 653.
[d] Ibid., 653, 654.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Smith Papers, 373.

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King did not discourage.[a] The instructions which Miranda made out for Caro passed into the hands of the English Government. The agent was instructed to proceed first to New York, where he was to deliver a letter to Alexander Hamilton with whom he was to discuss the scheme in confidence. Thence he was to pass to Philadelphia, where he was to deliver letters from Turnbull to Thomas Willing and Company, who were to supply him with what he wanted. He was then to present a letter from King to Pickering and to solicit an immediate audience with the President of the United States. In this audience with Adams, Caro was to insist on a speedy answer to Miranda's propositions; at least he was to find out the President's opinions. Duplicates of all letters were to be kept for Miranda.

His task in the United States completed, Miranda's agent was to hasten on his "most important" mission to Santa Fé in which he was commended to use "Discretion, Prudence, Activity, Caution, Resolution, Audacity, and Courage." He was informed that he would have to rely largely on his own "Talents and Patriotism." He was instructed to make the "Chiefs and Principal Persons of the Country * * * feel the Necessity of Preventing by every possible Means the Introduction into our Country of a Jacobin System or Principles for otherwise Liberty instead of a Cradle will meet with a Grave, as is proved by the whole History of the French Revolution." Having been informed by Caro of the state of Europe and the favorable disposition of England and the United States, they were to "endeavor to unite themselves in one Body and wait with Firmness and Resolution * * * the Moment of our appearance at the Points and Places agreed upon for proclaiming our Independence and Sovereignty under a Form of wise, just and equilibrated Government." Some "respectable and capable" persons were to be sent immediately to London, Philadelphia, and Trinidad to promote the scheme "in the military and political way."[b]

These instructions give us a further inkling of the possible ramifications of Miranda's project. Before long the Spanish Government became aware of the departure of this minor conspirator for Santa Fé. In August, 1798, the message was sent to Cuba that Caro had resolved to introduce himself into the province of Santa Fé cleverly disguised as a negro for the purpose of secretly fomenting a rebellion. The captain-general of that island was warned to beware of disguised

[a] King, Correspondence of King, III, 563, 564.
[b] "Secret Instructions" of Miranda to Caro, April 6, 1798, P. R. O., Spain, 45.

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adventurers and to check any turbulent movements which Nariño, Caro, and Miranda might incite in Terra Firma.[a]

Before the departure of Caro, however, Miranda modified his plans. King, who was developing into an ardent advocate of the design, furnished the agent with a letter to Pickering. This and the papers intended by Miranda for the President were not delivered by Caro, for his chief suddenly changed his plans and dispatched the emissary directly to South America. The agent forwarded the letters with which he had been intrusted to Pickering, who transmitted them to President Adams.[b] In the letter of March 24 to Adams, Miranda inclosed a copy of his instructions. He declared that his proposals had been very favorably received by the English ministers, who evinced much satisfaction at the prospect of such joint action with the United States. He expressed his opinion that the exasperating delay of the English ministry was due to their expectation of seeing the United States break definitely with France and to their desire to cooperate with the United States in achieving the "absolute independence of the entire continent of the New World." Miranda also expressed his fear that the prospective introduction of French troops into Spain might result in the extension of the "abominable" French system to Spanish America. He hoped that the six or eight vessels of the line

[a] Alvarez to the captain-general of Cuba, August 21, 1798, gives the following account of the intrigues of Caro, Nariño, and Miranda: "El Embajador del Rey M. S. en Paris con fha. de Julio ultimo ha participado al ministerio de estado lo siguiente * * * El año pasado se aparecio aqui un cierto Nariño de Sta. Fe en America, que parece venia huyendo de la Justicia. Se presento á este govierno proponiendo revolucionar aquellos Paises y mostrando las conexiones y amistades que tenía alli con varios sujetos traidores y enemigos del Rey y de su govierno. Aqui no obstante las maximas de propagar la Democrácia no le dieron oídos y se fue a Londres proponiendo a Pitt que si le ayudava con dinero municiones y alguna esquadra haria levantar todo la Provincia de Tierra-firme. Parece que dicho Ministro no hizo mucho caso de el * * *. Poco despues comparecio aqui otro aventurero llamado Caro, que fue complicado en la conspiracion de Caracas. Este proposo el mismo proyecto que Nariño con mas medios y habilidad que el pero tampoco fueron admitidas las proporciones; y siguiendo los pasos de su antecesor, fue a Londres con su proyecto de insurreccion. Como sus planes eran mejor comentados admitio el govierno Yngles sus proposiciones y resolvio enviar algunas fuerzas navales con armas y auxilios para aprovecharse de los movimientos internos que procurrara Caro; pero cuando se estava desponiendo esta expedicion sucedio la insurreccion de la Marina Yngiesa * * *. Caro bolvio á Paris y converso mucho con las cabezas exaltades que aqui abundan, se juntó con Nariño y uno y otro en los meses pasados han hecho varios viajes a Inglaterra, entendiendose alli con el famoso rebelde general Miranda que vive alli de centro a todos los conjurados contra España * * *. Caro ultimamente fue visto aqui en Paris y se sabe que ha partido para la America resuelto á introducirse en el Reyno De Sta. Fe con un disfraz muy singular. Ha encontrado quien le ha hecho una peluca de negro tan al natural que imita perfectamente la lana de los negros y se ha embarnizado la cara y el cuerpo del mismo color con un ingrediente tan tenaz que el agua ni el sudor, no lo puedan alterar. Con esta rara mascara se havrá introducido en su Pais predicando ocultamente la rebellon y me suponen que tiene infinitas inteligencias alli * * *. Lo aviso á V. S. de R.[1] orñ para que haciendo el use convente. de estas noticias tome las precauciones oportunas contra los fingidos negros y las providencias que le dicte su zelo á fin de precaber qualquier movimiento turbulento que puedan sucitar en esas Provincias estos aventureros, sorprenderlos en sus perversos designios é impedir las funestas resultas que pudiera originar su seduccion y los infames medios de que se vallesen. Dios qûe á V. E. ms. as. Sn. Yldefonso, 21 de Agosto de 1798." Cuban MSS.

[b] Adams, Works of John Adams, VIII, 583, 584, 585.

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and the four or five thousand men that were needed to commence his plan would be easily secured in England and in the United States. Finally, he briefly sketched his proposed plan of government.[a] On April 28 Miranda addressed a second letter to Adams in which he inclosed another copy of his powers and of his letter of March 24.[b] It was doubtless with one of these letters that Miranda inclosed "some estimates," which probably gave information concerning the population and resources of Spanish America.[c]

Miranda was not content with this, but tried to interest his former friend, Alexander Hamilton, in his schemes. About three weeks after arriving in London, Miranda wrote informing Hamilton of his purpose in coming to England. Hamilton, however, was not by any means enthusiastic, for he wrote on the letter when received: "I shall not answer because I consider him as an intriguing adventurer."[d] Miranda disclosed his plans more fully in a letter on April 6. "It appears," he said, "that the moment of our emancipation approaches, and the establishment of Liberty over all the continent of the New World is confided to us by Providence. The only difficulty which I foresee is the introduction of French principles." Hamilton was informed that the form of government which was projected was "mixed," and that Miranda and his compatriots wished to have him "with them" to promote the accomplishment of their designs. The hope was expressed that Hamilton would not refuse them when the moment arrived: "Your greek predecessor Solon would not have done it at least, I am sure, and it is possible that I will go soon to take you myself." The South American asked Hamilton to prepare the mind of Gen. H. Lee, of Virginia, for advances on the subject of the contemplated enterprise. Miranda declared that Lee, who had asked a favor of him in 1792, would not refuse him when it was a question of "true Liberty, which we all love and of the well being of his compatriots of Peru and of Mexico." As regards Knox, Miranda expressed himself dubiously. Hamilton was asked if Knox would come, Miranda declaring that such a consummation would charm him, but he feared that Knox would not accede.[e]

Several copies of this letter were sent, Miranda evidently being anxious that it should reach its destination. On June 7 Miranda added a postscript, declaring that everything was preparing for "our grand enterprise" and asking for a response as soon as possible, as well as Hamilton's advice upon everything relating to America.[f] In these letters to Adams and Hamilton Miranda was

[a] Adams, Works of John Adams, VIII, 569–572.
[b] Adams MSS., Correspondence of John Adams, 1797–1798, f. 179.
[c] Adams, Works of John Adams, VIII, 600. Although these estimates were evidently referred to later by John Adams, they were not found in Adams MSS.
[d] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 209, the letter is dated February 7, 1798.
[e] Ibid., 210, in part in the Ed. Rev., XIII, 291.
[f] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 214, 215.

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exaggerating the interest which was taken by the English Government in his designs, for at most it had only decided to initiate the movement if Spain was absorbed by France. Miranda's sanguine disposition may have caused him to nourish false hopes, or he may have purposely misrepresented the attitude of England for the sake of enlisting American sympathy. Miranda was evidently anxious, for on August 17 another letter was written to Hamilton in which the latter was informed that Miranda was awaiting his reply with impatience.[a]

King tried to stimulate interest in the subject. On April 2 he sent a cipher dispatch to Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry in Paris on the general subject. This dispatch gives the clue to the motives which to a large extent dominated King in this affair. He informed the men who were negotiating with Talleyrand that if England did not undertake to revolutionize Spanish America, France would introduce her system there, which would be extremely dangerous to the United States.[b] In May the minister of the United States in London wrote to Hamilton and declared that nothing but "vigor and energy" in the Government would save the United States.[c] Two months later he wrote in a similar vein and declared that as a result of the war on the Continent the United States was being forced into a war for self-preservation.[d] He was not hopeful of success if a purely defensive system was followed. A "bold and active system" should be adopted, which would be not only the "most certain means of safety, but would promise the acquisition of great and lasting advantages." The "object" of offensive measures was not far to seek: "The Destiny of the new world, and I have a full and firm persuasion that it will be both happy and glorious, is in our hands. We have a right and it is our duty to deliberate and act, not as secondaries but Principals."[e]

Hamilton replied that he had acted on that principle since the moment that it had become "unequivocal" that they would have a "decisive rupture" with France. The results, however, could not as yet be known.[f] On August 22 Hamilton wrote to King regarding Miranda's scheme: "With regard to the enterprise in question, I wish it much to be undertaken, but I should be glad that the principal agency was in the U. States—they to furnish the whole land force necessary. The command in this case would very naturally fall upon me—and I hope I should disappoint no favorable anticipation. The independency of the separated territory under a *moderate* govern-

[a] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 216.
[b] King, Correspondence of King, II, 300.
[c] Ibid., 656.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Ibid., 657.
[f] Ibid.

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ment, with the joint guarantee of the cooperating powers, stipulating equal privileges in commerce would be the sum of the results to be accomplished. Are we as yet mature for this undertaking? Not quite. But we ripen fast, and it may (I think) be rapidly brought to maturity, if an efficient negotiation for the purpose is at once set on foot upon this ground. Great Britain cannot alone ensure the accomplishment of the object. I have some time since advised certain preliminary steps to prepare the way consistently with national character and justice."[a]

Inclosed was a letter to Miranda, the delivery of which was left to King's discretion. In this epistle, which King gave to Miranda, Hamilton assured the latter that he could have no participation in the scheme unless "patronized" by the Government of the United States. Such aid could hardly be hoped for at that time. The winter, however, might mature the project and "an effectual co-operation" by the United States might take place. Under such circumstances, he declared, he should be happy in his "official station to be an instrument of so good a work." As regards plans, Hamilton declared that there ought to be a fleet from Great Britain, an army from the United States, and "a government for the liberated territory agreeable to both the Co-operators." He advised Miranda that in case the United States entered into the design his presence in the United States would be "extremely essential" to promote the arrangement of the plan. In conclusion, he informed Miranda that the United States was raising an army of about 12,000 men and that he had been appointed second in command.[b]

Miranda and King grasped eagerly at the hope of cooperation by the United States, which was suggested by Alexander Hamilton. On October 20, 1798, King replied to Hamilton's letter of August 22 assuring him that in England things were as they "could desire", and that there would be "precisely such a co-operation as we wish the moment we are ready * * * your outline corresponds with what has been suggested by me and approved by this government." He informed his correspondent that he was having a facsimile of the latest map of the country engraved and that the English Government had considerable information regarding the interior of the country and "the condition and dispositions" of its inhabitants.[c] On the same day King wrote to Pickering and informed him that as regards South America England would furnish "*a fleet and military stores*" and the United States "should furnish *the army*."[d] Perhaps King thought that England had entered a little further into Miranda's designs. He felt that their execution was now largely dependent

[a] King, Correspondence of King, II, 659.
[b] Ibid., 659, 660.
[c] Ibid., 662.
[d] Ibid.

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upon the cooperation of the United States, which he was anxious to secure.

Two letters written by Miranda at this time strengthen this view. In a letter to Alexander Hamilton, Miranda informed him that the wishes expressed in the letter of August 22 were in some measure fulfilled, as it was agreed in England that the auxiliary land forces were to be exclusively American while the naval forces were to be entirely English. "All is approved, and we await only the *fiat* of your illustrious President to depart like lightning. * * * In effect, the moment appears most favourable and the last events seem to leave us a vast and tranquil field in which to act to our entire satisfaction. Let us profit with wisdom by the nature of the circumstances and render to our Country the greatest service that a mortal is capable of offering to his fellow beings. Let us save America from the frightful calamities which in overturning a great part of the world threaten the destruction of the parts still remaining intact * * * Let us unite ourselves firmly to secure the health of our dear Country, and perhaps, in rescuing it from the evil which threatens it, we will save the entire world which staggers on the edge of an abyss." In a postscript Hamilton was requested to present Miranda's respects to General Washington, whose firm and wise conduct, he declared, "ought to contribute essentially to save our country." Hamilton was also asked to forward a letter to "our common friend," General Knox,[a] which in all probability contained sentiments similar to those conveyed to Hamilton.[b]

Again, the revolutionary ardor of Miranda had carried him beyond the facts. As he later declared to Pitt, he was waiting for a decision at this very juncture.[c] The contingency of the absorption of Spain by France was still the pivot on which English policy toward Spanish America swung. It is possible, however, that the influential fiat of President Adams might have facilitated the departure of a South American expedition from England. It was perhaps this hope which inspired Miranda's letters to America.

The propositions of Miranda and the development of his negotiations acquire additional significance when we consider that Picton was urging the English Government to attack the Spanish provinces near Trinidad in the summer and autumn of 1798. In May and June, 1798, he gave his impressions of the conditions in the adjacent continent. Industry had been "totally annihilated" by the "oppressions and exactions of the persons entrusted with the Government."

[a] Miranda to Hamilton, October 19, 1798, Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 220; in part in the Ed. Rev., XIII, 291, 292, in full in the Documentary Appendix, No. 5.

[b] Ed. Rev., XIII, 292, the letter was not found in the Knox MSS., but it was probably sent and afterwards destroyed or lost. Some letters of significance which must have passed between Miranda and Knox are strangely absent from the Knox MSS.

[c] Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.

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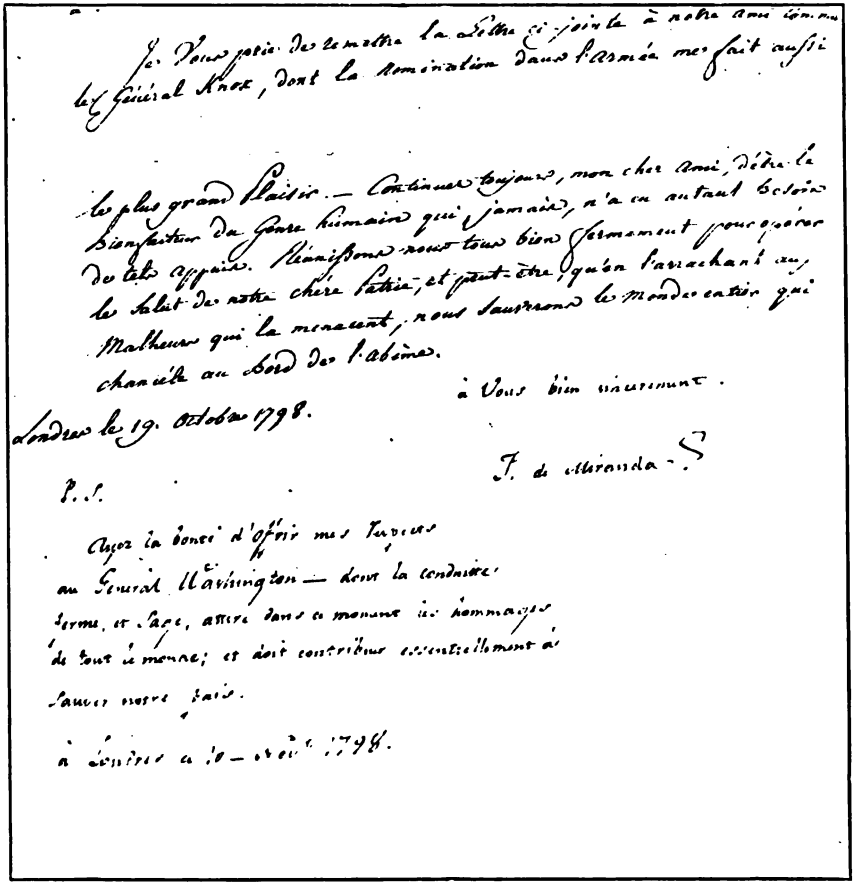

FACSIMILE OF THE LAST PART OF THE LETTER OF FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, OCTOBER 19, 1798.

According to a custom frequently followed by Miranda the body of the letter was written by a clerk, while the subscription and, in this case, the postscript were penned by Miranda himself. The original is found in the Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 220.

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The commercial intercourse between the inhabitants and Spain had been almost destroyed by the war. They were dependent upon the foreigners for manufactures, and all, except those in the higher administrative offices, looked "forward to a deliverance from some foreign Hand * * * They have not yet been able to recover from the habitual dread of a sanguinary Government, and are of themselves incapable of an independent unassisted Struggle to subvert it. Conscious of a want of union and energy, weak and defenceless as they know their government to be, they acknowledge themselves incapable of any enterprise against it, unless favored by the Countenance of some foreign Power."

Picton accordingly presented a plan for an attack on the town of Cumana by a few thousand troops and a small naval squadron. Arms and ammunition were to be furnished for distribution among the inhabitants. He expressed his belief that, if in case of such an attack the English Government should issue a declaration that its intentions were to give the inhabitants of South America an opportunity to assert their right to independence and free trade, they would at once rise and forsake the venal and oppressive Spanish Government. Vast fields would thus be opened for English commercial conquest. Picton felt that the region thus attacked might become the center of a general movement. If such an expedition were undertaken he suggested that Miranda, being a native of that country who had "made himself a good deal talked of * * * might fix the attention of those people and thereby make himself serviceable."[a] Manuel Gual and another of the leaders of the revolutionary conspiracy that had been thwarted in Caracas took refuge in Trinidad, where they were sheltered by Picton, who expected to use them in case England should decide to make an attack on the Spanish colonies. In September, 1798, Picton again urged on Dundas an attack on either Cumana or Barcelona.[b]

[a] Robinson, Memoirs of Picton, II, 401. The capitalization follows the original in P. R. O., Trinidad, I. The letter to Cuyler was not received by him, but was forwarded to Dundas by Picton on June 5, 1798. In the dispatch of that date, Picton said: "The Enclosed Letter to Lieut. General Cuyler was not received by his Excellency who left this Country sooner than I expected; but as it was intended for the Information of his Majesty's Ministers I have thought necessary to forward it by this occasion. It contains such information respecting this Island and the Neighboring Continent as I thought Important to furnish his Excellency with previous to his return to England. I hope you will do me the Justice to believe that no motives could induce me to be guilty of an intentional Misrepresentation * * * The wishes of his Majesty's Ministers, I presume, are to open an Extensive Communication, by means of the neighboring Provinces, with the Interior of S. America and thereby create a new and advantageous Market for the Manufactures of Great Britain. In the existing situation of affairs in that Country a Commerce of an extensive Nature can not be established and, I conceive, the only mode of affecting it is that I have the Honor of recommending in the enclosed Letter * * * The Geographical Engineer Mr. Mollet has finished a correct Marine Chart of this Island and the Gulph of Paria, with the entrances into the Rivers Oronoque and Guarapiche which I have deposited with Capt. Dilkes Commanding his Majesty's Ships on this Station to be sent by a safe opportunity to the Lords Commrs. of the Admiralty." Ibid.

[b] September 18, 1798, P. R. O., Trinidad, I.

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The alluring project which had enlisted the military ardor of Picton and had interested the English Government was not so favorably received, however, by the Government of the United States. Pickering made no response to the repeated suggestions of Rufus King. President Adams did not deign to reply to the communications of Miranda. On August 17, therefore, the latter ventured to address Adams for the third time. He inclosed a copy of his first letter to the President, and declared that since that date events had become still more favorable to his designs. England had decided to cooperate with the United States in favor of the object in hand. As his response would in a sense decide the fate of Spanish America, Miranda prayed for an immediate reply.[a] More than sixteen years afterwards Adams ridiculed the propositions of Miranda, and likened him to the immortal knight of La Mancha, who charged against windmills.[b] Contemporary evidence shows, however, that Adams thought more seriously of the proposal than he later admitted. On receipt of the third communication from the South American, Adams wrote to Pickering, asking him to "read it and think of it. A number of questions and considerations occur. We are friends with Spain. If we were enemies would the project be useful to us? It will not be in character for me to answer the letter. Will any notice of it in any manner be proper?"[c] Pickering remained silent, and Miranda's applications received no response.

The relations of Miranda with Hamilton and King are closely related with the attitude of certain leading Federalists in the United States toward the adoption of a more vigorous foreign policy by the administration. Long before Miranda had left France to lay his proposals before Pitt, Hamilton had urged upon Washington the necessity of putting the United States in a respectable "military posture."[d] Early in 1798 the "dangerous and vast projects" of the French Government, as he characterized them, caused Hamilton to recommend to Pickering the adoption of measures that would place the United States in a position to defend herself more readily or to carry on an offensive war more advantageously.[e] These suggestions probably influenced McHenry, the Secretary of War, in his propositions to President Adams, in which he went so far as to suggest that while it would be wise to avoid a formal treaty with England, yet that Government should be sounded as to cooperation in case of an open rupture, "pointing to the Floridas, Louisiana, and the South American possessions of Spain."[f]

[a] Adams, Works of John Adams, VIII, 581, 582.
[b] Ibid., X, 142.
[c] Ibid., VIII, 600.
[d] Lodge, Works of Hamilton, VIII, 316–318.
[e] Ibid., 476–478.
[f] Adams, Works of John Adams, VIII, 562, note.

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The letters from Miranda which Hamilton had received before August 22, 1798, probably stimulated his efforts to secure the adoption of an offensive policy by the Government and would not tend to lessen his military ambitions. It was doubtless with a desire to connect Miranda's schemes with those that he was advocating in America that he wrote the notable letter of August 22.[a] Alexander Hamilton even entertained the idea of an attack on the Spanish dominions in America as late as June 27, 1799, when he wrote to McHenry: "Besides eventual security against invasion, we ought certainly to look to the possession of the Floridas and Louisiana, and we ought to squint at South America."[b] The outlines of the great design that was being hatched in England and the United States at the instigation of Miranda then were these: England and the United States were to cooperate in revolutionizing Spanish America; the first because of her desire to prevent France from doing so and influenced by traditional commercial ambitions; the United States was to participate as a measure of safety against France, largely because Hamilton, who was trying to make himself the power behind the presidential throne, was interested in the cause of Spanish America; while the glowing picture which Miranda was wont to sketch of the Spanish-Americans shaking off the bonds of their masters was as alluring and elusive to some Anglo-Saxon statesmen as the mirage to thirsty travelers in a desert.

Although the fiat of President Adams did not come, Miranda did not utterly relinquish his designs. On January 21, 1799, he applied to the English Government for a passport in order that he might leave England and go to the West Indies.[c] He perhaps entertained the hope of launching his project from Trinidad, where some fellow revolutionists were awaiting the outcome of his negotiations with England. Perhaps he thought of going to the United States, a move which he had contemplated more than once.[d] King, too, still hoped. It was probably Miranda's project which King referred to in a letter written to Hamilton on the day when Miranda applied to England for a passport: "For God's sake," said King, "attend to it."[e]

The prime mover in the enterprise embodied his views in a memorial and addressed it to Pitt on March 19, 1799. In this Miranda

[a] This conclusion appears to the writer a safe deduction from the previous attitude of Hamilton toward Spanish America. On the back of a draft of Hamilton's letter of August 22, 1798, to Miranda this comment is found: "This and the following letter were copied by me on my birthday when I was six years old—the object being to preserve secrecy until circumstances should warrant publicity. John C. Hamilton." The next letter is the one of the same date to King. It bears this comment: "As to Miranda—S. America when H. Inspr. Genl." Hamilton MSS., XX, 217, 219.

[b] Hamilton, Works of Hamilton, V, 283.

[c] King, Correspondence of King, II, 663, 664.

[d] The instructions of Miranda to Caro, April 6, 1798, provide for this contingency. P. R. O., Spain, 45. See also Miranda's letter to Hamilton, April 6, 1798, quoted above on p. 327.

[e] King, Correspondence of King, II, 519.

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again reviewed his previous relations with that minister. He declared that the sentiments expressed by the English ministers in Parliament on the attitude of the Swiss toward the destructive principles of the French had inspired him with sufficient confidence to address the English Government again, for the principal object of the Spanish Americans was to form a stable government on principles diametrically opposed to the French system. He declared that news of these transactions had been forwarded to the Spanish Americans. At the same time, they had been exhorted to await the outcome patiently and strictly to exclude from their country any agent of the French revolutionary system, while the prospect of cooperation by England and the United States had been held out. He hoped that a declaration of war on France by the United States would be the signal for the proclamation of Spanish-American independence. Caro had by this time, he alleged, arrived in Spanish America, and had transmitted his news to the principal agents of the Spanish Americans, who would scatter it throughout the continent. Miranda expressed the belief that the Spanish-American colonies were in a critical situation, as the designs of the French on Spain and Portugal had been delayed merely until the proper measures had been taken to bring the Spanish Americans over to the interests of France. He repeated certain reports to the effect that Spanish agents devoted to the interests of the Directory were about to leave Paris for Spanish America, where they were to prepare the way for a general invasion. He intimated that the mortifying refusal of England to engage in the proposed enterprise of emancipation might throw these colonies into the hands of the French Directory, which would caress them first by false promises of liberty and happiness in order to devour them afterwards, together with the inhabitants of the United States. He declared that Caracas, Mexico, and other Spanish-American provinces, temporarily appeased by his reports through Caro, were now ready for a "spontaneous and general" revolutionary movement as soon as the promised succor should arrive at the point agreed upon. He now asked for only six war ships, with some troops and artillery. The necessary expenses would be amply repaid. The feasibility of an alliance between the United States and England, in case the former had a decisive rupture with France, was once more suggested. It was again pointed out that the immense Spanish continent offered real advantages of commerce and of alliance to England. From the dubious and despondent tone of this petition, it would seem that the writer did not entertain strong hopes of a favorable response. He declared that he had on that day learned, after waiting fourteen months for a decision, that England was not able to give him the "least hope or the slightest succor." Although he had only received information in an indirect way, it was the only response that he had been able to evoke for over a year. Apparently

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he did not wish to consider this as final. In conclusion, he declared his intention of forwarding any response which the minister might deign to make to the commissioners, who would make it known throughout the provinces of Spanish America.[a]

Nor had Miranda's friend, United States minister King, altogether given up hopes of receiving substantial aid from the United States, for in spite of the persistent neglect with which Pickering had treated his enthusiastic accounts of Miranda's great schemes, on March 22, 1798, King transmitted a copy of this memoir to the American Secretary of State.[b] Again the appeal to the United States went unheeded. If any response was made by the prime minister of England, it was doubtless adverse to the immediate execution of the comprehensive design.

One may well seek to determine why the schemes of Miranda were not favored by the Federalists. The explanation, in the opinion of the writer, lies in large part at least in the caution, reluctance, or aversion with which some of them looked upon the project of an English alliance. In March, 1798, in a letter to Pickering, Hamilton voiced his opposition to a formal alliance with England because public opinion was not prepared for it.[c] Adams was a vigorous opponent of war with France; indeed, many years after peace was made with France, at the cost of alienating some of his fellow Federalists, Adams said that he desired no other epitaph on his tombstone than: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800."[d]

On April 2, 1798, Pickering informed King of the sentiments of the administration on this matter. "In the first place," said he, "threatening as is the aspect of our affairs with France, the President does not deem it expedient at this time, to make any advances to Great Britain. * * * Whenever this event (war) shall be seen to be inevitable, we trust the country will rouse from its apparent lethargy—that it will make strenuous efforts to defend itself against the *a(m)bitious republic* aiming at universal empire; and especially to repel its attempts to gain any footing on the territory of the United States * * *. In one word, being forced by France into the war, the United States and Great Britain will have a common interest to

[a] Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150– (copy). Although this has not yet been found in any English archive, it is doubtless an authentic document.

[b] Ibid., f. 148. The letter is as follows:

"LONDON, Mar 22, 1799.

"Private

"The enclosed paper relates to a project that I ought to abstain from discussing, as I observe a guarded silence on your part. It has however appeared to me proper to send this memorial to you.

"Yrs &c. R K.

"Colonel PICKERING."

[c] March 27, 1798, Hamilton MSS., XIX, f. 14.

[d] Adams, Works of John Adams, X, 113.

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defeat the unjust and dangerous enterprises of the French Republic * * *. But our affairs have not yet risen to that crisis which in the public judgment would require the President to propose a formal arrangement with G. Britain to that end. * * * When that crisis arrives what should this arrangement be? 1. Should a treaty be proposed by her or by the United States, to regulate their joint operations against the common enemy? * * * 1. It will not be expedient to engage in an alliance offensive and defensive with Great Britain. Stipulations that neither of the contracting parties will make peace without the other have, in experience little efficacy, under the vicissitudes that often take place in war. If we, however, get once earnestly engaged in the war, there are abundant causes for our strong resentments against France; which, with a due regard to our future security, would probably impel us to persevere in the contest as long as the respective interests of the United States and Great Britain should require it. Instead therefore of general and permanent stipulations, we may from time to time agree on such operations as circumstances should require: but the remoteness of Great Britain demands that her minister in the U. S. should be authorized to concert with us such measures of cooperation; for the part *we* shall take in the war will be confined to this side of the Atlantic. The safety of the British colonies on the Continent may depend on the military aid of the United States."[a]

These principles stubbornly clung to by Pickering perhaps even more than by Adams were the rocks on which Miranda's hopes of active aid from the United States were shattered. At the same time, hinting as they do at the possible cooperation of the United States and England against France under certain circumstances, these instructions may have led King to hope that if sufficient pressure was brought to bear on the Secretary of State and the President, the end which he and Miranda desired, and which Pitt was perhaps waiting for, would be attained. If it had not been for the stubbornness of Adams and Pickering the United States and England might have joined hands for the emancipation of Spanish America in 1798 or 1799.[b]

What was the attitude of France toward Spanish America at this time? On July 10, 1798, Talleyrand, the French minister of foreign affairs, presented to the Directory a memoir on the relations of France with foreign powers. He declared that the court of Madrid now clung with much less tenacity to the idea of preserving Louisiana.

[a] Pickering to King, April 2, 1798, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, 4, f. 259–. Parentheses in the original have been omitted. The later comments of John Adams are found in Adams, Works of John Adams, X, 145.

[b] King, Correspondence of King, II, 511, are some statements by King in his dispatches to Pickering which may refer to instructions of the English Government on this affair to Liston.

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The Spanish no longer feared so much the establishment of the French in America. They felt their impotence to defend their continental possessions in North America, so that they would rather oppose French than Spanish forces to the threatened invasions of the English and the Americans. Talleyrand hoped that France might profit by this disposition and bring to an end the negotiations for Louisiana.[a] He suggested that some of the colonial possessions of Portugal might be transferred to Spain by France in exchange for the much-coveted Louisiana.[b] But again the efforts of the French were not crowned with success.

The negotiations of Miranda with the English Government in 1798 and 1799 raise the interesting problem of the financial relations of the South American with that Government. Miranda certainly could not afford to carry on his intrigues for any considerable time without any means of support, for his exertions in France had apparently yielded but little if any return. There is at present even less evidence here, however, on which to base any conclusion than in the case of the Nootka Sound dispute. According to the memoir to Pitt, already cited, Miranda's friend Turnbull had written to Mr. Hammond, an under secretary of the English state department, regarding the probability of some reimbursement which might continue to furnish to Miranda the necessary means with which to defray the expenses connected with the negotiations that were being carried on. Lord Grenville responded that he could not give Miranda "the slightest hope of such support."[c] It seems likely that, as in the affair of Nootka, the English Government had furnished Miranda some financial aid during the progress of the intrigue, but when the project of revolutionizing Spanish America was again suspended, he was not given a pension. It is possible that some people who sympathized with Miranda contributed to his support.[d]

It was about the time that Miranda was trying to link together the two great Anglo-Saxon nations for the attainment of a common end that he exercised a lasting influence on at least one young Spanish American who was then in London. It was then that he met Bernardo O'Higgins, the son of the viceroy of Peru, who had been sent to Europe to complete his education.[e] Thirteen years later Bernardo O'Higgins declared that in 1798 Miranda had inspired him with an undying desire to establish the liberty of his native land, Chile. According to this statement, it was the enthusiastic Miranda who gave O'Higgins the inspiration which started the latter on his

[a] Pallain, Le Ministère de Talleyrand, 312, 313.
[b] Ibid., 320, 321.
[c] Miranda to Pitt, March 19, 1799 (copy), Pickering MSS., XXIV, f. 150–.
[d] Antepara, 263.
[e] Vicuña Mackenna, El Ostracismo, 107, 108.

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long revolutionary career.[a] On disclosing his life ambition to the young Chilean, Miranda appears to have assured him that the liberty of their common country was decreed in the book of fate, but that much secrecy, valor, and constancy would be required to attain that end.[b] The biographer of O'Higgins informs us that when the latter left London he carried with him "the counsels of an old South American to a young compatriot on returning from England to his native land."[c] Miranda also entered into confidential relations with Pedro Fermin Vargas, who had fled from Caracas to avoid arrest for complicity in a revolutionary conspiracy.[d] The abiding place of Miranda must have been a rallying point for the discontented Spanish Americans who visited London. He also kept in touch with revolutionists like Gual, Caro, and Isnardi, who took harbor in Trinidad.[e] Judged by his character and activities, "the principal agent of the Spanish-American colonies," as Miranda sometimes styled himself, may well have been the founder of a revolutionary club, which later developed into a great international association of Spanish-American revolutionists, that was transplanted by the leaders to the different parts of Spanish America.[f]

Miranda then fell short of consummating his designs. The English Government evidently was not anxious to undertake the colossal task of revolutionizing a vast colonial empire in addition to the strenuous endeavor which she was making to stem revolution on the European continent. The danger of inaugurating scenes of blood on the American continent similar to those which had characterized the French revolution was beyond doubt an influential factor in deterring the English Government from entering on the execution of

[a] Vicuña Mackenna, El Ostracismo, 107, 108, 113.

[b] Ibid., La Corona, 240.

[c] Ibid., Vida de O'Higgins, 65–.

[d] An extract from a letter of Pedro Fermin Vargas to Miranda: "London, 6th Dec. 1799 * * *. The President immediately convoked the Members of the Audiencia and arrested those who had been accused by Arellono, giving the Vice Roy Information of the dangerous state of the Kingdom * * *. The young men who had been arrested showed a constancy worthy of the cause they had embraced. To oblige them to declare their accomplices it was necessary to have recourse to the cruel practice of Torture; and in consequence Narino, Zea and many others were arrested * * *. As yet no mention had been made of my name, but as the Papers of Narino had been seized, amongst which were a number of mine (not favorable to me at such a moment), I came to the resolution of instantly leaving the Country &c." This is found among a mass of papers in the case of The King *v.* Picton; it was sent in a letter by Picton, June 20, 1808, to E. Cooke, esq., P. R. O., Trinidad, 21. This extract is interesting as it shows that Miranda in 1799 was actually getting information regarding the Venezuelan revolt of 1797 from one of the escaped revolutionists. The cross-examination showed that Vargas came to England and passed for a time, at least, under the name of Smith.

[e] Isnardi is mentioned in the secret instructions of Miranda to Caro, April 6, 1798, P. R. O., Spain, 45. For Miranda's relations with Caro and Gual, see below, Chapter IX.

[f] A number of Spanish-American historical writers take the view that Miranda was the founder of such a society, but the writer has not seen evidence to warrant such a conclusion, although it is in entire harmony with the rest of Miranda's activity. See Blanco, Documentos, III, 608; Mitre, Historia de Belgrano, I, 113, II, 272, 273; Mitre, Historia de San Martin, I, 47, 121; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 467–; Vicuña Mackenna, Vida de O'Higgins, 62–.

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Miranda's designs at once, especially as those views were entertained by Grenville, the head of the foreign office, who wielded a potent and perhaps a determinative influence in the cabinet councils.[a] The failure of Miranda to interest or to engage the Government of the United States in the matter probably furnished the hesitating or reluctant English cabinet a convenient excuse for temporarily abandoning the scheme, and it apparently made no attempt to open negotiations on the matter at Philadelphia or elsewhere.

It was not a perpetual abandonment, however, for the ministers, as shown in the sequel, would not permit Miranda to leave England for several years. The English Government still feared the era when the French should dominate Spain. The vast and visionary character of Miranda's designs doubtless worked against their adoption, at the same time that it enveloped them with an air of fascination which many statesmen, English and American, were yet to feel. Although the intrigues of Miranda were hedged about with enormous difficulties, yet there were political and diplomatic circumstances that encouraged him. The Spanish-American agitator was one of the first men of his age to realize the important relations which the Spanish dominions in America bore to the struggle which was being waged by England against France. Like King and Grenville, he dreaded the introduction of French revolutionary principles into Spanish America not without reason, for at the time when Miranda was urging his schemes Talleyrand was temporizing with the commissioners of the United States in France[b] and plotting how he might make the fair domain of Louisiana a dependency of France. The attempt of Miranda to include the United States in his grand alliance indicates that he had properly divined the leaning of some leading American statesmen toward European alliances. It also shows his appreciation of the fact that a few of these statesmen had more than a sympathetic interest in Spanish America. The propositions of December 22, 1797, were based on the hypothesis that the United States was not yet isolated from the European state system. In his lively imagination the enthusiastic creole perhaps pictured dimly the significant commercial and political relations that were to develop between the English-speaking peoples and a liberated Spanish America.

[a] Adams, The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, maintains that by 1797 Grenville had gained an ascendancy in the English cabinet and was largely responsible for Pitt's foreign policy. This influence was probably maintained after 1797.

[b] Pallain, Le Ministère de Talleyrand, 308, 309.

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Chapter VIII.

MIRANDA AND THE ENGLISH MINISTRY, 1799–1805.

Although Miranda had failed to secure the cooperation of England in the execution of his favorite project, yet he had found an asylum in that country. He lived in London during a great part of the period when England was warring with France. Until the middle of the year 1808 Spain was the dependent ally of France, but not always actively hostile. Miranda then had some reason for entertaining the hope that the English Government might embrace his design for the liberation of Spanish America. The "guarded silence" which Pickering and Adams had maintained regarding the propositions of Miranda probably had some influence in determining the subsequent activity of the agitator. After March, 1799, neither King nor Miranda made any attempt from London to interest the United States Government in the tripartite alliance. King corresponded with persons in the United States regarding Miranda's plans, while Miranda strove to interest the English Government. It was not until the expedition of 1806 was being contemplated that another attempt was made to engage the Government of the United States. In August, 1799, it is true, King made another attempt to secure permission for Miranda to leave England, declaring that his intervention was due to Miranda's "pecuniary embarrassments." If Miranda had been permitted to go to the United States, as he desired,[a] it is likely that he might have again attempted to interest that Government. But eventually the request was not granted. King, who had written a letter introducing Miranda to Colonel Pickering in which he characterized him as a widely traveled man of "uncommon Talents and rare acquirements," on the 18th of October wrote as a postscript: "Miranda could not obtain permission to leave England for the U. S."[b]

On October 4, 1799, Miranda wrote what was perhaps his last letter to Alexander Hamilton. With this letter Miranda forwarded a num-

[a] King, Correspondence of King, II, 664. [b] Ibid., 664, 665.

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ber of copies of documents, which he said were "papers of great importance for the future fate of my country—and very interesting also for the prosperity of yours." These were Spanish proclamations, memorials, and letters, with some translations, designed to show the favorable attitude of the inhabitants of Terra Firma toward the revolutionary designs of Miranda and the alarm of the Spanish Government at the activity of the English Government in that respect. Hamilton was asked to guard the papers with suitable secrecy and to inform his correspondent confidentially if he could count on finding in the United States the "small succors" which were needed to give the "first impulse" to the enterprise. Miranda closed by beseeching a response without delay.[a] No reply to this communication has been found. Indeed it is unlikely, in view of Hamilton's other interests and activities, that any response was ever written. Again, in the face of the persistent refusal of Adams and Pickering, although interested in Spanish America, Hamilton could have done little to promote the scheme.

The death of Hamilton at the hands of Burr on the banks of the Hudson in 1804 removed from the American political stage one whom Miranda had for a long time numbered among the most devoted adherents to the cause of Spanish-American emancipation. Washington had already passed away. Thus two of the triumvirate to whom Miranda had looked for help could no longer be appealed to. Knox did not die until the autumn of 1806, but there is nothing to show that Miranda ever tried again strenuously to involve him in his schemes. Until his arrival in the United States in 1805, the agitator was forced to confine his hopes for sympathy and aid on the part of citizens of the United States mainly to Sayre, Smith, King, and those whom they might induce to hearken to his representations. He

[a] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 230, the documents are found f. 222–232. The letter is as follows:

"LONDON, ce 4 oct.e 1799.

"Voici mon digne Ami, des Papiers d'une grande importance pour le sort futur de ma Patrie--et tres interessants aussi pour la prosperité de la votre. Vous pouvez compter sur leur Autenticité, puisque les Originaux sont dans mon pouvoir.

"Je vous prie de les garder avec la reserve convenable--et de me dire confidellement si je pourrois en tout cas trouver chez vous les petits secours dont nous avons besoin pour donner l'impulsion premiere!

"à Dieu mon Cher Ami escrivez moi sans delay, et toujours sous envelope de notre mutuel ami Mr. King."

The most important of the documents which were sent were an intercepted letter from Caracas, November 21, 1799; a copy of Gual's memorial to the commander in chief of the Windward Islands, May 21, 1799; a copy of Gual's letter to Miranda, July 12, 1799; copy of a Spanish proclamation, Margarita, January 28, 1799. There is nothing to show that Miranda continued to correspond with Knox immediately after 1798, but in a letter of November 27, 1805, to Gore, from New York, Miranda inclosed a letter for Knox which was to be delivered or not as Gore saw fit. King, Correspondence of King, IV, 524.

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also kept in communication with Spanish-American refugees and conspirators in the West Indies,[a] and perhaps with others elsewhere.

It was not without design that the English Government declined to allow Miranda to leave England, for in the autumn of 1799 the revolutionizing of Spanish America was again considered by the cabinet of Pitt. On September 30, 1799, Miranda had addressed a note to the war secretary, Dundas, on the subject, inclosing copies of some papers relating to Caracas that had lately been transmitted to him through Picton, and intimating a willingness to meet Dundas in conference. Two of the documents were of special interest; one was a memorial of the Spanish-American revolutionist, Manuel Gual, to the British commander in chief at the Windward Islands; the other was a letter from Gual to Miranda. The first of these was a cogent plea for the aid of England in the liberation of Spanish America. The argument of Miranda that this would be striking a blow at France was skillfully presented. Spanish America was described as really "only a colony of France." It was declared that because of the conditions in the Spanish colonies which favored the enterprise all the aid that was required was four or six thousand stand of arms, the same number of uniforms, a few pieces of field artillery, a small quantity of ammunition, about two hundred regular troops, and two frigates for a few days. This alone, declared Gual, "would be sufficient to ensure the success of the expedition and to overturn the colossal dominion of the Spanish Government, which is ready to fall from its own weakness."[b] It is noteworthy that the number of troops required was far less than Miranda habitually asked for. Gual's enthusiasm had led him further astray in this respect than Miranda's had led him. The second of the documents was a fervent

[a] De Orguiso to the captain-general of Cuba, July 3, 1800, Cuban MSS., see below, p. 346, note *c*. On April 21, 1799, Picton wrote another letter to Secretary Dundas in which he again called the attention of the Government to the importance of the adjacent Spanish possessions, especially from a political point of view. He suggested an attack by the English which, he said, "would probably become the centre of a General Movement." Independence, he thought, could be easily effected. "I have Don Manuel Gual and another of the principal Actors in the projected revolution of Caraccas. I employ them at present in carrying on a Correspondence with the Continent and in readiness for any more active employment * * *. The Lt Genl. Miranda might be used in case anything should be undertaken. These people require an exalted Head of the kind, to set them in motion. I am, however, entirely Ignorant how far he may be trusted. He carries on a Correspondence with a Spaniard (a Mr. Caro) who came out to Trinidad with his Grace the Duke of Portland's Pass and strongly recommended by Messrs. Turnbull and Forbes. This Gentleman pretends to be engaged in negociations with the leading People of Santa Fee respecting an intention of declaring themselves Independent: but there appears a degree of mystery about him which has created considerable suspicion in my mind and I shall not fail to watch him." (P. R. O., Trinidad, I.) The associate of Gual was probably Juan Manzanares, for he was associated with Gual by the Spanish Government, which was aware of the activity of the conspirators. In the A. G. I., Aud. de Car., 133–3–11, there are documents relating to them: "Testimonio de los autos seguidos contra D[n]. Manuel España introductor de papeles revolucionarios dispuestos en la Isla de Trinidad por el Gefe de la Sublevacion Manuel Gual y su asociado, Juan Manzanares, bajo la proteccion del Gobernador Inglés de la misma Isla."

[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 273–279.

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appeal from Gual beseeching Miranda to become the deliverer of his native land. Gual declared that since the miscarriage of the attempted revolution in Caracas in 1797 "the desire for independence has only increased * * *. Miranda, I feel no other ambition than to see this noble enterprise accomplished, nor desire a greater honor than to serve under your orders. * * * Do you be, if not the chief, at least the agent of your unfortunate country, in carrying into effect the majestic work of its deliverance; which, in order to be accomplished, only requires to be begun. You need not entertain a doubt of success. The smallest assistance at the outset would be sufficient, and it might be obtained in these islands by a simple order from the English Ministers."[a]

This communication was seriously considered by the ministry. On October 3 Dundas drew up a memorandum for the consideration of the members of the cabinet, stating that he wished the King's servants to consider Miranda's letter and its inclosures. Nobody, he said, could wish at present to see "any part of the habitable world set adrift on any revolutionizing system," but they ought to consider how far they were able to influence the circumstances one way or another. He expressed his apprehensions that the anxiety for new markets might cause the United States to overlook everything else and promote an insurrection in Spanish America. He therefore desired the ministers to consider whether they ought to let this movement "take its course," or to what extent England should participate so as to prevent as far as possible "the whole mischief" that might be done if that "immense empire" was allowed to revolutionize itself "without guidance or control."[b]

Windham, secretary at war, expressed his "great distrust" of the projects of Miranda and his lack of confidence in those of the United States. But because of his dread of a revolution directed by either of these parties, and his fear that such an attempt would be made, he agreed with Dundas in holding the matter well worthy of consideration. Still, he did not support the plan of Miranda, but suggested a compromise course. He asked whether the danger in which Spain was placed might not be used to prevent the threatening evil by separating her from France and giving to the colonies of Spain in America a constitution under the Spanish Government with which they should be satisfied and which England might guarantee.[c]

Lord Grenville, the foreign secretary, emphatically disapproved of any participation by England in the projects of General Miranda or of the United States. As in the spring of 1798, he feared the results of extending the revolutionary spirit to the South American continent. He believed that England should engage in such a project only in view

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 274, 275.
[b] Ibid., 284, 285.
[c] Ibid., 285, 286.

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of a "very clear and certain prospect of good."[a] Once more the arguments of Grenville triumphed. Miranda was forced to see his cherished schemes again laid aside.

It is possible that early in 1800 the English Government contemplated an expedition against the northern part of South America or New Spain, for Rufus King believed that such an enterprise was on foot. The preparations, he declared, were being made "with great secrecy." He felt that it was probably "destined to assist the revolt of the Spanish colonies near the Isthmus of Panama." He conjectured that 12,000 troops would be sent to the West Indies to replace seasoned troops who would engage in the expedition.[b] If the English Government did seriously meditate such an attack, it doubtless intended to use Miranda.

In the middle of that year the South American was thoroughly disgusted with the tantalizing treatment which he was receiving at the hands of the English ministers. On July 18, 1800, he wrote a letter to his fellow-conspirator, Gual, which indicates his position at that time. "I take the pen," he said, "to advise you that the tyranny of the Directory is completely ended and that the Revolution of France has returned to its original principles and rests today on them. In this country, on the contrary, every promise that has been made to us has been broken; I see nothing but perfidy and bad faith. Thus all our Americans who were here have betaken themselves to Paris. I have demanded with vigor my passport to leave the country and perfidiously they detain me. You are, alas, like a prisoner or an instrument that they will presume to employ in their own purposes. May God not permit you or any other American to think so despicably! Providence will open honorable Roads for us and will confound the evil doers. I have not received from you even a single letter—Probably they have intercepted them. If by any chance you write to me, let it be under cover to *Mr. King*, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America."[c] This letter aptly illustrates one side of Miranda's character, as it shows him

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 285.

[b] King to Pickering, February 25, 1800: "An expedition is preparing in this Country, and according to my information is near ready to sail: the destination of which is matter of earnest Speculation among those who are apprised of it: for the Preparations are made with great secrecy. Tho' I do not positively know that it will even proceed, I have some reason to believe that it will: and that it may be and probably is destined to assist the revolt of the Spanish colonies near the Isthmus of Panama. The inhabitants of Caraccas and Santa fez are deeply and generally disaffected, and if aided by a foreign Force, and supplied with arms, it is said would openly throw off the Spanish dominion. If I am founded in my conjecture the twelve thousand troops that will go from this country will be chiefly distributed in the British West India Islands to relieve the seasoned troops there who will be employed in the expedition—this circumstance which can not pass unobserved will enable you to judge how far this speculation is well founded for it is really nothing more." State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from England, 8.

[c] Addressed to Manuel Gual Bourdon, P. R. O., Trinidad, 2.

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anxious to go to France, believing that he would meet with better treatment there than he was receiving in England.

It is very probable that, as he suggested, the English authorities were intercepting his correspondence with Gual at this time, for this letter was seized by the governor of Trinidad and transmitted to the home authorities, who approved of the step, declaring that the sentiments disclosed gave "sufficient evidence" of the disposition of "so suspicious a character" toward the English Government.[a] Picton had even become suspicious of Caro, whom Miranda had sent to Trinidad. He declared that his conduct and actions had given him "great Reason to be of Opinion that he was an Emissary from the Court of Madrid, who had insinuated himself into the confidence of Miranda, the better to discover his Projects and the intentions of his Majesty's Government with respect to the South American colonies." Consequently he had ordered Caro to leave the island.[b] Caro now vanishes.

As in previous years, the Spaniards were not unaware of the designs which were being contemplated against their possessions in the New World.[c] So well understood was the probable action of England in case of a war with Spain that on the 10th of February, 1800, a memoir was drawn up for the Spanish Government in which a counter attack for the purpose of preserving this dominion was proposed. The author suggested that Spain enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with France and Holland against England. The English colonies could thus be attacked by virtue of the strong naval force of the allies. England's attack on the Spanish colonies might thereby be deflected, for she would be forced to send troops to America and India for defense. Under the protection of the Dutch fleet, Spain ought to recover Gibraltar, Nootka Sound, and Jamaica. Portugal could be attacked. Brazil might be transferred to France. Nicolas Perez de Sta. Maria, the writer of the memoir, had certainly formulated a novel scheme for checking the English designs.[d]

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[a] Draft of dispatch to Picton, November 26, 1800, P. R. O., Trinidad, 2.

[b] Picton to Dundas, September 28, 1800: "The enclosed Letter has just fallen into my Hands, from the Spaniard Miranda, with whose writing I am well acquainted, to Don Manuel Guall, a South American, whom I have taken notice of in some of my Letters, as having sought an Asylum on this Island, after an unsuccessful attempt to subvert the Spanish Government in the Province of Caraccas. * * * The writer of this Letter, Miranda, about two years ago, sent a Spaniard, one Don Jose Caro, a person well known to Messrs. Turnbul and Forbes, with a secret Commission to this Island, but his Conduct and the Account he gave of himself, and the misterious Object of his Voyage, rendering him an object of suspicion to me, he was ordered to leave the Island, and in consequence returned to England. This man's Conduct, during the five or six Months he resided on this Island, gave me great Reason to be of Opinion that he was an Emissary from the Court of Madrid, who had insinuated himself into the Confidence of Miranda the better to discover his Projects and the intentions of his Majesty's Government with respect to the South American Colonies * * * ." Ibid.

[c] On January 27, 1800, Coronel sent an order to the viceroy of New Spain, F. B. de Marquina, transmitting information regarding an alleged project for joint operations by England and Russia against the Spanish possessions in California, A. G. M., Reales Cédulas, 176.

[d] February 10, 1800, A. H. N., Estado, 4219.

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In June, 1800, Spain was warned by Simon Orueta that there were emissaries of Peru in London seeking the protection and aid of England in their desire to become independent. It was even declared that English emissaries had been sent to Peru and estimates had been made of the ships, troops, and munitions of war necessary for the revolution.[a] While this supposed project remains as yet unconfirmed by researches in English archives, the conclusion can not be avoided that the Spanish Government had been given reasons to suspect that its dominions in America were again threatened by the English. Not a scrap of evidence has been found, however, to indicate that Miranda's associate, Caro, ever furnished any information to the Spanish Government on this theme. It ought to be noticed further, that on July 3, 1800, the Spanish King issued an order which declared that Miranda and his filibustering associates were to be punished by death.[b]

Early in July, 1800, the Spanish authorities believed that the English Government had adopted the scheme of establishing the independence of Spanish America, perhaps from the base of Trinidad. They thought that Porto Cavello was to be the first point of attack; thence the movement was to be extended over the adjoining regions and, if possible, even to the South Sea. The Spaniards held that the "chief authors" of the design were Miranda and Pedro de Fermin Vargas in London, Manuel Gual in Trinidad, and a certain Iznardi, who was living in Terra Firma and plotting against the Government. They feared that Miranda was about to pass to Trinidad, where he was to direct the expedition with the assistance of Gual. Two thousand troops, it was believed, were to be gathered for the attack. Consequently, on July 3, 1800, the captain-general of Cuba was strictly enjoined to use the greatest vigilance in maintaining the integrity and tranquillity of the provinces under his care. If possible, he was to secure the persons of the dreaded conspirators.[c]

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[a] June 5, 1800, A. H. N., Estado, 4219.

[b] Cited by Vasconcelos in his decision of July 12, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

[c] De Orguiso to the captain-general of Cuba, July 3, 1800: "El 27 de Julio del año pasado previene á V. E. de orden del Rey lo conveniente sobre la meditada independencia de la America Española por varios naturales de ella que nombré en la referida Rl. orden. Posteriormente han llegado á noticia de S. M. las tramas de los Conjurados incitando al Gobierno Británico á llevar al cabo sus ideas enviando expresamte. para ello una expedicion desde la Isla de la Trinidad. Con efecto, parece que el Gabinete inglés ha abrazado con calór la independencia absoluta de los dominios del Rey en ese Continente, empezando por Puerto Cabello y siguendo despues por las Provincias de Caracas, Cumaná, Maracaybo, y ocupando cuanto puedan de la Costa del Sur, y que está casi resuelta una expedicion desde la mencionada Isla. Los principales autores de esta proyectada independencia son Dn. Francisco Miranda que dirige los planes en Londres; Dn. Pedro Fermin de Vargas, natural de Sta. Fé y profugo de los dominios de S. M., que en Jamayca y Filadelfia se llamó Dn. Fermin Sarmiento, cuando llegó á Santander Dn. Pedro Oribe, y se haya actualmte. en Londres; Dn. Manuel Gual que vive de incognito en la Isla de Gaspar, situada bajo el cañon de la Trinidad, con el nombre de Mr. Bourdón, implicado en la Sublevacion de Caracas y que mantiene inteligencias subversivas con aquellos habitantes; y un Ingeniero de profesion llamado Yznardi establecido en Tierra Firme en un pueblo cuyo nombre es Guiria en el Golfo Triste, jurisdic-

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Although Miranda must have been chagrined by the temporizing policy of England in regard to his native land, yet he must have rejoiced at the tidings sent by his old comrade in arms, Juan Manuel de Cagigal. Early in April, 1800, he received a letter from Cagigal informing him that the Council of the Indies had at last decided the contraband case in their favor. Miranda's old commander inclosed an extract from the sentence which declared that Miranda was "a faithful subject of his Majesty and deserving of his royal favour."[a] He invited Miranda to join him at Valencia, Spain, in order that they might journey to Madrid to enter a claim for damages and expenses as adjudged them by the supreme court of the Spanish Indies.[b] Miranda, however, could not be induced to risk the visit. He informed Cagigal that in Spain the situation of an honest man "will always be very precarious; and that a bad man generally enjoys with impunity the fruit of his crimes!"[c] The prudence of Miranda was wise, for his exertions as a revolutionary conspirator would have furnished the Spanish authorities ample grounds for his seizure and punishment had he ventured to cross the frontiers of Spain.

In the same year that Miranda declined the invitation to go to Spain he paid his last visit to the capital of France. His hopes of getting to France were not always thwarted by the English Government, for whatever reason. In some manner or other he managed to make a journey to France, probably with the hope of interesting Bonaparte in his schemes.[d] On September 29, 1800, Rufus King drew up a passport charging all whom it might concern to allow Miranda to pass without "any molestation or hindrance," affording him "all requisite assistance and protection as I would do in similar circumstances to all those who might be recommended to me." This

ción de Cumaná, quien bajo pretexto de plantar algodón está sacando planes y comunicando noticias de todo al Gobierno Britanico y ha levantado ya el Plano ó Mapa de la Provincia de Cumaná. Parece que Dn. Francisco Miranda debe pasar en breve á la Trinidad para dirigir la expedicion de acuerdo con Gual y formar un cuerpo de dos mil hombres que creén suficiente para apoderarse de un golpe de mano de Puerto Cabello, haciendo alli un punto de apuyo para sublevar segun se lo prometen inmediatamte. toda la Provincia de Caracas hasta Barinas y los Llanos, Cumaná, Maracaybo, y otros parages, y está concertado retirarse la expedición á la referida Isla en caso de mal éxito. todo esto tiene visos de verdad y aun casi puede asegûrarse es cierto, y por lo tanto encarga á V. S. estrechamte. S. M. la mayor vigilancia en la conservacion y tranquilidad de las Provincias puestas á su cuidado, y es su Rl. voluntad no omita diligencia alguna que le sugiera su zelo y amor el Rl. Servicio para atacar los perversos designios de aquellos trahidores desleales á su legitimo gobierno, y que asegure sus personas en el caso de poder ser habidos, dando cuenta con puntualidad y exactitud de quanto ocurra para noticia de S. M. y procurando no alarmar ni tomar providencias violantas ni ruidoras sinó en el caso de no bastar las suaves y prudentes para mantener fieles al Rey las Provincias de su mando, y guardando el sigilo que exige la naturalesa del negocio." Cuban MSS.

[a] Antepara, 257, 260.

[b] Ibid., 256.

[c] Ibid., 260, 262.

[d] Memorandum of Popham, October 14, 1804, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 511.

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bore the seal of the legation of the United States of America to Great Britain and, in one corner, the word "gratis."[a] On October 6 following, the American minister wrote Miranda a note which indicated that the latter was on the point of leaving London. "My letters," said King, "have arrived, but are of very old dates, and tell me nothing. I am therefore left to conjectures, which lead me to hope and expect that our affairs are in a train of arrangement at Paris—three captains of ships are now ready at the time * * *."[b] Miranda proceeded to The Hague, where the news of his arrival was soon made public and thus made known in Paris.[c] He soon reached the scene of his former triumph, Antwerp. It was fitting that he should have addressed from this city a letter to Fouché, the minister of police at Paris. In this letter Miranda declared that he was awaiting a response from the First Consul to a claim which he had forwarded to him through the senator, Languinais.

The ex-general of France besought Fouché to treat him with the consideration deserved by a man "who not having infringed any law nor engaged in any public employment of which he has not rendered the strictest account, and one to his advantage, finds himself nevertheless exiled and beggared without the slightest means of livelihood, while the Republic possesses the only remaining fragment of all that property which he voluntarily sacrificed in order to serve it."[d] In a few weeks Miranda appeared in Paris. On November 30 he addressed a letter to Fouché, informing him that J. D. Languinais had communicated to him the tacit permission of the First Consul allowing him to pass to Paris, for the purpose of arranging his affairs. He declared that he would conform to the wishes of the Government so that public order would not suffer in the least. When his affairs with the French Government were settled, he said, he intended to go to the United States.[e]

It was probably Miranda's intention to urge upon the French Government his claim for the services which he rendered to France in 1792 and 1793. He could not have pushed his suit very far, however, for a few days after his arrival Fouché issued an order that Miranda be arrested and his papers seized.[f] The papers of Miranda, which were in a large portfolio of which he guarded the key, were again placed under the seal.[g] The South American was cast into the prison of the Temple. His friend Languinais protested to Fouché against what he considered his illiberal treatment.[h] It was due to the in-

[a] Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 23.
[b] Ibid., f. 64.
[c] Ibid., Minute of the Paris police, undated; ibid., f. 77, see below, p. 349, note *d*.
[d] 9 Brumaire, l'an 9, Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 78.
[e] 9 Primaire, an 9, ibid., f. 66.
[f] Dunnole (?) to Fouché, 12 Frimaire, an 9, ibid., f. 65.
[g] Report signed by Paques, Miranda, and Sobry, "quatorze ventôse l'an neuf," ibid., f. 86.
[h] 20 Ventôse, an 9, Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 84.

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fluence of this senator that Miranda was once more set at liberty.[a] The latter was allowed four days to arrange his affairs and was given a passport for Holland.[b] The movements of the suspect were doubtless carefully watched during the rest of his stay in Paris. When the designated period had elapsed he was forced to leave that city without having accomplished his object.[c]

What was the reason for this persecution, if we may call it that, to which Miranda was subjected in France? The minutes of the Paris police cast a glow of light upon this interesting problem. As soon as the arrival of Miranda in Holland became known to the police of the French capital a report was drawn up regarding him. It was declared that the ex-general had returned from England, "where he had been employed by the English cabinet, to which he had given all the information and advice" that he supposed would be the most ruinous to France. The opinion was expressed that Miranda, who on his first appearance in France appeared to be a sincere friend of liberty, had conducted himself so as to become a suspect; that his conduct on two occasions left little doubt that he had become a traitor to the Republic, if not indeed one in principle. Further, some persons worthy of credence, who had known Miranda intimately when he conducted himself as a zealous partisan of liberty, did not now doubt that during the last part of his sojourn in France, Miranda was in the pay of England. Further it was declared that he ought to be watched because he had a great talent for intrigue and had been for a long time in the confidence of the enemies of France.[d] A note scrawled upon the margin of an order of Fouché for the deportation of the former French general states that he was suspected of "maneuvers or of intrigues contrary to the interests of the French government

[a] Fouché to Dunnoic, 22 Ventôse, an 9, Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 81.

[b] Dunnoie to Fouché, 24 Ventôse, an 9: 'Conformément à votre lettre datée du 21 de ce mois, et en exécution de l'ordre cy-joint j'ai fait extraire du Temple et amener à la Préfecture l'ex-Général Miranda, auquel il a été délivré, le 23, une passeport pour se rendre en Hollande, à la charge de Sortie de Paris sous quatre jours * * *. Je veral surveiller son départ et J'aural soin, Citoyen Ministre, de vous en rendre compte." Ibid., f. 82.

[c] In Miranda's will, drawn up August 1, 1805, mention is made of the debt owed by France on account of the services of Miranda. Blanco, Documentos, II, 71.

[d] "Note pour le Ministre de la police générale. Une lettre de la Haye insérée dans le publiciste du 5 Brumaire annonce l'arrivée de l'ex-général Miranda dans cette ville, et son prochain depart pour Paris. * * * Miranda revient d'Angleterre, où il a été employé par le Cabinet Anglais, auquel il a donné tous les renseignemens et tous les avis qu'il a supposés devoir nuire le plus à l'existence et à l'afermissement de la République Française. * * * Cet homme, qui parait d'aborde parmi nous un ami zélé et sincère de la liberté, finit bientôt par se conduire en homme suspect; et le rôle qu'il a joué au 13 Vendemaire an 3, au 18 Fructidor an 5 ne permet guère de douter qu'il ne eut devenue traitre à la république, si même il ne l'avait pas été des le principe. * * * Quelques personnes dignes de foi qui l'ont connu intimément lorsqu'il se montrait partisan zélé de la liberté, ne doutent pas aujourd'hui qu'il n'ait été de pendant les derniers temps de son séjour en France à la solde du gouvernement Anglais. * * * Cet homme est d'autant plus à surveiller qu'il a de grands talons pour l'intrigue, et qu'il est depuis longtemps dans la confidence de nos ennemis,—et qu'il a pour lui quelques apparences favorables qu'il fait valoir avec habileté." Undated, "Minute Division Bureau," Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 77.

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and its allies."[a] Again, as has been noted, Miranda's name was on the list of proscribed émigrés. This alone would have afforded the French police ample reason for the expulsion, which Miranda later characterized "as a species of ostracism."[b]

When we consider Miranda's attitude toward England before leaving that country, it seems only fair to the South American to understand that he did not necessarily enter France with any ulterior aim, and that if he had been admitted into the confidence and pay of the French Government he might have served it as faithfully as the English, once convinced that he could thus forward his great design of emancipating Spanish America. Still, it is not impossible that Miranda may have been intrusted with some secret commission by the Government which he had been serving. Certain it is that the indigent soldier of fortune, who later claimed that the French Government owed him 10,000 louis d'or for his services in the revolution,[c] left French soil without being able to present his views regarding Spanish America to Bonaparte. He did not cross the French frontier on this occasion in the guise of a merchant, but probably traveled under his own name. On April 23, 1801, an official of the English alien office sent the following communication to a trusted undersecretary of the foreign office: "Mr Flint presents his compliments to Mr. Hammond and begs leave to inform him that Genl Miranda is landed at Gravesend. As Mr F presumes that Mr Hammond knew of the general's late journey to France he will thank Mr Hammond to let him know whether he should receive permission to proceed to Town."[d] The permission was granted, for Miranda soon made his appearance in London.

In a short time after Miranda returned from his last visit to France his hopes again revived. No longer, however, could he count on the support or active interest of the great prime minister, for in March, 1801, Pitt had resigned because of the opposition of the King to Catholic emancipation in Ireland, and Addington had succeeded him. It was about this time that Miranda met for the first time Nicholas Vansittart, who was for several years secretary of the treasury and who acted at times as an intermediary between Miranda and the English ministers.[e] Again it was the evident intention of the English Government to utilize Miranda and Picton if Spanish America was attacked. On June 29, 1801, the latter, who had just been made civil governor of Trinidad, was instructed to take "every Opportunity the Situation of the Island and it's Intercourse with the Spanish Colonies" would afford him to get information "relative

[a] 15 (?) Ventôse, an 9, Archives Nationales, F.[7] 6285, No. 5819, f. 85.
[b] Blanco, Documentos, II, 71.
[c] Ibid.
[d] P. R. O., France, 57.
[e] Vansittart to Hodgson, January 27, 1814, Bexley MSS., III, f. 9–.

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to the real State of those Colonies", so that if at any future time England should decide "to act against them," it could do so "on Grounds previously ascertained to be of a Nature to afford a reasonable chance of Success."[a]

In England Miranda warned the Government that unless measures were quickly taken to direct the revolutionary spirit in South America the French would pervert it to their own purpose and would exclude British manufactures from that part of the world.[b] He and Picton furnished the ministers with information on the condition of the South American provinces situated between the Orinoco and the Gulf of Venezuela.[c] Miranda's plans for the government of the liberated territory were again probably considered.[d] The general's plan for the military operations was also presented to the ministers.[e] Rufus King, who was in a position to know, later declared that when the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens were signed in October, 1801, the expedition was ready to sail to Caracas.[f]

But even after the peace negotiations had proceeded thus far Miranda's designs were not totally discarded. They were carefully considered by the cabinet in September, 1801. The information collected by Miranda and Picton, showing the disposition of the inhabitants of Terra Firma to shake off the rule of Spain, and the weakness of the military forces there, was laid before the ministers. It was suggested that operations might be executed by a very small force whereby a severe blow might be struck at the enemies of England. For this purpose it was even proposed to send Miranda to the West Indies immediately to consult with General Trigge upon the measures to be pursued to accomplish this object.[b] The proposal, however, was not adopted. Lord Pelham, the home secretary, following the estimate in a plan of Sir Ralph Abercombie, an experienced military commander, estimated that 12,000, rather than 3,000, men were needed for such an enterprise. He declared that such an attempt would be so far-reaching in its effects and influence that he could not agree to it without "knowing the principles and ulterior views" of those with whom he was "to embark." He pointed out that such an attack might be the means of shutting England completely out of Europe and of throwing Spain still further into the hands of France. "Is it impossible," he asked, "to support the independence of Old Spain; and be admitted to a participation of the trade in New

[a] Draft, P. R. O., Trinidad, 2.
[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 288.
[c] Ibid., 287, 288.
[d] Ed. Rev., XIII, 292.
[e] "Gen'l Miranda's Plan for the military operations upon Terra Nueva", May 24, 1801, was once found in the P. R. O., Adm. Sec., In Letters, 4353, Mr. Hubert Hall informed the writer, but search there and elsewhere has yet failed to locate it. Ed. Rev., XIII, 292.
[f] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 262.

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Spain?"[a] In all probability other arguments of a similar nature were offered.

The result was that Miranda was compelled to linger in England. No action was taken to push the expedition, in spite of the fact that Miranda's efforts were again ably seconded by Picton, who on September 25 of this year wrote to Lord Hobart, the secretary of state for war and the colonies, urging an attack on South America with 6,500 troops in the neighborhood of the Orinoco River, and recommending that if it was decided to set that country free General Miranda should be engaged, whom he understood to have "a considerable Party in the Province," and whose presence, he believed, would "greatly contribute to the Success of such an Undertaking." Miranda, said Picton, "is well qualified to Electrify the Minds of his Countrymen."[b] Although no expedition left England for Trinidad, yet Miranda had some consolatory reflections, for it was evidently about this time that he was granted a pension by the Government which he had supplicated so long.[c] He was no longer forced to depend, as he had informed his old comrade in arms, Cagigal, on the bounty of "an inestimable old friend."[d]

On March 27, 1802, the definitive treaty of Amiens was signed, by which peace was made between England, on the one hand, and France and Spain, on the other hand. It was only a truce, however, and the problem of Spanish America was not long allowed to remain unconsidered. The ministers of England were apparently contemplating an attack on the American dominions of Spain in the late spring and early summer of 1803, in which they perhaps calculated on employing Miranda. At least the prime minister informed King that if war broke out "it would perhaps be one of their first steps to occupy New Orleans." The American minister promptly informed him that the United States looked forward to annexing it.[e] In the end of May, 1803, when it became evident that peace could not be

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 286, the order of the first two words in the quotation has been reversed to correct what appears to have been a misprint.

[b] P. R. O., Trinidad, 2.

[c] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 298, 299, shows that Miranda was in the possession of a pension a little later. Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 511.

[d] Antepara, 263.

[e] King to Pickering, April 2, 1803: "It is my firm belief that if the War break out, that Great Britain will immediately attempt the emancipation and independence of South America. * * * In a late conversation with Mr. Addington he observed to me, that if the war happen it would perhaps be one of their first steps to occupy New Orleans. I interrupted him by saying I hoped the measure would be well weighed before it should be attempted; that true it was we could not see with indifference that Country in the hands of France, but it was equally true that it would be contrary to our views, and with much concern that we should see it in the possession of England: we had no objection to Spain continuing to possess it; they were quiet neighbors; and we looked forward with impatience to events which in ordinary course of things must at no distant day annex this country to the United States." Addington declared that England did not intend to keep Louisiana in the event of seizing it, but wished to "prevent another power from obtaining it." State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Dispatches from England, 10.

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preserved much longer between England and France, the Spanish Government was informed that England had been entertaining designs against Spanish America. The informant, appearing to quote from an alleged scheme which had been presented to the English ministers, averred that the objective point was to have been the Floridas and Louisiana, especially New Orleans. Warning was given that in case of war between Spain and England, the latter would attempt to execute the project.[a]

Miranda had probably occasion to hope again, but in the latter part of August, 1803, he again became disgusted with the treatment that he was receiving in England and informed King, who had now returned to the United States, that the conduct of the English appeared to him suspicious, if not perfidious. Miranda declared that he had decided to leave England at once, with or without succor, for Trinidad.[b] In the end of August, preparations were actually made for his departure from England. Miranda was to renounce his pension forever, on an immediate payment of the amount that would have accrued to him in five years. He was to be given passage to Trinidad, where he was to "take his people" and go wherever he pleased. Ever conspiring against Spain, Miranda hoped to find at that island two vessels from the United States with men and military supplies.[c] He renewed the application which he had already made to King for aid in carrying out his plans, inclosing an estimate of the cost of providing 5,000 men and supplies for one year.[d] The revolutionary agitator was evidently thinking of engineering an attack on the Spanish possessions without the aid or sanction of the English Government through the succor of friends or sympathizers in the United States and in Trinidad.

The tentative arrangement that had been made with the English ministers was not carried out, however, and Miranda still lingered in England. It was probably the prospect of war with France and Spain in October, 1803, that inclined the Government of England to hearken again to his schemes. Colonel Fullarton, who had long been interested in Spanish America, appears also to have been consulted in the matter.[e] In November plans were drawn up for a comprehensive attack on South America. A London merchant, Mr. Davison, offered to furnish a fleet of three or four Indiamen for the enterprise if the Government would supply a vessel for bombarding purposes and secure him against the failure of the expedition. As a remuneration he was willing to accept the advantages, doubtless commercial,

[a] Anduaga to Cevallos, May 24, 1803, A. G. S., Estado, 8168.
[b] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 517.
[c] Ibid., 298, 299.
[d] Ibid., 517, 518.
[e] Ibid., 314.

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which General Miranda had promised him. To conduct the military operations on the northern side of Terra Firma, Miranda, according to Popham, who memorialized the Government on the matter, asked for a regiment of infantry, "two companies of artillery, and two squadrons of dismounted cavalry."[a] The forces led by Miranda were first to be directed against Caracas, where, he informed his would-be cooperators, he could collect an army of fifteen to twenty thousand men, which would increase in numbers as he proceeded to the Provinces of Santa Fé and Quito. He aimed ultimately to establish a fortified post on the Isthmus of Panama, where he would open communications with the cooperating forces that were to proceed from India to the Pacific coast of South America.[b]

Capt. Sir Home Popham, who had become warmly interested in the revolutionizing of Spanish America, urged on the Government the advantages of attacking the Spanish dominions at Buenos Ayres.[c] He consulted Miranda and held conferences with several members of the Addington administration regarding an expedition to South America.[d] In the autumn of 1804 Popham declared that "a great proportion of the articles" which Miranda "required were prepared and a ship ordered to be purchased which order was as suddenly countermanded."[e] The peace-loving Addington had declined to allow the expedition to proceed, no decisive rupture having occurred between England and Spain.

Forced by adverse circumstances to see his long-cherished schemes again suspended, Miranda was deeply disgusted with the English Government. Again he planned to leave England. On February 30, 1804, he informed King that he had again made arrangements to leave for Trinidad. His associate, Vargas, was soon to leave London to prepare the way. In a month Miranda calculated on following with a vessel carrying the arms, ammunition, and supplies that would be required to start the revolution. According to this story, England held herself in reserve to come to their aid afterwards. Miranda wrote to King asking for aid in procuring 20,000 good muskets with bayonets, artillery, ammunition, steel side arms, bar iron, and sheet lead. He assured King that when these supplies were landed on the coast, payment would be made for them at a great advance on their cost in the United States. As an additional inducement, Miranda declared that vessels bringing a certain amount of the desired munitions were to be charged only one-half of the regular import and export duties on their cargoes. Mr. C. Gore, with whom Miranda had become acquainted

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, IV, 291, 292. An unsigned copy of this memorial of Popham, November 26, 1803, is found in the Chatham MSS., 345.
[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 291.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Popham's trial, 78, see below, p. 356, note *d*.
[e] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 512.

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during his stay in England, was also appealed to for aid in promoting the enterprise.[a] Gore was evidently in touch with people in Boston who were inclined to engage in such an affair, but no definite steps were taken, partly, at least, because of the hesitating attitude of the English Government.[b] The outcome was that the prime projector did not leave London.

In May, 1804, England declared war upon Napoleon. In the same month William Pitt again became prime minister. The subject of Latin America was not long neglected. On July 27 Picton, who had been deprived of the command of Trinidad, and was now in England, reminded the Government of his frequent representations on the matter, and called the attention of this Administration to the condition of the Spanish colonies near Trinidad, which favored their separation from the parent country by England. He declared that if hostilities broke out with Spain "a fair opportunity" would be offered of beginning with a measure that might "eventually deprive her of all her Continental Colonies. She holds them by so precarious a Tenure and the Principles of Combustion are so thickly and widely scattered, that a single Spark would communicate the Explosion throughout the whole of the immense Continent."[c] On August 14 Donald Campbell addressed a lengthy communication to Lord Harrowby, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, in which he called attention to the resources of the Brazils.[d] In October William Jacob drew up "Plans for Occupying Spanish America, with Observations on the Character and Views of its Inhabitants." Unlike Miranda, he did not consider Terra Firma a favorable point of attack, but believed that "to secure the compleat and entire Subjection" of these dominions three cooperating expeditions should be undertaken. One of these, he declared, ought to proceed from Great Britain or Ireland to the La Plata region; the second should leave Madras for Chile; the third should be directed from the West Indies against the Isthmus of Darien. If perchance only one of these should be successful, a base of operations would be secured for future attacks.[e]

In October, 1804, Spain declared war upon England. The designs of the arch conspirator were again selected for consideration. Lord Melville, Pitt, and Home Popham were deeply interested in the idea, the latter sending all his papers relating to the Spanish-American schemes to Lord Melville.[f] On October 14 Popham prepared a memorandum on General Miranda and his schemes. At the same time a plan for an attack on South America was arranged by Miranda

[a] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 429, 431.
[b] Ibid., 432, 433.
[c] P. R. O., Trinidad, II.
[d] Chatham MSS., 345.
[e] Ibid., Oct. 26, 1804.
[f] Popham's Trial, 135; Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 509.

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and Popham. As usual, Miranda entertained high hopes of cooperation from the Spanish inhabitants in an attack on Caracas, Quito, and Santa Fé. He also expected aid from friends of the movement in Trinidad, which he proposed to use as a base of operations against that part of Terra Firma between the Orinoco River and Santa Marta. To carry on this part of the campaign Miranda wished to have at his disposal 2,000 infantry, two corps of dismounted cavalry, and two companies of artillery, seasoned West India troops. He also desired to be allowed to recruit additional troops at Trinidad. The armament was to be accompanied by a naval force, including a frigate, a sloop of war, and three transports. A list of the military stores needed for the attempt was made out by Miranda for Lord Melville.[a]

As in 1803, Miranda planned to make his preliminary attack on Caracas, where in a month, so he assured the English, he hoped to be able to raise 20,000 men. Thence he would proceed to the interior, augmenting his forces as he advanced through Santa Fé and Quito to the Isthmus of Darien, where he was to be joined by a naval force. The fortified towns on the coast were next to be attacked. Probably Miranda also contemplated fortifying the Isthmus. But Caracas was not to be the only point of attack. Three thousand troops were to proceed from Europe against Buenos Ayres. Forces from India and perhaps Australia were to invest Valparaiso and Panama.[b] Popham did not think the conquest of all Spanish America then possible, but believed that all the strategic points should be gained so as to detach it from Spain. This policy would promote the annihilation of the Spanish navy, deprive France of fifteen millions of revenue, and increase the power and influence of England.[c] Popham appears to have been chosen to command the expedition against Buenos Ayres.[d] Indeed

[a] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 513, 514.

[b] Ibid., 515, 516.

[c] Ibid., 513, 515, 517.

[d] In the course of his trial for attacking Buenos Ayres without orders, Sir Home Popham testified regarding his relations with Miranda and the British Government in respect to an expedition against Spanish America: "It was in the end of the year 1803, that I first had conferences with some of the members of the administration then in power, relative to an expedition to the Rio de la Plata, and which was combined with one proposed by General Miranda. I had also frequent communications with General Miranda on the subject; and, in fact, towards the close of that administration, some steps were taken for carrying this projected expedition into effect * * *." In the course of 1804, said Popham "Lord Melville then First Lord of the Admiralty, corresponded with me on the subject of Miranda's plan; and on my coming to town in the month of October, in that year (at which period the probability of a Spanish war had increased) his lordship directed me to send again for General Miranda, and to digest my ideas on the subject of an expedition against the Spanish settlements in South America, into the form of a memoir * * * shortly afterwards I was directed to attend Mr. Pitt, in order that he might converse with me on the various points comprehended in that memoir." Popham's Trial, 78. On December 1, 1804, Lord Melville wrote to Popham; "General Miranda is not more importunate with you than he is with me; but he unfortunately supposes us at war with Spain; we are not so * * *." Ibid. 134.

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it is likely that Popham rather than Miranda was primarily responsible for the emphasis given at this time to that part of the plan.

Miranda and Popham, however, did not lead expeditions against Spanish America, for the attack hung fire. As in previous years, the Spanish Government was not left totally uninformed of the machinations of England. In January, 1805, the Spanish minister in England warned his court that one or more expeditions were preparing in England against the Spanish Indies. The point of attack was difficult to determine. Perhaps it was an expedition to the South Sea with troops from India. Perhaps it was an attack on New Spain or the Isthmus of Panama with troops from the West Indies. Perchance it was an expedition against Buenos Ayres.[a]

On June 13, 1805, Francisco de Miranda addressed what was perhaps his last letter to William Pitt. To judge by this epistle, Miranda had lost the confidence of that minister. In it Miranda first explained the demand which he had made through Sir Evan Nepean that he be allowed to depart immediately for Trinidad. He declared that his object was to join his compatriots in that island, who were impatiently awaiting his arrival to initiate "the important work of their emancipation." They were ready to begin this by themselves as the succors promised by England had been so long delayed, while they considered that moment as the "most propitious." He attributed the delay of Pitt not to any lack of good will, but rather to the inconsiderate actions or "perfidious insinuations" of some of his own compatriots or acquaintances. He accordingly offered to submit his papers, as well as his conduct, to an examination, which he believed would dispel even the shadow of suspicion, clear his name from calumny, and reestablish confidence between him and the minister. He assured Pitt that he had never swerved "an instant from the moral and political principles that formed our first political liason in 1790." Miranda suggested that two or three persons in whom the

[a] Anduaga to Cevallos, January 6, 1805: "Son tan avrios los objetos á que se dicen destinados los preparativos que se hacen aquí para una ó mas expediciones, que es mui difícil fixarse en quales son los verdaderos. No se duda que nuestras Americas son el blanco de las especulaciones de los armadores-comerciantes, esto es de buques particulares preparados para hacer tráfico de generos, y al mismo tiempo alanar (?), y robar donde no encuentran facilidad para el trafico. Sobretodo en parages remotos como el Mar del Sur, es de temer que así suceda, y que el Gobierno Britanico no emplée sino poca tropa en buques suyos, si tambien los emplea para hacer correrías en aquellas costas. Acaso intentara alguna expedicion en el Mar del Sur con tropas de la India, pero no parece probable * * * En quanto á Nueva España, aunque se ha hablado mucho de Mexico y en efecto teniendo tropas en Jamayca y otras islas pudieron hacer una tentativa en las costas de aquel Reyno, por la parte de Portobelo, mayormente si intentasen otra por el lado de Panama, tanto este designio como el de llegar hasta Mexico, sea desde el Istmo, ó desembarcando por Veracruz son muy arduos, y no parece probable que sa intencion. Con todo, como en cierto modo ha hecho el nuevo Ministerio esperar á la Nacion algunas conquistas, no sera extraño que intentan algunas, bien que es mui natural que sean las mas faciles. No puedo yo graduar quales seran estas, pero por decontado oigo hablar de que una expedicion á Buenos Ayres no sería de difícil exito." A. G. S., Estado, 8170.

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minister had confidence be named for the purpose of examining the charges brought against him or his compatriots which were incompatible "with the propositions and the information which he had had the honour of presenting to the British Government on the independence and the emancipation of the Spanish American colonies at various times." If, after this examination was made, it was found "that these accusations are destitute of foundation, the obstacle will certainly be removed and mutual confidence reestablished, for the welfare of a considerable part of the civilized world."[a]

Whatever the outcome of this proposition, whether Pitt and Miranda were thoroughly reconciled or not, in the autumn of 1805 Miranda was expecting to leave England, where he now apparently despaired of gaining succor. He aimed to proceed to some point in the New World, perhaps to New York or to Trinidad. Again he informed Rufus King of his intentions.[b] On August 1, 1805, Miranda drew up a will, finding himself, he declared, on the point of embarking for America with the intention of carrying into effect the political plans which had occupied a great part of his life.[c] This will is an extraordinary document. In it Miranda mentioned the various items of his property; the paintings, bronzes, mosaics, and other precious articles which were in Paris; the private archives containing documents relating to his travels in America, Europe, Asia, and Africa, and his official correspondence with the French ministers as well as the papers relating to his negotiations with the English ministers from 1790 to 1805; and the goods which he left in his home at 27 Grafton street, London. The debt which France owed him was not forgotten. The papers relating to his revolutionizing activity were to be sent to his native city, if the country became independent or if its ports were freely opened to other nations. The Latin and Greek classics in his library were to be sent to the University of Caracas. The household goods were left to one whom he designated "mi fiel ama de llaves S. A." In case of the testator's demise, the latter was also to have what might be left of £600, which were left in the hands of Nicholas Vansittart and John Turnbull, for the purpose of defraying housekeeping expenses. The bulk of the remaining property was left for the education and use of Miranda's son, Leander, who was

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 413–416.

[b] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 454, 518, 519.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71; Becerra Vida de Miranda, II, 490– expresses doubts regarding the authenticity of this document. The writer, however, is inclined to accept the document as authentic. The argument that Miranda's wife is not mentioned is not proof of the spuriousness of the will; Miranda may not have been married. No evidence has been found for the marriage which Becerra avers took place between Miranda and a Miss Andrews. The failure to mention Miranda's youngest son Francisco may have been due to the fact that he was not yet born. It is possible that Miranda's children were illegitimate.

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"the tender age of 18 months." Strange as it may seem, Miranda did not mention his wife, unless, indeed, she was "the faithful housekeeper S. A."[a] That apparent omission is one of the puzzles of this will.[b]

It was evidently before leaving London that Miranda met, among others, Joseph Pavia, whose life to an extent is that of Miranda in miniature. Pavia, according to his own account, had served for some time in the viceroyalty of Mexico, where he had acquired valuable information regarding the conditions of the country and had made some connections. Some time in the year 1804 or 1805 he, like Miranda, was taken under the protection of the English Government, because of his knowledge of Mexico and the expectation that his services would be useful if England undertook the emancipation of Spanish America.[c] In 1819 Pavia left on record his impressions of Miranda in a memoir which he addressed to the English Government. As some indication of the light in which a possibly jealous fellow-conspirator regarded Miranda it will be quoted in part, giving, as it also does, an interpretation of Pitt's attitude toward Miranda:

"Notwithstanding his knowledge of America was confined to some slight acquaintance with the Havannah, Pensacola, Jamaica and New York; the hatred which he bore the Spanish Govt. and his extravagant ambition made him form the design of ascending the Peruvian Throne, in order thence to avenge his wrongs. Impelled by such Quixotic Notions, he traversed Europe and part of Africa with intent of acquiring the lights and information by which to effect the happiness of his people: (an expression frequently repeated in the hearing of the writer who could not help smiling at his folly). He took part in the French Revolution, particularly from a desire to become

[a] Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71.

[b] Becerra Vida de Miranda, II, 490, discusses what he considers a puzzle. It appears to the writer that one of the main reasons for the doubts which Becerra casts upon the authenticity of this will is due to his desire to straighten out the marital relations of Miranda. After testing the document, the writer believes that it is what it purports to be.

[c] Pavia to Hamilton, December 7, 1814: "I beg permission to inform you that when Mr. Pitt in 1805 had the goodness to consider me under the protection of the British Government, if I am not mistaken, it was oweing to some ideas relative to Spanish America, particularly the Kingdom of New Spain, from whence I came." P. R. O., Spain, 170. Pavia to Hamilton, April 9, 1815: "It may be proper, Sir, for me to mention that it is now eleven years since I was first honored with the protection of the British Government, who, always looking forward from that time to the probable Emancipation of the Spanish territories in America, were pleased to consider that my services in such an event would be essentially useful to the Interests of this Country." Ibid., 181. Pavia to Hamilton, April 1, 1815: "I beg leave you will have the goodness to allow me to inform you that it is at the present date eleven years that I have the honor of being protected by the British Government, through the medium of Mr. Cooke under Secretary to My Lord Castlereagh." Ibid. See also Correspondence of Castlereagh, VI, 368.

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familiar with the mode of conducting a similar enterprise. Full of Jacobinical ideas he came to London to complete his preparations. Here the writer (to his great misfortune) met and knew him, in the midst of all sorts of books and numerous charts and maps. He deemed himself an adept in every science and art; indeed he was a specious smatterer, capable to impose on strangers. Mr. Pitt, who knew him well kept a strict eye upon him, but granted him protection from no other motive than that of giving uneasiness to the Spanish Govt., who were always afraid of his freaks and plans to revolutionize America."[a]

[a] "Mr. Pavia's Memoir on South America" (translation) concludes by giving "Some Account of Miranda and Mina," from which the quotation is taken; the memoir is preceded by a letter to the English Government dated August 15, 1819. P. R. O., Spain, 231.

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Chapter IX.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1806.

In the end of the year 1805 Miranda, despairing in all probability of securing from England immediately the substantial aid which he desired, succeeded in leaving the country which had served him as an asylum for seven years and set sail for the United States. We do not at present know exactly what his parting arrangements with the English Government were, but it seems likely that Miranda relinquished his pension,[a] perhaps in return for some immediate monetary recompense. It is possible that Pitt let fall some assurances which led Miranda to believe that he might expect the countenance of the English Government in case he succeeded in his plan of attacking the Spanish dominions in America by an expedition from the United States.[b] Some of Miranda's quondam friends in the United States may have urged him to make a personal appeal to that Government for succor[c] at the time when there was a public expectation of an impending rupture between Spain and the United States.

The causes for disagreement between these two powers were not few. There were, in the first place, claims against the Government of Spain for the unwarranted seizure of American vessels. There were also claims for losses due to the suppression by Spain of the commercial entrepôt at New Orleans in 1802. Above all there were decided differences of opinion regarding the boundaries of Louisiana as purchased by the United States from France in 1803, a transaction which some Spaniards considered a species of robbery. These differences were intensified by the yearning of many statesmen of the United States for the acquisition of the two Floridas, as well as Texas. In vain had President Jefferson and his Cabinet tried to adjust the disputes by negotiation. Spain, influenced by the French diplomat Talleyrand, had declined to accept the ultimatum presented by Monroe on May 12, 1805.[d] The seizure of ships belonging to the United

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 450, 451, shows that Miranda's pension was reestablished in June, 1808.

[b] Such suggestions were thrown out by Miranda, Miranda to General Bower, June 10, 1806 (for text see below, p. 383, note *c*). P. R. O., L. and W. Is., 22.

[c] Monthly Review, LVIII, 804, 805. Becerra, Vida de Miranda II, 496, avers that Miranda left England provided with recommendations from the English Admiralty.

[d] Adams, United States, III, 23, 24, 34, 36; Channing, Jeffersonian System, 140–149.

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States did not cease. In addition, there were causes for friction, due to the embittered attitude of the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, the Spanish minister to the United States. In March, 1804, Madison, the American Secretary of State, had informed Yrujo that the President did not wish "to shut the door" against any further communications "which the mutual interests of the two nations" might require, but it was distinctly stated "as the indispensable condition" that the Spanish minister should not again forget "the language of Decorum, and the deference" due to the Government of the United States.[a] Another of the assets of Miranda was the sanguine hope of cooperation from the Spanish Americans.

The South American arrived in New York City early in November,[b] bringing with him a letter of credit in favor of a fictitious George Martin for £800 sterling.[c] It is probable that he also brought with him some money in bills. He soon called on his friend, Rufus King,[b] to whom he speedily imparted his intentions. Miranda also met his former traveling companion and bosom friend, Colonel Smith, who was now surveyor of the port of New York. It was probably through the latter that he met Commodore Lewis, a captain engaged in the Santo Domingo trade, and Samuel Ogden, a merchant.[d] John Swartwout, who also held a post under the Federal Government, became acquainted with Miranda's designs apparently at a dinner in the end of November at which a toast was drunk to the success of Miranda.[e] The latter was soon forced to conclude that it would be wise to attempt to interest the Government of the United State in his enterprise, and, acting on the advice of King, he left New York on November 28 to consult the administration regarding his design.[f] About the same time an agent was sent to Boston to solicit aid for the projected expedition.[g]

Neither of these attempts to secure aid was materially successful. Although Mr. C. Gore at Boston, who was interested in Miranda's schemes, declared that he introduced the agent to those in that city who were "most likely to enter into" the project and "most capable of promoting" it, they declined to share "the Hazard of the Enterprise," not only because Miranda's efforts were unsupported, but also because of their alleged misgivings in regard to the character of some of the general's associates.[h] Long before Miranda's visit to Washington a knowledge of his career and designs was in possession of the Secretary of State, to whom King had transmitted parts of his correspondence with the South American, including a letter from

[a] Madison to Yrujo, March 19, 1804, Monroe MSS., X, f. 1258–1261 (press copy).
[b] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 578.
[c] Trial of Smith and Ogden, 107, xix.
[d] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 578; Trial of Smith and Ogden, xx, xxi.
[e] Trial of Smith and Ogden, 115, 116.
[f] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 578, 579.
[g] Ibid., 469, 582.
[h] Ibid., 467, 469, 582

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Vansittart which gave an account of Miranda's relations with England.[a] An anonymous correspondent, who signed himself "A Friend," warned Jefferson of the arrival of Miranda in New York, declaring that his actions formed a link in "Burr's Manouevres." This letter must have been received about the time of Miranda's arrival in Washington.[b]

Before proceeding to that city Miranda had stopped at Philadelphia, where he visited Benjamin Rush. Rush was sufficiently interested in Miranda to give him a letter of introduction to Madison, in which he characterized his acquaintance as "the friend of liberty."[c] It was in Philadelphia that Miranda met Aaron Burr for the first and last time. Burr later admitted that he had been "greatly pleased with his talents and colloquial eloquence," but had carefully refrained from affording Miranda an opportunity to descant on his favorite project, fearing that his own designs might be blasted if there was any suspicion of a connection between them. Thus the possibility of cooperation between these two men in an attack on the Spanish possessions in 1806 was lost. Miranda, who had probably heard some whisperings of Burr's revolutionary plottings, appears to have felt hurt at the "coldness and reserve" of the unscrupulous and astute American.[d]

Miranda doubtless met Madison soon after reaching the capital city. The Secretary of State appears to have written to Miranda on December 9, and appointed the next day as the one on which he should call. The latter was not able to meet the engagement, and hence wrote to the Secretary making an appointment on December 11.[e] It is beyond question that Miranda met Jefferson and had more than one interview with Madison, but regarding the exact content and bearing of these interviews there are conflicting statements. On Madison's own admission, Miranda "disclosed in very general terms his purpose of instituting a revolution in a portion of Spanish America."[f] The visitor probably mentioned Caracas as his objective point.[g] Accounts emanating from Madison and Miranda alike agree that it would have pleased the revolutionist to get "some positive

[a] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 518, 522, 523.

[b] The indorsement reads "recd. Dec. 5, '05," Jefferson MSS., series 6, XI, No. 38.

[c] Rush to Madison, December 3, 1805: "To a person acquainted with the great events which characterized the first years of the French Revolution, it might be sufficient barely to say—the bearer of this letter is General Miranda. But much more may be said of him. He is still the friend of liberty, and a believer in the practicability of governments that shall have for their objects the happiness of nations, instead of the greatness of individuals. He knows your character, and longs to do homage to your principles. He will repay you for your civilities to him by streams of knowledge, and information upon all subjects." Madison MSS., XXVIII, f. 80.

[d] Davis, Journal of Burr, 254.

[e] Miranda to Madison, December 10, 1806, Madison MSS., XXVIII, f. 84.

[f] Madison to Armstrong, March 15, 1806, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, 6. See below, p. 364, note c.

[g] King, Correspond[illegible]

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encouragement,"[a] whether "sanction" or "succour," from the Government of the United States. It is also clear that Miranda was informed that in the existing state of affairs with Spain the Government could not materially aid him.[b] Madison later declared that he took occasion to warn Miranda that his Government could "not countenance or embark insidiously in any enterprise of a secret nature."[c]

Contemporaneously, however, Miranda put a different interpretation on the affair. He informed his intimate friend, Colonel Smith, that "the tacit approbation and good wishes" of the Government were for the expedition and that there were no difficulties in the way of private citizens of the United States promoting the enterprise, provided that "the public laws be not openly violated." Smith was instructed to act with "much caution and great activity."[d] According to his own account, Miranda went so far as to ask that Colonel Smith might be given leave of absence from his post. Miranda informed Smith that Madison declared this to be impracticable, but suggested that Smith could take the responsibility upon himself.[e]

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[a] Madison to Armstrong, March 15, 1806, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, 6, f. 325. See note *c*, following.

[b] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 580.

[c] Letters of Madison, II, 225; Randall's Life of Jefferson, III, 167; Madison to Armstrong, March 15, 1806, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, 6, f. 325–, in which Madison thus described his relations with Miranda: "About three months ago Gen[l] Miranda arrived in the United States coming last from England. Soon after his arrival, he made a visit to this City, where he was treated with the civilities refused to no stranger having an ostensible title to them. Whilst here he disclosed in very general terms his purpose of instituting a revolution in a portion of Spanish America, without adding any disclosure from which it could be inferred that his project had the patronage or support of any foreign Power. His communication was merely listened to, with an avowal at first on his part that nothing more was expected. It became evident, however, that he had taken into view the possibility of a rupture between the United States and Spain, and that some positive encouragement would have been peculiarly welcome to him. He was expressly told that altho' the Government of the United States were free to hear whatever he might choose to impart to it, yet that as they were in amity with Spain and neutral in the war, nothing would be done in the least inconsistent with that sincere and honorable regard to the rules imposed by their situation, which they had uniformly preferred and observed; and that if a hostile conduct towards Spain should at any time be required by her conduct towards the United States, it would take place not in an underhand and illicit way, but in a way consistent with the laws of war and becoming our national character. He was reminded that it would be incumbent on the United States to punish any transactions within their jurisdiction which might according to the laws of nations involve an hostility against Spain, and that a statute of Congress had made express provision for such a case. This particular admonition was suggested by an apprehension that he might endeavour to draw into his enterprise individuals adapted for it by their military experience and personal circumstances. It was never suspected that the enlistment of a military corps of any size would be thought of. As to the exportation of arms on the occasion, the act of Congress of the last session, was considered as both effectual and going beyond the injunctions of the law of nations. It was at the same time also expected that a bill before Congress prohibiting altogether the exportation of arms from the United States, would have passed and been put in force, before any shipments could have been made of these articles * * *. Under the effect of this explanation which he professed to understand and promised strictly to keep in view, he left Washington for New York * * *."

[d] Biggs, 272, 273, note.

[e] Ibid.

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Rufus King, Miranda's old confidant, appears to have been informed that although the Government of the United States would not sanction, it would "wink" at the expedition.[a] If we may trust the memoranda of King drawn up a little later, Miranda even outlined to Madison the measures which he contemplated taking to start an expedition from the United States without the aid of the Government.[b] It is very questionable if this took place. The Spanish minister, Yrujo, informed his Government that Miranda was assured by Madison that the administration would "shut its eyes on the doings" of Miranda.[c]

These various accounts leave room for doubt regarding the precise content of the conferences which were held. But the fact is obvious that Miranda disclosed his master purpose to Madison and asked for aid. It is entirely possible, in the opinion of the writer, that Madison impressed Miranda as a man who would not take steps to check any filibustering designs provided that they were carried on with the proper amount of secrecy. Perhaps Madison was not unwilling because of the critical condition of affairs with Spain, the President's belligerent message being before Congress, to allow Miranda to carry away that impression. Certain it is that Miranda allowed some of his confidants to understand that the Government was not entirely inimical to the expedition and that these intimations gained rather than lost force when repeated by the promoters of the expedition.

The relations between the filibuster and the heads of the Government had another important effect, in that they gave ground for the belief that the Government of the United States did actually connive at the expedition,[d] a belief which became very widespread and had some influence on the steps which were taken to punish the accomplices of Miranda who remained in New York. It is likely that the sanguine disposition of Miranda and his ardent desire to secure aid for the undertaking caused him to misinterpret or to deliberately falsify some of the statements made to him by Jefferson and Madison.[e] This is in harmony with what we know of his previous activity. Although there were rumors from time to time that the Government of England had some connection with Miranda's project, yet we are absolutely certain that the former pensioner of England did not make

[a] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 530, 581.

[b] Ibid., 580.

[c] Yrujo to Cevallos, February 12, 1806: "No necesito manifestar los sentimientos que ha excitado en mí una transaccion tan escandalosa. V. E. los hallará vestidos en mis cartas al Ministro de Francia, y en mi segunda al Secretario de Estado. La conivencia y proteccion secreta dada por este Govierno al Traydor Miranda es indubitable; y la promesa del Secretario de Estado de que el Govierno cerraría los ojos sobre las operaciones de Miranda queda realizada por una infinidad de circunstancias." Estado, 5555.

[d] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 530.

[e] Adams, United States, III, 191, is even less favorable to Miranda

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the slightest approach to the consular or diplomatic representatives of that power at Washington and Philadelphia.[a]

The plot that was being concocted against the integrity of the Spanish dominions in America was communicated to other persons than the coterie of Miranda's friends and acquaintances in the city of New York. Commodore Truxtun, an acquaintance of Aaron Burr, seems to have learned of the enterprise, but declined to become engaged in it.[b] Doctor Thornton, of the State Department, a student of South America, was made aware of the intrigue, and seems to have endeavored to induce General Eaton, another of Burr's satellites, to enter into it.[c] Jonathan Dayton, ex-Senator from New Jersey, was also admitted into the select circle of Miranda's confidants. It was he who kept the Spanish minister posted on the affair. Miranda also met his old friend, Sayre,[d] who later declared that Miranda had informed him that the English Government had given the filibuster permission to make his rendezvous at Trinidad, where he expected to find delegates from Caracas, Santa Fé, and Mexico.[e]

On December 23, 1805, Miranda returned to New York from Washington.[f] He at once pushed the preparations which had been going on during his absence. Commodore Lewis soon sailed for Santo Domingo with two armed ships, the *Emperor* and the *Indostan*, apparently with instructions from Miranda to enlist the services of the mulatto chief Petion, with a corps of people of color, to cooperate in effecting the revolution of the province of Caracas.[g] It was arranged that Commodore Lewis was to join Miranda at Santo Domingo with the *Emperor* and such additional forces as he could gather.[h] Miranda was hard pressed for funds and applied to King for financial aid. When the latter declined to help him in making a loan, Miranda raised £2,000 by pledging his valuable library in London.[i] No written contract was made with Ogden regarding the remuneration which the merchant should receive for the use of these vessels, but the merchant agreed that should the expedition fail he was to "take no compensation;" if it was successful, he relied on the honor of Miranda for an adequate recompense.[j]

[a] P. R. O., America, 48 and 50, contain a number of letters of A. W. Merry and P. Bond, which discuss the actions of Miranda; Merry to Lord Mulgrave, January 3, February 2, March 2, 1806; Bond to Mulgrave, February 25 and March 15, 1806, but there is no mention of a visit by Miranda.

[b] Davis, Memoirs of Burr, II, 386.

[c] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 505, 506.

[d] Sayre to Jefferson, November 15, 1806, Jefferson MSS., series 2, LXXVIII, No. 13.

[e] Letter of Sayre, March 1, 1806, in the Connecticut Journal, April 17, 1806, reprinted from the Richmond Enquirer, April 4, 1806.

[f] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 579.

[g] Ibid., 581.

[h] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 417.

[i] King, Correspondence of King, IV, 581, 582.

[j] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 418.

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Steps were at once taken to gather recruits. Colonel Smith was placed at the head of the recruiting department. Some of the men were engaged by him, many were secured by his subordinate agents.[a] Few if any of the men engaged had any knowledge of the real object for which they were employed.[b] They were induced to enlist unknowingly in Miranda's service under a variety of pretexts. Fink, a butcher in Bowery Lane, one of the most notorious of the agents, seems to have engaged some to serve on the "President's guard."[c] Besides the promise of regular pay which was made, attractive rewards and flattering promises of advancement were held out.[d] Many joined doubtless because they hoped to mend their shattered fortunes. Some may have dreamt that they were destined to take possession of "gold and silver mines." One deluded mortal seems to have made arrangements with a friend that he should take charge of all the "gold, silver, gold-ore and bullion" which he should send home.[e] A few of the recruits were naturally attracted by the love of adventure and the mystery which hung around the undertaking. By one method or another about 200 men were induced to join the fortunes of a leader whom few of them had seen.[f]

A large quantity of military stores was carried on board the ship *Leander*, which Miranda had secured through Ogden, who had used it in the Santo Domingo trade. Among these supplies were several thousand pikes, about two thousand swords and cutlasses, over a thousand muskets, a number of cannon, tons of cannon balls, and a generous amount of musket balls, powder, and military clothing.[g] The contemporary accounts disagree regarding the amount of publicity which attended the loading of these stores. Sherman declared that they were taken on board in a "manner somewhat clandestine."[h] Several of the witnesses at the trial of Smith and Ogden testified that in the loading of some of the stores no attempt was made to conceal the nature of the articles that were taken on board the *Leander*.[i] It is agreed, however, that the military stores were purposely kept out of the captain's manifest so that the customs officers could be deluded.[j]

[a] Sherman, 18; Trial of Smith and Ogden, xxiii.

[b] Trial of Smith and Ogden, xxiii.

[c] Ibid., 147, 149, 151; Moses Smith, 15, 16, 17.

[d] Moses Smith, 15, 114; Biggs, 1, 2, 5.

[e] Sherman, 19, and note.

[f] Various estimates are given of the number of men enlisted; ibid., 25, says nearly 300; Moses Smith, 24, fixes the number at a little less than 200; when they were at Aruba, Captain Wight set the number at about 220, Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 519; Biggs, 3, declares that there were almost 200. Other estimates may be found, Trial of Smith and Ogden, 123, 125; Ingersoll in Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681.

[g] Sherman, 22, gives a detailed list of these supplies.

[h] Sherman, 22.

[i] Trial of Smith and Ogden, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 116.

[j] Ibid., xx; Sherman, 15, 22.

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The *Leander* was cleared out for Jacmel in Santo Domingo. After she had received her articles of lading, she dropped down below the city some distance where she received on board the officers and men.[a] Ten days before leaving New York Miranda mailed two letters to Washington, one was addressed to President Jefferson, the other to Secretary Madison. With the first Miranda transmitted a copy of Molini's history of Chile. He expressed the hope that if the prediction which the President had pronounced on the destiny of Columbia was to be accomplished in their day it might be under his auspices and "by the generous efforts of her own children."[b] As Miranda's conferences had been more frequent and detailed with the Secretary than with the President, so was his letter more suggestive. "On the point of leaving the United States," said Miranda, he wished to thank Madison for the "attentions" which he had shown him during his stay at Washington. He expressed his belief that the important affairs that he had then communicated would remain "the most profound secret until the final result of that delicate affair." Miranda declared that he had acted on that supposition at New York by "conforming in everything to the intentions of the Government," which he hoped to have apprehended and observed with exactness and discretion.

On the French original preserved in the Madison manuscripts are interesting notes by Madison; the first is to the effect that the important affairs referred to were "what passed with the Brit. Govt.," and the second states that in declaring that he had acted in New York in conformity with the intentions of the Government Miranda had stated what was "not true." Following the signature of Miranda is a third indorsement, "July 22, 1806."[c] The exact date on which these in-

[a] Am. Hist. Rev., III, 675.

[b] King, Correspondence of King, IV., 584.

[c] The French original which Miranda sent is in the Madison MSS., XXVIII, f. 97; King, Correspondence of King, IV, 583, prints an English translation of it. The letter is as follows:

"*Private.*

"MONSIEUR: Permettez que sur le point de quitter les Etats-Unis, je vous adresse deux mots pour vous remercier des attentions que vous avez bien voulu me temoigner pendant mon sejour à Washington.—Les* choses importantes que J'ai êu l'honneur de vous communiquer alors, resteront, je ne doute pas, dans le plus profond secret jusques au resultat final de cette délicate affaire. J'ai agi ici dans cette supposition, en me conformant en tout aux intentions du Gouvernment, que J'espere avoir saisi et observé† avec exactitude et discretion:

"La lettre ci-jointe contient un livre que j'ai promis à Monsieur le Président de E. U., et que je vous prie de lui transmettre.

"Ayez la bonté de presenter mes complimens respectueux à Mad.e Madison, et de me croire avec estime, et une haute consideration, monsieur, votre tres hum.e et tres obes.t serviteur.

"New York, ce 22 Janr. 1806.

FRAN: DE MIRANDA.

"The Hon.e JAMES MADISON, Esq.e &c. &c. &c.

July 22, 1806.

"* What passed with the Brit. Govt.

"† Not true"

The footnotes are at the foot of the first page of the letter, the date, July 22, 1806, is on the reverse side of the sheet.

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dorsements were made is not certain, but it is probable that they were not written until after the Administration had felt the unpleasant effects of having been approached by Miranda. Although there is no evidence that the officials at Washington were warned directly that an expedition was being prepared at New York, yet it is obvious that the President and the Secretary of State had sufficient information regarding the activity and the designs of Miranda to have been on their guard against the equipment of any filibustering expedition. In this respect, at least, in the judgment of the writer, the attitude of the Administration can not escape censure.

On February 2 the *Leander* put to sea. The affair had not been so adroitly managed that it did not soon come to the ears of the Spanish minister, who was in a mood to reap the fullest possible advantage from the event. In vain had intimations been given him that the Government to which he had been accredited would be pleased to see him depart for Spain at once. The discussion of the grievances against Spain in the President's annual message had evoked from Yrujo a letter of criticism. Although he had been subsequently informed that his presence in Washington was " dissatisfactory " to the President, and the intimation conveyed that his departure from the United States should not be unnecessarily delayed, he decided to reside in Washington as long as it suited himself and his King.[a]

The Spanish minister had been aware of the presence of Miranda in the United States early in December, 1805. On December 23 he had directed the Spanish consul in New York, Henry Stoughton, to watch the movements of Miranda and, if possible, to have a person of confidence in the same house to spy on him.[b] On the last day of December Yrujo knew something of the conferences between the filibuster and the Secretary of State, for he informed Cevallos, who was acting as head of the Spanish department of foreign affairs, that Miranda had returned to New York with little hope that the Government would adopt his projects.[c] Immediately after the departure of the motley crew from port the irate Spanish minister realized the daring of Miranda and the magnitude of his designs. On the last days of January, 1806, the Spanish consul in New York addressed two letters to Yrujo apprising him of the expedition which was fitting out.[d] Dayton, who was perhaps a confidant of Miranda,

[a] Adams, United States, III, 185–188.

[b] Yrujo to Stoughton, December 23, 1805: "Acabo de saber ha llegado á esta de vuelta de Washington el General Miranda, y debe saler hoy ó mañana para esa. Procurará Vm. vigilar sus movimientos mui de cerca, y aun si posible tener alguna persona de confianza en la misma Casa en que vive, pues de este modo no solamente se observera su conducta sin dar sospecha alguna, sino tambien se podra, quizás, saber el resultado de sus ofrecimientos, ó pretensiones en Washington" (copy). A. H. N., 5555.

[c] Yrujo to Cevallos, December 31, 1805, ibid.

[d] January 30 and January 31, ibid.

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also furnished the Spanish minister with information regarding the affair.[a]

These reports greatly excited Yrujo, and he at once took steps to check or to frustrate the designs of the extraordinary adventurer. According to his own account, he labored the entire night after receiving the news of Miranda's departure. Within twenty-four hours, he declared, he had dispatched an account of Miranda's doings and probable intentions to the captain-general of Caracas by a pilot boat from Philadelphia; a little later he sent a similar warning from Baltimore. Messages of similar import were also hurried off to the governor of Veracruz, the viceroy of New Spain, the governors of the Floridas, the governor of Cuba, and to the Marquis of Casa Calvo. The captain-general of Caracas, being near the supposed point of attack, was urged to spread the news throughout the entire adjoining region. This did not end the labors of Yrujo, for on February 12 he sent a lengthy and heated dispatch to Cevallos, narrating the proceedings of Miranda and the preventive measures which he had taken.[b] These dispatches gave a grossly exaggerated idea of the strength of the expedition, the number of men being given at twelve hundred.[c] Cevallos deemed it necessary to reenforce these measures with other warnings addressed to the Spanish commanders in Florida, New Spain,[d] Caracas,[e] and perhaps with others. These startling reports of Miranda's revolutionary activity, widely disseminated in Spanish America, being even sent to the captain-general of Honduras,[f] must have been no small factor in influencing the fate of the expedition, as they doubtless nerved the Spanish commanders to make preparations for defense and gave them a definite idea of the point of attack.

Yrujo was also active in other ways. On February 4 he addressed a letter to Madison in which he complained of the equipment and the departure of the *Leander*. He asked that the Government of the

[a] Yrujo to Cevallos, February 13, 1806, Adams transcripts, Spanish Papers, Casa Yrujo, 1801–1807.

[b] A. H. N. Estado, 5555.

[c] Yrujo's letter to Vasconcelos, the captain-general of Carácas, February 4, 1806, and his letters of February 4, February 14, and March 4, 1806, to the Marquis of Someruelos, the captain-general of Cuba, were found in the A. G. I., Someruelos, 660; an extract from one of the dispatches to the captain-general of Caracas is found translated in The Aurora, June 13, 1806. A. G. M., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, B, 229, f. 1001, is a letter of March 27, 1806, which shows that the warning of Yrujo had been received by the viceroy of Mexico by that date. See note *f*, following.

[d] Cevallos to the Secretary of War, February 28, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

[e] Ibid., May 13, 1806, ibid.

[f] Ibid., February 22, 1806, ibid. The viceroy of New Spain informed the Spanish Government that on receiving notice of the designs of Miranda from Yrujo: "sin perdido de momento hé trastado esta noticia interesante á los gefes de las Costas de este Reyno, Comtes Genl de Provincs Internas, Capitan Genl de Campeche y Governadres de Tabasco y Presidio de Carmen." A. G. M., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, B., 229, f. 1001, J. de Iturrigaray to J. Cevallos and J. A. Caballero, March 27, 1806.

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United States take measures to frustrate the designs of the traitor Miranda and declared that, if such steps were not taken, the Government ought not to be surprised if her citizens engaged in the enterprise were treated as pirates.[a] This letter was returned to the Spaniard.[b] The Spanish minister had recourse to Turreau, the French minister to the United States, to whom he made similar representations, with the request that he act as his exponent to the Government of the United States.[c] The French minister soon had an interview with Madison on the subject of Miranda's expedition. He gave an interesting account of this to Yrujo. Turreau declared that he saw in the Secretary's eyes "conviction" on the subject of their fears. It was with difficulty, said Turreau, that Madison broke silence and explained that the President had anticipated his representations by ordering steps to be taken against the accomplices of Miranda who could be reached.[d]

On February 8, 1806, Turreau forwarded to Madison on behalf of Yrujo, a formal protest against the attitude of the United States Government in regard to the expedition of Miranda.[e] This was only the prelude to the correspondence. On February 10 Madison informed Turreau that there was a statute in the United States "for enforcing the law of Nations in such cases," and repeated his verbal assurance that immediate steps had been taken by the President to

[a] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, Spain, 1 (copy).

[b] Indorsement on the above, ibid.

[c] Turreau to Madison, February 8, 1806, ibid., Notes from Legations, France, 2 and 3.

[d] Adams, United States, II, 194, 195. A copy of the document is found in the Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59, f. 209.

[e] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, France 2 and 3, a copy is found in the Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59, f. 118. The most important part of the dispatch is as follows: "M. le Marquis de Casa Yrujo, envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire de S. M. Catholique, m'instruit 'que un Batiment Américain, armé de dix-huit Canons, le Léandre, employé depuis longtems dans le commerce odieux de St. Domingue, avait reçu à bord beaucoup des Fusils, des Carabines, du Plombe, de la Poudre, de Piques, des Selles pour Chevaux et d'autres articles de munitions de guerre. Une presse, six garçons imprimeurs, beaucoup de Marchandises et de provisions. Que M. Miranda était à bord, ayant avec lui, comme officiers et Aides de camp quelques jeunes gens de New York, parmi lesquels se trouvaient le fils du Colonel William Smith et un autre jeune homme du nom d'Armstrong et parent du Ministre des Etats-Unis auprès de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon.' * * * M. le Marquis d'Yrujo ajoute: 'Le Gouvernement, dont les Agens sont très nombreuse à New York ne peut ignorer ni les particularités de cet armement, ni l'objet de sa destination décidé par tant de Circonstances préalables et auxiliaires. Il est responsable de cette violation de la Neutralité de son territoire et des conséquences qui peuvent en être la Suite. C'est pourquoi je crois qu'il est de sa Justice d'expédier, sans perte de tems, une ou plus des frégates, qui, d'après le rapport de M. le Ministre de la Marine, sont en état de mettre de suite à la voile, pour ramener dans les Ports des Etats-Unis ces nouveaux Filibustiers. Dans l'impossibilité, moi même de faire les réclamations convenables, Je vous prie, Monsieur le General, d'être mon interprète auprès du Gouvernement Américain et de lui déclarer que si les effets prompts et immédiats qu'on doit espérer de sa justice ne peuvent empêcher la reussite d'un projet incroyable parmi les Nations civilisées, les citoyens Américains trouvés les armes à la Main dans cet bande de Brigands, seront traités comme des Pirates.'"

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prosecute such offenders as were within the reach of the law.[a] On the following day Turreau replied with a letter in which he asked for a "frank explanation" on the subject in order that he might be able to duly inform his Government.[b] Madison then repeated the previous communication with what he declared to be the "same frankness," adding that the steps already taken would be followed by such others as might be suggested by the proceedings. In conclusion, he took occasion to assure Turreau that if the United States should "at any time find it necessary to engage in hostility with any foreign nation, it will be conducted by their Government in a manner neither underhand nor unwarrantable."[c]

At the request of Yrujo, on February 15, Turreau forwarded a letter from the former which doubtless contained a fresh complaint against the Government of the United States.[d] Madison returned it with the statement that the Spanish Government ought to have known better than to employ the "writer of the letter as its organ." He suggested that Spain had in the United States other than diplomatic functionaries whose communications if sufficiently urgent "would always be admissible during the failure of the diplomatic resource."[e] Again the Spanish minister was forced to employ Turreau as his medium. The latter informed the Government of the United States that Yrujo maintained that that Government had had the means of checking "the scandalous plan" of Miranda, and that if it did not take proper measures for that end, he would inform the commanders of the Spanish colonies so that they might take measures adapted to the circumstances.[f] This was not by any means the end of the complaints, for Turreau, inspired doubtless by the indignant Spanish minister, made further representations to Madison

[a] "I have been duly honored with your letter of the 8th inst on the subject of an alledged expedition from New York, in an armed vessel belonging to a citizen of the United States, and conveying not only Military stores, but other citizens engaged for military purposes, the whole under the charge of Gen[l] Miranda, and with a destination contrary to the Neutrality of the United States.

"It will be sufficient, sir, to observe to you that a particular Statute exists in the U. States for enforcing the law of Nations in such cases; and to repeat as I had the honor, two days ago, of stating verbally, that the proceeding complained of was no sooner reported to the Government than instructions were given by the President for immediately investigating the facts, and putting in execution the law against whatever offenders might be within its reach. If the representation therefore, which in some of its particulars at least may be suspected of error; should be found to have required the interposition of the Government the readiness with which it was made will have furnished a fresh proof of its regard for those rules of conduct which the neutrality of nations impose on them." Copy, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59, f. 119.

[b] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, France, 2 and 3.

[c] Madison to Turreau, February 12, 1806 (copy), Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59, f. 120, 121.

[d] Turreau to Madison, February 15, 1806 (copy), ibid., f. 121.

[e] Madison to Turreau, February 17, 1806 (copy), ibid., f. 121, 122.

[f] Turreau to Madison, February 26, 1806, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, France, 2 and 3.

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on March 14.[a] Later, on behalf of Yrujo, he asked repeatedly that measures be taken to prevent the departure of armed vessels which he supposed were preparing to join Miranda.[b] The French Government was also informed of the expedition of Miranda.

That enterprise was also the subject of diplomatic correspondence in Europe. On March 15, 1806, Madison informed Armstrong, the minister of the United States in Paris, of the Miranda affair, in order, as the Secretary expressed it, that he might be "able to guard the reputation and responsibility of the United States against any perverted views."[c] On April 24 Armstrong, fearing perhaps the effects of newspaper reports upon the French Government, wisely took the initiative and directed a letter to the French minister of foreign affairs in which he denied that his Government had had any connivance in the affair.[d] A short time afterwards he transmitted copies of letters which had passed between Turreau and Madison in respect to the expedition, to demonstrate how early the United States had instituted measures against the accomplices of Miranda.[e]

The formal representations of Masserano, the Spanish representative in Paris, were thus anticipated and to an extent weakened. In his brief to Talleyrand, the latter stated that the Government of the United States had accorded support and favor to Miranda, and asked France to make a vigorous complaint through her minister at Washington. The occurrence was described as a "manifest violation of neutrality" and an "event without example among civilized nations." It was pointed out that the interests of France were affected, as such enterprises would weaken Spain when France needed her aid.[f] Such appeals placed serious obstacles in the way of the negotiations which Armstrong was attempting to conduct in Paris for the adjustment of disputes between Spain and the United States. He succeeded, however, in inducing the French Government to promote "amicable adjustment" with the United States.[g] In June, 1806, such a suggestion was made by Talleyrand to Masserano, coupled with the advice that the Spanish Government ought to take steps to protect its possessions in America against invasions.[h] Although this did not end the appeals and the complaints of the Spaniards, yet it must have had a deterrent effect on the Spanish Government and

[a] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, France, 2 and 3.

[b] Turreau to Madison, March 18, 1806, March 23, 1806, August 23, 1806, and January 20, 1807, ibid.

[c] Madison to Armstrong, March 15, 1806, ibid., Instructions to Ministers, 6.

[d] Armstrong to Madison, April 26, 1806, ibid., Despatches from Ministers, France, 10.

[e] Armstrong to Talleyrand, April 29, 1806, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59, f. 117.

[f] Masserano to Talleyrand, May 10 and June 16. 1806, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 59. The quotation is from the note of May 10.

[g] Armstrong to Monroe, July 9, 1806, Monroe MSS., XI, f. 1382.

[h] Erving to Monroe, August 11, 1806, ibid., f. 1391; Talleyrand to Masserano, June 24, 1806, Adams Transcripts, French Papers, III.

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thus operated to prevent the outbreak of war between Spain and the United States.

The protests of Yrujo and Turreau were doubtless influential in inducing the Government of the United States to push measures against the men who had aided Miranda in fitting out the expedition. Madison and Jefferson perhaps hoped that in this manner they might clear themselves of the gathering suspicion that they had connived with Miranda by permitting the expedition to depart. Colonel Smith was removed from office and indicted with Ogden for participation in the affair. In his examination Smith declared that he had promoted the expedition because he believed that it was being prepared with the knowledge and consent of the President and the Secretary of State.[a] On April 18, 1806, Congress was memorialized by the men indicted. They declared that officials of the United States in New York had been aware of the preparation of the expedition, yet no measures had been taken to check it.[b] Allegations of a similar sort were made during the course of the trial. Public sentiment favored the accused men and many believed that their charges against the Government were true.[c] It was probably largely because of this feeling that Smith and Ogden were acquitted. None of the administrative officers were brought from Washington to give evidence. The accused men were jubilant. Ogden wrote to Miranda and informed him that they had triumphed over their "enemies and the oppression of the Government."[d]

There was much newspaper comment on the trial; the opposition press turned the Miranda affair into "a battery against the administration." Among others, the New York Evening Post drew up an indictment against the administration. It declared that the trial of Smith and Ogden was "the most wicked, perfidious, and detestable persecution that ever disgraced a civilized country."[e] The United States Gazette characterized it as "Jefferson and Madison's trial." It intimated that the real point at issue was the attitude of the administration toward the expedition, and that the acquittal of Smith and Ogden convicted the Government of misconduct.[f] In spite of the defense of Jefferson and Madison by some newspapers, they must have squirmed under the criticism. The former wrote a letter to the Aurora affirming that the claim that Miranda's expedition was "countenanced" by himself and the Secretary of State was "an absolute falsehood." "To know as much of it as we could was

[a] Trial of Smith and Ogden, XXIV.

[b] The Aurora, May 28, 1806.

[c] S. L. Mitchell to Madison, July 17, 1806, Madison MSS., XXIX, f. 10, gives the sentiment in New York City.

[d] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 416.

[e] As quoted in the United States Gazette, September 25, 1806. A defense of the administration is found in the Aurora, March 14 and July 7, 1806. The Columbian Centinel, September 17, 1806, takes ground against the administration.

[f] August 7, 1806.

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our duty, but not to encourage it."[a] After the trial was over Madison wrote to a friend and declared that a full "disclosure" would have to be "left to time, which alone will do full justice to all parties."[b]

Many interesting comments were made on the object of the expedition of Miranda. It was suggested that he was engaged in a commercial enterprise, that he intended to make a raid on the city of Buenos Ayres, or that he intended to "seize upon the treasury of Peru."[c] When the true nature of the expedition became known, sentiment generally favored the success of the adventurer. The Richmond Enquirer suggested that England might aim at the control of Spanish America. It pointed out that if Miranda was successful, Spain might "tremble for all her possessions in South America." "A new confederation of States might start into existence." Peering into the future, it declared that the people would become freer as they became more enlightened; "the United States of South America like the United States of the North, will represent to admiring Europe another republic independent, confederated, and happy." It accordingly wished success to the man who desired to give freedom to his native land.[d] The Newark Centinel declared: "We are among those who wish him success, and who would gladly echo his triumphs. Not because we are anxious to see him decorated with the ensigns of royalty or clothed with the majesty of wealth, but because a great empire would be open to the enterprise of our citizens, and an abject and miserable people would become a nation of freemen."[e] The Richmond Enquirer expressed the hope that General Miranda might become "the Washington of South America."[f] The Western World, of Frankfort, Ky., classed Miranda's expedition with the various attempts that had been made to separate the western country from the United States. It printed a series of articles on "The Kentucky Association, Blount's Conspiracy, and General Miranda's Expedition." It declared that "The conspiracy of Blount, and the late expedition of Miranda, in our opinion may be traced to the same source, and are only similar speculations planned in a different direction * * * the projectors of the first scheme led others connected with them to the adoption of the two last."[g]

It was not until the *Leander* had been several days at sea that the commander in chief showed himself on deck, and many of his followers beheld him for the first time. "His mien and deportment and

[a] Randall, Life of Jefferson, III, 167.
[b] Letters of Madison, II, 226.
[c] Richmond Enquirer in Federal Gazette, March 4, 1806.
[d] Ibid., April 8, 1806.
[e] As quoted in Federal Gazette, June 30, 1806.
[f] Richmond Enquirer as quoted in Federal Gazette, March 8, 1806.
[g] Western World, as quoted in Federal Gazette, August 13, 1806. See ibid. for August 14, August 25, September 24, October 11, and November 11, 1806.

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air of authority," said Moses Smith, one of his unsophisticated followers, "distinguished him from all the others. He had on a red gown and slippers, and his physiognomy showed that he was not of our country. It was whispered about that he was a great general, called Miranda, whose name had been celebrated; but it was new and strange to me."[a] By this time it had become apparent to some of the recruits that they were not destined to become members of the President's guard. Some knew or suspected that the real object of the expedition was to revolutionize Caracas, and were encouraged to believe that the Government of Jefferson had given its "implied sanction" to the undertaking.[b] It was also intimated that the "countenance and cooperation of the British" would be received.[c] High expectations of success were based on the alleged disposition of the inhabitants to join Miranda's standard.[d]

It is during this part of the adventure that Miranda is presented in the most favorable light. Even according to the account of Biggs, one of his followers who later became prejudiced against him, he was courteous and conciliatory to his followers. Biggs, who wrote a valuable series of letters on the expedition, informs us that Miranda conversed with the young men on literature and commended the study of the Spanish language and mathematics, as skill in them was a sure means of promotion in his service. He entertained those more advanced in years with his ideas on "politicks and war," drawing illustrations from his own varied experiences. The company was impressed with his iron memory and his marvelous power of "colloquial eloquence."[d] Evidently his aim was "to sow in the minds of his followers, the seeds of heroical deeds; of liberty, and revolution."[e]

On February 12, the *Leander* fell in with His Britannic Majesty's ship, *Cleopatra*. About a score of the *Leander's* crew were impressed by the lieutenant of the British vessel.[f] Not until Miranda went on board the *Cleopatra* and submitted documents to Captain Wight showing his relations with the English governmental officials, thereby convincing him that he was a "person in the confidence of the Ministry," did the commander of the *Cleopatra* decide to allow the *Leander* to proceed.[g] When Miranda returned on board his vessel he brought with him, as some recompense for the impressed seamen, a number of Americans who had been recently captured by the *Cleopatra*.[h] In return Miranda seems to have promised the English captain that, if he were successful, the ports of Terra Firma were to be opened to English commerce.[i] Wight was intrusted with a letter to Admiral

[a] Moses Smith, 19.
[b] Biggs, 4, 6.
[c] Ibid., 7.
[d] Ibid., 8, 9, 10.
[e] Ibid., 9, 10.
[f] Ibid., 10, 11.
[g] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 519; Biggs, 12.
[h] Biggs, 13; Moses Smith, 21.
[i] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 519.

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Mitchell, the English naval commander in North American waters, in which Miranda asked that, if it was not inconsistent with Mitchell's instructions, the *Cleopatra* might be permitted to cooperate with the *Leander*.[a]

Miranda soon tried to organize and train his motley following. On February 14 the officers in what was designated as the "Columbian army" were appointed. The recruits were separated into corps of engineers, artillerymen, artificers, light dragoons, riflemen, and infantrymen.[b] An order was issued establishing a fixed and distinctive uniform for each class.[c] Biggs presents a vivid picture of scenes on shipboard. Those ignorant of military tactics busied themselves studying manuals of the art. The armorer was engaged in mending the "old muskets, pointless bayonets, and rusty swords" that had been shipped. The carpenters were employed making staves for the pikes. The drill sergeants were training recruits in the use of arms. The press was at work printing the commissions of the "Commander-in-chief of the Columbian Army" to his officers, and his proclamation to the people of South America. On March 24 articles of war were subscribed to in which the officers of Miranda swore to be "true and faithful" to the free people of South America.[d] On March 12 the Columbian colors of red, yellow, and blue were first displayed.[e]

In the meantime the *Leander* had arrived at Jacmel. At this port a bitter dispute took place between Captain Lewis, of the *Leander*, and Armstrong, one of Miranda's officers, in which Miranda interfered and espoused the side of Armstrong. One of Miranda's followers declared that before the wrangling was over the military commander appeared "more fit for bedlam than for the command of an army."[f] This exhibition of passion injured Miranda's prestige. Other demoralizing disputes followed, which generally originated over some point involving the relative jurisdiction of Captain Lewis and General Miranda.[g] Captain Lewis and Major Smith were dispatched from Jacmel to Port-au-Prince to inform Commodore Lewis of the proximity of the *Leander*[h] and to invite him to join Miranda with the *Emperor*, as had been agreed upon. But the commodore prudently decided not to follow Miranda, probably because of the news which he heard of the trial of Smith and Ogden.[i] Consequently Miranda's expectations of aid from this quarter were sadly disappointed. After more than a month's delay, during which the adventure was in constant danger of being spied upon and reported to the Spanish main, Miranda decided to leave Jacmel, having secured two

[a] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 518.
[b] Biggs, 19, 20, and note.
[c] Ibid., 21.
[d] Ibid., 26–29, 42, 43.
[e] Ibid., 35.
[f] Ibid., 25.
[g] Ibid., 26, 49, 50, 52, 53, 59, 60, 63.
[h] Ibid., 22, 32.
[i] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 417, 418; Biggs, 33, 39.

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small vessels, the *Bacchus* and the *Bee*, and some meager reenforcements.[a]

In spite of strenuous objections some of the men were now transferred to the schooners, where they were soon in a semimutinous condition.[b] On leaving Jacmel is seems to have been Miranda's intention to steer for the island of Bonair, but after being ten days at sea, through the ignorance of the pilot or other mishap, the company found themselves 70 miles to leeward of that place, with the current and the trade winds against them.[c] By good fortune, however, the naval force was able to arrive at the island of Aruba by April 11.[d] At this island the troops were disembarked, accoutered, and drilled under the direction of Colonel Kirkland.[e] On April 16 the roving adventurers proceeded on their way, accompanied by an English vessel, *The Echo*, which soon left them.[f] On April 24 the squadron left the island of Bonair and headed toward the coast of Ocumare.[g] On the next day most of the sailors on board the *Leander* were induced to enlist in Miranda's service. The total fighting force now amounted to about 180 men.[h] With this insignificant force Miranda was at last on the point of striking a blow at Spain.

Because of the warning sent by Yrujo, the captain-general of Caracas, Guevara Vasconcelos, had taken measures to fortify the province against attack. In particular, the commanders of the Spanish guarda costas had been enjoined to be vigilant.[i] The delay at Santo Domingo had given the slow-moving Spaniards time to act. The warning had been passed along to the viceroy of Santa Fé and to the province of Santa Marta.[j] It was evidently largely because of the preventive measures which had been taken that an attempt which was made to land near Porto Cavello, in the captain-generalship of Caracas, on the night of April 27, was signally thwarted by the interference of two Spanish guarda costas that had been hovering near the small convoy for some time. The two schooners that had become separated from the *Leander* were fiercely attacked by the Spaniards. For some reason, perhaps because of the excessive caution or the cowardice of Miranda, "the redoubtable Miranda and the Almighty Lewis"[k] fled, leaving about three score men on board the unarmed

[a] Biggs, 38–40, 46, 48, 49; Sherman, 40–43.
[b] Biggs, 47; Moses Smith, 24.
[c] Biggs, 53, 54; Moses Smith, 25.
[d] Biggs, 55; Sherman, 45.
[e] Ibid.; Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681.
[f] Biggs, 56; Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681.
[g] Biggs, 65; Sherman, 46.
[h] Biggs, 69; Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681.
[i] Minute of Vasconcelos, June 16, 1806, shows that the warning of Yrujo had been received on March 1, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.
[j] Yrujo to Cevallos, April 16, 1806, inclosing an extract from a letter of Vasconcelos, A. H. N., Estado, 5555.
[k] This is the phrase applied by Ingersoll, one of Miranda's followers. Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681.

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schooners to defend themselves against the Spaniards. The men on board the schooners fought manfully, despite the fact that some of them had been on the point of mutinying, but being outnumbered they were soon overpowered by their assailants and were plundered, bound, and carried in triumph to the Continent.[a]

The unfortunate captives were buried in the filthy dungeons of San Felipe at Porto Cavello. They lay wounded and suffering in this "living sepulchre" and breathed the mephitic air until summoned before the tribunal of Spanish justice. "The richest powers of imagery," said Moses Smith, "could not enhance the picture."[b] The trial was held in the house of their imprisonment, contrary to the first intentions of the Spaniards. The charge was "piracy, rebellion, and murder," for not all of the Spaniards had escaped from the exploit with their lives.[c] There were several judges, with clerks and interpreters. The captives were subjected to a rigorous examination and cross-examination. Special pains were taken to secure information regarding any of the inhabitants of the Spanish main who might be in the confidence of Miranda. Attempts were also made to uncover the motives which had led the filibusters to engage and to persist in the expedition. One of them, at least, offered the truth in evidence, but the judge apparently could not credit his story.[d]

The decision was pronounced on July 12 by Vasconcelos, the presiding judge. He endeavored to graduate the punishment according to the age of the offenders and the degree to which they had actually promoted the expedition. Ten were condemned to death by hanging. Fifteen were condemned to the prison of Omoa for ten years. Thirteen were condemned to serve for the same period in the castle of Porto Rico. Sixteen were to pass eight years of the same durance vile in the castle of Boca Chica, near Carthagena. Three of the youngest members of the expedition, who were little more than boys, were assigned to the fortress of Carthagena until the King's pleasure might be manifested. The attempt of the filibusters was declared to be an "atrocious crime." Their leader was characterized as a "perfidious traitor." The judgment was to be carried out at once. The heads of eight of the ringleaders were to be exposed in the most prominent places of La Guayra, Paparo, Valencia, Porto Cavello, and Caracas. The heads of the two luckless men who had landed on the coast of Ocumare were to be exhibited in that region. The hangman was to burn the banner of Miranda with his proclamation and portrait. The inhabitants of the province were prohibited from making

[a] Biggs, 70–78, lays the blame for the flight primarily on Miranda; Moses Smith, 28, does not attempt to fix the responsibility; Ingersoll disagrees with Biggs, Am. Hist. Rev., III, 681, 682.

[b] Moses Smith, 29.

[c] Ibid., 32.

[d] Ibid., 32–40.

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any communication with Miranda or from having any relations, direct or indirect, with the traitor, except for the purpose of capturing him. In the name of the King 30,000 pesos were to be offered for his capture, dead or alive, even by a slave, who in addition to the financial reward was to be given his freedom.[a]

The judgment of Vasconcelos was soon carried out. The men condemned to death were executed in a cruel and barbarous fashion. Their heads were severed from the trunks and stuck on poles.[b] After the execution the tricolored flag of Miranda, with the uniforms, commissions, arms, and proclamations that had been captured were burnt in derision.[c] Throughout the proceedings of the Spanish officials may be discerned the purpose of making the misguided adventurers a terrible example. In the fascinating account of his adventures on this ill-fated expedition, Moses Smith makes this instructive comment: "In the mean insults and sanguinary triumphs of these Spaniards we read Miranda's apology."[d]

What we know of the subsequent history of the hapless prisoners is cruelly romantic. Some of them were not endowed with a sufficiently strong constitution to withstand the terrible hardships which they were forced to endure; they sickened or pined away and died in the prison or in the hospital.[e] In December, 1806, about a score of them addressed a memorial to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the United States describing their evil state and asserting their right to protection by that Government,[f] but in vain.[g] The friends of some of the unfortunates asked Jefferson how to proceed to secure their deliverance.[h] A number of the men succeeded in making their escape to the land of freedom after many perils and hairbreadth escapes; many lost their lives in the attempt.[i] Capt. Thomas Sanford, who was instrumental in promoting the escape of several of the captives, formed a plan for the liberation of the rest of them which he submitted to Jefferson, asking for $4,000 or $5,000 and the sanction of the Government in order that he might proceed,[j] but without avail.

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[a] A report of the proceedings in this trial is found in the dispatch of Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, August 2, 1806; the sentence is also given in a dispatch of Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, September 30, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9. The accounts of some of the captives are found in Moses Smith, 42–47; Am. Hist. Rev., III, 682; Sherman, 67–70.

[b] Moses Smith, 46–51. A number of documents showing the execution of the decree accompany the dispatch of Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, August 2, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

[c] Moses Smith, 50; Sherman, 77, 78.

[d] Moses Smith, 51.

[e] Ibid., 120–; Sherman, 119–.

[f] Sherman, 96–99, note.

[g] Annals of Congress, 10th Cong., 2d sess., 488, 492, 511, 896–898; ibid., 11th Cong., 1st sess., 161, 257, 269–315.

[h] John Rookes to Jefferson, March 25, 1807, Jefferson MSS., series 2, XVII, f. 112.

[i] Moses Smith, 130–135; Sherman, 79–120.

[j] Sanford to Jefferson, December 23, 1808, Jefferson MSS., series 2, LXXVII, f. 5–.

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Fortunately for a few of the men, the English Government was not deaf to appeals which it could indorse. Jeremiah Powell was set at liberty by the Spanish authorities in 1807 after representations had been made by England to Spain at the request of his father.[a] Early in 1809 the English Government also asked for the release of Henry Ingersoll.[b] About the same time it requested that John Moore be set free, declaring that he was an English subject.[c] Influenced perhaps by the desire to maintain undisturbed the harmony existing between England and Spain, who were then allies, the Spanish Government soon issued orders directing that these two men be set at liberty.[d] In 1810, at the instance of a merchant at Carthagena, most of the remaining prisoners seem to have been at length released.[e]

The capture of their companions had a depressing effect upon the spirits of the *Leander's* company. The loss of confidence in their leader stimulated disaffection among them. Miranda, however, soon recovered his equipoise and decided that there were two possible modes of procedure; the first was to proceed at once to Trinidad for the purpose of securing aid from the English and acquiring information regarding the state of South America; the second was "to attempt an immediate landing at Coro." A council of war decided on the first as the best mode of action.[f] Accordingly the *Leander* sailed toward Trinidad, attempting to avoid every strange sail.

On May 23, however, she was overhauled by the British sloop of war *Lily*, from which the *Leander* secured some much needed supplies.[g] Captain Campbell, of the British vessel, characterized the "Master of the *Leander*" as "a perfect pirate in idea," and declared that the "crew was perfectly disatisfied and nearly in a state of mutiny."[h] The *Lily* escorted the remainder of Miranda's squadron to the island of Grenada.[i] Here they were very hospitably received by Governor Maitland, who, on April 12, 1806, had written to Downing street advising that in case of Miranda's success it would be necessary for England to take possession of the islands of Margarita and Curaçao for commercial purposes.[j] The condition of the adventurers at this time was little short of desperate, as the ship was almost without provisions and water. Miranda soon decided to proceed to Barbados to consult the English naval and military commanders

[a] A. H. N., Estado, 5559, are a number of documents on this topic; see the statement of the case of Jeremiah Powell by John Hunter, February 8, 1807, Hunter to Cevallos, June 10, 1807, also the letter of W. D. Powell, June 6, 1807, dated at Aranjués.

[b] Apodaca to Canning, March 28, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 83.

[c] Apodaca to Hammond, January 7, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 83.

[d] Apodaca to Canning, March 28, 1809, ibid.; Am. Hist. Rev., III, 698.

[e] Moses Smith, 135.

[f] Biggs, 79, 81, 82.

[g] Ibid., 87, 92, 93.

[h] Am. Hist. Rev., VI., 523.

[i] Biggs, 93.

[j] Maitland to Windham, April 12, 1806, P. R. O., Grenada, 35.

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at that island. "To enable" him to get there Governor Maitland supplied him with "ten days provisions for one Hundred and twenty Men."[a] The *Leander* again proceeded on its devious voyage, convoyed by Captain Campbell.

The *Leander* arrived at Barbados in the end of the first week in June.[b] The leader probably entertained great expectations of securing aid from Cochrane, the British admiral stationed there, for as early as April 5 the latter had written to Miranda informing him that if he was "acting under the Authority of the British Government," he would consider it his duty to afford him "every assistance in" his power.[c] So plausibly did Miranda narrate to the sympathetic English admiral his various negotiations with England that on June 9 an agreement was reached. The admiral promised to support Miranda with such a naval force as he could afford, which would be at least "a sloop of war and two brigs, and probably a frigate." He also promised "such further support" as he could occasionally give, and agreed to protect the expedition from a Spanish naval force, if any should arrive in that quarter. Cochrane also granted Miranda permission to recruit his depleted forces at Barbados as well as at Trinidad. Miranda engaged, in the event of his success, that the independent Spanish-American States would grant special commercial privileges to Great Britain. This provisional arrangement was to last until a treaty of commerce should be concluded between Great Britain and the liberated provinces. British citizens were to be assisted in the recovery of their "legal and just debts."[d]

Admiral Cochrane sent a copy of this compact to Earl Spencer, suggested that 5,000 men be sent immediately from England to "complete the business," and urged that the Government take immediate steps to secure possession of Angostura, which would serve as a vantage point to England and aid the designs of Miranda. He declared that he felt justified in aiding Miranda and in recommending this action because of the great market that would be given to English manufacturers by the revolutionizing of Spanish America. "As this vast Country both by its Sea Coast and Rivers, offers a field for great commercial speculation, and coupling with this the situation of Great Britain is now placed with respect to the Ports of Europe which, except Portugal, are shut from Venice to the Baltic, I conceived, although rather out of my province, I should be doing my Country a most essential Service by making the before mentioned agreement and assisting General Miranda as far as Naval co-operation can be carried, with the small part of the force under my command, which

[a] Maitland to Windham, May 29, 1806, P. R. O., Grenada, 35.
[b] Biggs, 95.
[c] Copy in P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 327.
[d] A copy is found in P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 327; it is printed in Antepara, 213–215.

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can be spared from the attention I must pay to the Islands."[a] He suggested that, if Miranda succeeded, a formal treaty should be concluded with him.[b] By a peculiar coincidence on the very day on which Cochrane and Miranda struck this unauthorized bargain, the London Times declared that a British admiral would scarcely commit himself so far as to offer to cooperate with a man, who, if he should fall into the hands of the enemy, was "liable to be treated as a buccaneer or pirate."[b]

Miranda also tried to induce General Bowyer, commander in chief of the British land forces at the Leeward Islands, to cooperate with him. Two long conferences appear to have been held. On June 10 Miranda embodied his views in a note addressed to the British general. In this the implication was conveyed that the British Government had decided to aid Miranda in case his attack was successful. Accompanying this note was a memorandum asking for the aid of 775 soldiers, 500 of whom were to be "Blacks and People of Colour." He also asked for 500 sabers or side arms, 1,500 muskets with bayonets, 4 field pieces with ammunition, 2 howitzers, and provisions for 200 men for three months.[c] On the following day Bowyer replied that although aware of the great advantages which would accrue to Great Britain as the result of Miranda's success, he was reluctantly forced to decline cooperating with him "not having had the least

[a] June 12, 1806, P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 327.

[b] June 9, 1806.

[c] "After the confidential statement I had the honor to submit to you on Sunday last, relative to the object of the present expedition under my Command, and the views of the British Government, in case of its success; which plan was previously concerted with His Britanick Majesty's Ministers before I left England in September last. Considering also the unforseen circumstances that have compelled me to call at this Island, and the critical situation in which Great Britain has been placed at this present moment, on account of the most extraordinary Events that have taken place lately on the Continent of Europe, whose results may bring the greatest calamity both to Great Britain and the inhabitants of South America, who, at this moment look for their Emancipation under the Auspices and Protection of Great Britain, which positive promises have been given and transmitted through me to those Colonies.

"I earnestly request you to give us the assistance that may lay in your power, for the purpose of carrying into immediate execution the above preconcerted Plan of Independency for the Spanish Colonies of South America.

"I know that you have received no orders yet, from Great Britain to co-operate in this important Enterprise, because the place of our operations was to be in a distant quarter, and that the late Ministry was to receive news of our landing on the Continent of South America before they could send their ultimate Orders for the purpose, but the unforseen circumstances that have retarded my Operations, having prevented my writing to them before I could execute the Plan in contemplation; I think it my duty to make this application to you, and I have no doubt, that the assistance which you may be able to afford us, with the essential support which I have already received from the British Admiral on this Station, also from the Governor of this Island, and that of Grenada, will enable us to accomplish this important Enterprize, in which the Commerial and Political Interests of Great Britain are so deeply involved.

"I have the honor to transmit you the enclosed Memorandum of the Supplies, and Forces, some of which are essentially necessary, and all may be rendered useful, in our Operations." Miranda to Bowyer, June 10, 1806 (copy), P. R. O., W. & L. Is., 22. This is the fullest available statement of Miranda regarding his understanding (?) with the British Government on leaving England for the United States.

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communication or orders concerning the Expedition in question" from any official of his Government. He advised Miranda, however, to wait until he could receive instructions from England.[a] Miranda also made an effort to induce Lord Seaforth, governor of Barbados, to aid him, but was again unsuccessful.[b]

Meanwhile the Spaniards had not been altogether idle. The numerous dispatches sent to the authorities in Spain by the captain-general of Caracas reflect the fright which he had been given by the proximity of Miranda. Even before the encounter of Miranda and the guarda costas, Vasconcelos had voiced his alarm in a dispatch to the Spanish Government in which he declared that he could not imagaine "a more calamitous situation." The territories under his control were very extensive, and they contained a large number of negro slaves, among whom the spirit of disaffection might easily spread.[c] In a dispatch of May 2 the captain-general described his situation as "very critical." He indicated the measures which he had taken for the purpose of defeating Miranda; two spies, Pondo and Covachich, had been sent out to gather intelligence; the various commanders in Cumana, Margarita, Coro, La Guayra, Maracaibo, and Guayana had been urged to redouble their vigilance, to defend valiantly the province if attacked, and to beware of false alarms; steps had been taken to strengthen the province against attack by distributing arms, by ordering the completion of batteries and fortifications, by stationing troops on the threatened frontiers, and by endeavoring to animate the inhabitants to a vigorous defense.[d]

Although there are not lacking in the dispatches apprehensions regarding the real attitude of some of the Spanish Americans toward the filibuster, yet many of the inhabitants in Miranda's native province showed a commendable fidelity in responding to the calls made upon them. Almost a thousand of them made contributions to a fund,[e] which was probably used to defray the expense of protecting the province against the threatened invasion. The ayuntamiento of Miranda's native city made effusive declarations of the loyalty of the inhabitants to the King. Miranda was characterized as a "traitor," and a "conspirator," who had committed enormous crimes.[f] Early in May this council initiated measures for the collection of subscriptions to a fund for the reward of anyone who might capture Miranda, dead or alive. It declared that all the inhabitants mortally hated him and wished "to see him reduced to ashes."[g]

[a] June 11, 1806 (copy), P. R. O., W. and L. Is., 22.
[b] Biggs, 95.
[c] Vasconcelos to the minister of state, March 5, 1806, A. H. N., Estado, 5555.
[d] Ibid., May 7, 1806, ibid., 5546.
[e] Report of Vasconcelos, April 3, 1807, and minute, Madrid, September 22, 1807, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9.
[f] Rojas, El General Miranda, 179-183.
[g] Ibid., 184, 185.

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The contagion of fear also affected the viceroy of Santa Fé, who reported that he had taken military precautions for the purpose of guarding the territories under his control.[a] The more or less highly colored reports which the captain-general of Caracas received from various quarters regarding the activities and the pernicious designs of Miranda naturally made him more and more apprehensive regarding the loyalty and the safety of his province. On June 3 he addressed a prolix dispatch to the Prince of Peace, in which he presented a melancholy and distressing picture. Conspirators of state had taken refuge in Trinidad, and were plotting with smugglers against the province. There were a large number of negro slaves and other people of color who were prone to insurrection. He feared the genius of Miranda and "the name and reputation which he had among his countrymen." The forces under his command were inadequate. He was inclined to question seriously the fidelity of the militia. The treasury of the province was being drained. The people were suffering from lack of provisions. He feared another attack on the country, which he declared was greatly coveted by the English and the Americans. Consequently, Vasconcelos felt forced to ask for additional reenforcements to the extent of at least four battalions of infantry and also for a supply of munitions of war.[b]

After completing his consultations with Cochrane, not being willing to await the receipt of advices from England by General Bowyer, Miranda determined to make another attack on the Spanish possessions as soon as possible. Having secured the addition of twenty-five or thirty volunteers, chiefly of a vagabond type, on June 20 the *Leander* left Barbados accompanied by the *Lily*, his Majesty's brig *Express*, and a merchant schooner, *The Trimmer*.[c] As the result of a disagreement between Miranda and Captain Lewis, the latter gave up his post, and the guidance of the ship was intrusted to one whom Biggs characterized as "a very inexperienced young man."[d] The

[a] Amar to the commander in chief by land and sea, May 19, 1806: "Exmo Señor, Muy Señor Mío: Consiguiente á lo que he informado á V. E. en oficio no. 13 de 7 del corriente sobre los perfidos designios del rebelde Miranda contra las costas de Venezuela y de las ordenes que ya habia dado por mi parte á los gobernadores de esta dependencia para que se esté con vigilancia y acuda á la defensa de cualquier parage amenazado de dirigirse contra él empresa tan fermentida, acompañó á V. E. copia de las prevenciones que hago al gobernador de Cartagena exitando su zelo y conocimientos á emplear todos los recursos que tiene á su disposicion en el socorro y refuerzo do los puntos amenazados de invacion a fin de desgraciar los estragos é internacion del enemigo si llegase el caso de aproximarse á las costas del vireintao y dandole asimismo aquellas instrucciones que me han parecido oportunas para le defensa de la misma plaza de Cartagena y su territorio si contra ellos se dirigiesen tan detestables proyectos.

"Espero que todo merezca la superior aprobacion de V. E. como dirigido á la conservacion de estas preciosos dominios de S. M. y dictado con los mas sinceros deseos de desempeñar la confianza que he debido á su soberania de fiar su subsistencia á mis desvelos y constante afan por el mejor real servicio." A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

[b] A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

[c] Biggs, 95, 97.

[d] Ibid., 99.

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squadron soon arrived at Trinidad. Here Miranda received sympathetic treatment from Governor Hislop. The latter allowed the filibuster to gather volunteers even from the ranks of the local militia to serve under Colonel Rouvray and two other British officers, who had volunteered their services.[a] Miranda succeeded in gathering a number of recruits, in spite of the opposition of some of the people on the island. Some were decent men, but the greater number were adventurers.[b] Hislop informed his Government that as the expedition was "sanctioned by the protection of His majesty's Naval force," he had aided Miranda by trying to prevent, so far as possible, any communication between Trinidad and the Spanish main.[c]

It was rumored in the West Indies that Minto, an alleged compatriot of Miranda, on whom he depended for cooperation, was gathering a large force in Caracas.[d] Before leaving Trinidad Miranda increased his total fighting force to about three hundred men,[e] and secured additional "English supplies."[f] On July 24, the *Leander*, accompanied by His Majesty's vessels the *Lily*, *Express*, *Attentive*, *Provost*, and three of His Majesty's gunboats, besides the American brig *Commodore Barry*, and the English schooner *Trimmer*, left Trinidad.[g] The English Government vessels "composing the expedition attached to General Miranda," were by orders of Admiral Cochrane, commanded by Captain Campbell.[h]

On July 27 Miranda landed on the island of Coche, where the company remained one night and gained a few additional recruits.[i] In the night of August 1 the squadron arrived in the Bay of La Vela de Coro. The intention seems to have been to station the vessels near the town of that name, but by some error they were placed about 7 miles to leeward of the battery to be attacked.[j] This disadvantage of position and the heavy sea rendered the disembarkation of the attacking forces so difficult that the first detachment of the attacking forces was not landed until the morning of the 3d. This vanguard, led by De Rouvray, Colonel Downie, and Lieutenant Beddingfield of the royal navy, soon swept the Spanish forces from the beach and carried a battery by storm.[k] With the aid of the boats of the *Bacchante* of the English navy, the second division was soon landed and the Spanish troops were forced to fly "to the bush," leaving

[a] Ed. Rev., XIII, 295, note; Biggs, 103, 104.
[b] Biggs, 103; Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 526.
[c] Hislop to Windham, June 25, 1806, P. R. O., Trinidad, 15.
[d] Letter of July 18, 1806, from Trinidad, Federal Gazette, June 24, 1806.
[e] Biggs, 112, 113, note, gives the total at 291; Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 404, gives the total at 295, including 75 royal seamen; Biggs estimates the number of the latter at 81.
[f] Biggs, 102; Sherman, 113.
[g] Biggs, 108, 109; London Chronicle, October, 1806, 331.
[h] Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 404.
[i] Ibid., 404, 405; Biggs, 112.
[j] Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 405; Biggs, 112.
[k] Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 404, 405; Biggs, 115, 116.

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the invaders in possession of the forts with the artillery and ammunition as well as the town of La Vela de Coro. The royal banner of Spain was replaced by the tricolored standard of Miranda.[a]

If we may trust the report of the captain-general of Caracas, this success was due in large measure to the weak and defenseless condition of Coro, there being only sixty muskets in the district.[b] Most of the inhabitants had fled precipitately from the town, taking the greater part of their movable property with them. Miranda now had an opportunity to test his theory that the Spanish Americans would flock to his standard on invasion. "Flags of truce, with messages of peace, and assurances of protection both to person and property were immediately dispatched about the town and its environs, soliciting the fugitive inhabitants to return to their homes; but either through the order of Government, or affright, only some old women and a few men could be induced to accept the invitation."[c]

Miranda, evidently through some mishap, did not participate in the attack, but landed some time after the town had been captured. The next night he led his troops against the town of Coro, about 12 miles west of La Vela. This place was found to be almost deserted, for the Spaniards who had received greatly exaggerated reports of the size of the attacking forces, one estimate placing the number as high as 2,000 men, had deemed it the better part of valor to retire.[d] Miranda made attempts to recall the inhabitants similar to those which had been made at La Vela. On August 3 a proclamation was issued expounding his intentions; every official acting by authority from Spain was to suspend his functions at once; in the meantime the ecclesiastical and civil courts were to exercise the functions of government; a general assembly was to be formed of deputies from the different courts meeting in the capital and in time a "general and permanent" government might be formed; all citizens from the age of 16 to 55 were summoned to the army; those aiding the Spanish Government were to be treated as traitors; such persons as forsook the Spanish employment were to be rewarded; the public treasurers were to transfer the moneys to the new administrators; the standard of "national independence" was to be fixed in the highest and most conspicuous places and the citizens were to wear a cockade in their hats; the proclamation was to be fastened on the doors of churches and public buildings. A "Letter to the Spanish Americans," written by a Jesuit, Viscardo y Guzman, was also distributed and the inhabitants were enjoined to read it. "The public good," said Miranda, "is the supreme law."[e]

[a] Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 404, 405; Biggs, 116, 117.
[b] Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, September 13, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9.
[c] Biggs, 117.
[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 210; Biggs, 117, 118.
[e] Biggs, 125-131.

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This proclamation of policy suggests what Miranda's ideas were at this time regarding the government of the emancipated territory; it illustrates his undying confidence in the cooperation of the Spanish Americans; and it shows some traces of French revolutionary influence. But Miranda's endeavors to recall his fellow-countrymen were futile; the inhabitants of Coro had evidently been forced to leave their homes by the orders and threats of the Spanish commanders and the exhortations of the priests.[a] In a few days Miranda disconsolately marched his troops back to La Vela, hoping perhaps that the citizens of Coro would return to their homes.[b]

Although Miranda's hopes of obtaining substantial aid from his friends and fellow-countrymen in Caracas were misplaced or disappointed, yet he did not despair of securing help from other quarters. On August 8 he dispatched Captain Ledlie with letters to Admiral Cochrane, Admiral Dacres, the English naval commander on the Jamaica station,[c] and Sir Eyre Coote, governor of Jamaica,[d] asking for succor. In the letter to Dacres he declared that the people of the country were "very well disposed" to join him, but "excessively shy," because his troops were so few in number that they might "ultimately be driven out of the country, and leave them totally destitute of protection." He declared that, if the British reenforced him with one regiment of infantry, one or two squadrons of cavalry, and one company of artillery, "the whole might be settled in a few days and our success would be compleatly obtained. Send me the reinforcements I mention to you in this letter and we shall be at Caraccas before the month expires." In conclusion, Miranda expressed his intention to hold on to the coast until he received a reply.[e]

These appeals did not bring any additional aid. Coote replied that, not having received any "order or advice" from his Government regarding the expedition, it was utterly impossible for him to render Miranda any assistance,[f] a decision which the English ministers commended almost three months later.[g] Admiral Dacres replied that because of the smallness of his force and the fact that he had received "not the slightest intimation" from his Government, he could not render the slightest assistance beyond attempting to guard the expedition by a cruiser.[h] Admiral Cochrane still continued to

[a] Biggs, 123, 124, 133-135.

[b] Ibid., 124; Marshall, Naval Biography, X, 405; Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 526, 527.

[c] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 526.

[d] Miranda to Coote, August 8, 1806 (copy), P. R. O., Jamaica, 59.

[e] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 527.

[f] Coote to Miranda, August 16, 1806 (copy), P. R. O., Jamaica, 58.

[g] The draft of a dispatch to Coote, November 6, 1806, reads as follows: "The line of conduct which you pursued on receiving Gen[l] Miranda's application for assistance from you, was under the circumstances of the Case perfectly proper. Without authority given to you for the purpose you would not with propriety have complied with that request." P. R. O., Jamaica, 59. For the contemporary attitude of the English admiralty see below, p. 396, note *b*.

[h] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 528; P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 256. The word "intimation" is found in the manuscript letter instead of "information" as printed in the Am. Hist. Rev.

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assist and protect the filibusters with the small squadron under Captain Campbell. Before Miranda had received any reply from the English commanders whom he had asked for aid he had deemed it wise to leave the coast.

This retreat was in large measure rendered necessary because of the preparations which the Spaniards had been making to resist the dreaded invaders. Juan de Salas, the commander of Coro, who had evacuated on Miranda's approach, had dispatched messengers to the neighboring districts begging for aid.[a] He tried to station his troops so as to prevent Miranda from penetrating into the hill country, where he believed there were many discontented slaves who would flock to the revolutionary banner.[b] Gradually the Spanish forces had been increased by the addition of Indians and negroes, archers and fusileers, infantry and cavalry. Some of these hasty recruits were armed; others were not. This array, even more motley than the following of Miranda, by August 8, according to figures of the Spanish commander, numbered at least fifteen hundred men.[c]

The cautious Salas began to think of assuming the offensive, and followed Miranda to the neighborhood of La Vela, where his small army made its appearance on the sand hills near the camp of the invaders. The Spaniards now seriously harassed Miranda's forces and captured a number of his men, including Captain Johnson, who had succeeded the unknown young man in the command of the *Leander*.[d] Following this exploit, the Spanish commander appears to have ventured a further advance.[e] Great exertions were made to collect troops and supplies in the interior of the country, as well as in the vicinity of Coro. According to one observer, all persons not found in arms against Miranda were to be considered as his accomplices and punished with death.[f] Troops were sent to reenforce Salas at Coro. On August 12, or thereabouts, the captain-general with what has been described as a "numerous retinue of custom-house officers, priests, surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, and all the armed force of every description," accompanied by a long train of mules laden with provisions and military stores, left the doleful city of Caracas to form a camp and to establish his headquarters at Valencia, a point well adapted strategically for the defense of the province.[g] One Spanish official declared that there were 4,000 men in this army led by Vasconcelos.[h]

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[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 209.
[b] Ibid., 211.
[c] Ibid., 210, 212, 214, 215.
[d] Biggs, 140–143.
[e] Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, September 13, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.
[f] London Chronicle, 1806, 342.
[g] Ibid., 444.
[h] Casas to the Prince of Peace, August 26, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133–4–9.

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Evidence may be gleaned, however, to show that some of the inhabitants secretly sympathized with Miranda. At La Guayra, said one observer, the inhabitants dared not express any other opinion than that Miranda was a "pirate," a "plunderer," a "villain." He declared that this was due to the measures which the Spanish Government had taken to poison the minds of the people. "It has taught the planters that his design is to liberate all their slaves; the merchants that he has come to plunder, and the poor to oppress them. Miranda has many friends in the country, but they dare not declare themselves."[a] This view is in part corroborated by the statements of Mr. Murray, who at the time of Miranda's attack was in Cumana. He declared that the creoles were only restrained from expressing their sentiments because of the small following of Miranda, coupled with the dread of the certain punishment which awaited them if, after joining the revolutionists, the movement should fail and Miranda be compelled to withdraw.[b] But although these statements illustrate the views of some of the inhabitants, it would not be safe to take them as typical of the general attitude, which for whatever reason was in favor of the existing régime.

The guerrilla warfare of the enemy, the small size of his force, the fact that he had received little or no assistance from the inhabitants, and that the rainy season was approaching, probably caused Miranda to change his base. He suddenly decided to evacuate Coro and to await at Aruba the reenforcements that he seems to have expected from Jamaica and Barbados.[c] Although this decision was condemned by some of his followers, it was a wise measure, for the Spaniards had collected a force large enough to overwhelm utterly the small band of invaders. On Miranda's departure the Spanish authorities instituted a vigorous inquisitory process for the purpose of discovering those who had encouraged or harbored the "traitor."[d] At the island of Aruba, Miranda announced in a pompous declaration that he had taken possession.[e] The troops, fatigued, scantily clad, and illy fed, were exercised on the sandy beach of the islet. Sickness broke out. Discontent was rife. Miranda, who was but little affected by the sufferings of his men, was probably made to feel the loss of prestige that naturally resulted from the failure of his attack.[f] The arrival of Ledlie with the disheartening replies from the British officers was soon followed by advice from Admiral Cochrane that, by order of the Government, he had been directed to limit the assist-

[a] Letter dated September 18, 1806, United States Gazette, September 22, 1806.

[b] November 6, 1807, to Miranda, Monthly Review, LVIII, 307, 308.

[c] Letter of Ledlie, September 28, 1806, London Chronicle, 1806, 508; also the letter of Captain Briggs, Ibid., 504.

[d] "Testimonio de los autos formados en Coro sur averiguar la entrada del Traydor Franco. Miranda * * *", August 19 and August 20, 1806, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9.

[e] Biggs, 151, 152.

[f] Ibid., 154-156, 174, 179.

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ance which Miranda was to receive to "protection from the naval force of the enemy, to prevent succors being landed, and to secure his reembarkation, in the event of his being obliged to leave the shore." Cochrane added that he had been directed "to send, by a fast sailing vessel, full details of the situation in which the continent of South America now stands," so that the cabinet might "finally decide" on the measures to be taken.[a]

This cautious attitude was probably due to the fear that a more active participation in the enterprise might retard the negotiations for a general peace that were then going on. Again, Pitt had died in January, 1806, and Fox, the new foreign minister of the Grenville ministry, was wary.[b] Miranda, however, did not despair of resuscitating the enterprise, and sent to England a number of intercepted dispatches which showed the apprehensions of the government of Caracas respecting his activity.[c] But on September 22 Captain Dundas of His Majesty's ship *Elephant* warned Miranda that if he did not immediately leave Aruba for Trinidad with the remnants of the expedition the protection of the English naval force would be entirely withdrawn, and that no more provisions would be issued than those that were necessary to carry the adventurers "to some port of safety."[d]

While Miranda was sojourning at Aruba, Vasconcelos remained in a very apprehensive state of mind. He continued to gather information regarding the activity of Miranda and to dread another attack. On September 13 he implored the Prince of Peace to send over reenforcements of regular troops and naval forces as well as funds. If the countrymen had to be kept under arms long, he declared that it would result in great damage to agriculture and "the irremediable ruin of many families." Vasconcelos did not deem the aid sent by the French from Guadeloupe adequate to his needs.[e] Long after Miranda had withdrawn from Aruba, the captain-general besought the Government to send him reenforcements.[f]

According to the dates furnished by Biggs, the *Leander* left Aruba on the morning of September 27, accompanied by His Majesty's ship *La Seine*, on board of which were General Miranda and his suite. It arrived at Grenada on October 21.[g] The general, however, proceeded from Grenada to Barbados, where he probably had an interview with Admiral Cochrane.[h] The former was naturally not received with the same hospitality as on his previous visit. The

[a] Ed. Rev., XIII, 295.
[b] Hamilton, Writings of Monroe, IV, 450.
[c] Biggs, 181.
[d] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 421, 422.
[e] A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9.
[f] Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, September 30 and November 29, 1806, Ibid.
[g] Biggs, 197, 204.
[h] Letter from Barbados, November 1, 1806, London Times, December 16, 1806.

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companions of Miranda discarded their variegated revolutionary uniforms and endeavored to find employment. Only a small part of the wages originally promised appear to have been paid to the disbanded filibusters, who frequently appealed to Miranda for financial aid, but with little avail.[a] The latter was now less prominent in the public eye, although he was brought to notice in an unpleasant fashion by being made party to a suit by the owner of the *Trimmer*, who desired payment for the use of the vessel.[b] Miranda succeeded, however, in avoiding or evading the payment of some of his debts. He did not give up his revolutionary designs, impecunious though he was, for he dispatched De Rouvray to London to lay his views before the English Government,[c] while he busied himself gathering information regarding the condition of the province of Caracas and the attitude of its inhabitants toward France and England.[d] In the autumn of 1807 he appears to have relinquished hope of making an immediate attack on Terra Firma, for the *Leander* was sold and the few followers who had clung to the fortunes of the ship received a partial payment of what was due them. Such was the end of the expedition of 1806.

To understand more fully the attitude of the English Government and English officials toward the expedition of Miranda, it will be useful to cast a passing glance at the operations of the British forces in the southern part of South America in 1806 and 1807. About a month before Miranda took possession of Coro, Captain Popham with a few British ships and a small body of regular troops under the command of Brigadier-General Beresford had assumed the responsibility of leaving his station on the Cape of Good Hope and making an attack on the La Plata region.[e] Popham believed such a move advisable because the reports which he had received regarding the defenseless condition of the Spanish possessions in that quarter had convinced him that such an attack would be followed by a speedy conquest of that region, which would be of great advantage to England's commercial interests.[f] On June 26 the small force under Beresford was landed near Buenos Ayres, which was captured on July 28. Popham sent word of his achievements to England and asked for speedy reenforcements.[g] In reply the admiralty, while approving the "judicious, able, and spirited conduct" of those engaged in the expedition, expressed its disapprobation of the enterprise because it had been undertaken without instructions from the Government.[h] Popham was recalled and court-

[a] Biggs, 221–229, 234–.
[b] Ibid., 209–216.
[c] Ibid., 232, 233; Miranda to Castlereagh, June 10, 1807, P. R. O., Trinidad, 18.
[d] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 408.
[e] Popham's Trial, 57–59, 72.
[f] Ibid., 43–48.
[g] Ibid., 54–56.
[h] Ibid., 69, 70.

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martialed for having left his station without orders. In defense he pleaded that his course was justified because of the designs which he knew Pitt had previously entertained on the dominions of Spain in America.[a] The new ministry, however, did not consider itself bound by any arrangements, expressed or implied, which that minister might have made with either Popham or Miranda.

Beresford had to wait months for reenforcements. On March 5, 1807, General Whitelocke was instructed to proceed with a body of troops to reduce the "province of Buenos Ayres under the authority of His Majesty."[b] On the following day he was informed that, if his enterprise was successful, he was to assume the office of civil governor in the southern provinces of America.[c] The designs of England were not confined to the La Plata region, for in the end of October, 1806, General Crawford had been directed to proceed to Chile and to bring that country "under His Majesty's protection and government,"[d] in order that it might be used as a vent for English manufactures and as a base for future military operations.[e] If successful, he was to impress on the minds of the Peruvians the advantages of connection with England,[f] and to concert with General Beresford the means of securing "by a chain of posts or in any other adequate manner," uninterrupted military and commercial communication between Chile and Buenos Ayres.[g] These arrangements show clearly that the English Government designed the ultimate conquest of a large part of the Spanish dominions in America. In the execution of the plan, however, it failed. Had it acted sooner and also aided Miranda with a strong body of troops, the face of South America would probably have been altered profoundly and perhaps permanently.

Long after Guevara Vasconcelos had sent his last dispatch on the expedition of Miranda, that topic was the subject of diplomatic representations between the United States and Spain. Mr. Erving, the representative of the American Government at Madrid, was repeatedly

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[a] In the course of the trial Popham said: "In the month of December, 1804, the *Diadem*, to which ship I was appointed, was put into commission for the express purpose of my proceeding in her on the intended expedition to South America, but various circumstances arose to retard the execution of the project at that time." Popham's Trial, 79. Popham declared that when he took leave of Pitt in July, 1805, he had a long conversation with him "on the original project of the expedition to South America," in the course of which Pitt informed him that he was anxious to "divert" by "friendly negotiations" Spain from France, but if this failed, "it was his intention to again enter on the original project." Ibid., 80. In answer to a question of Popham, Lord Melville said: "I do recollect that when Sir Home Popham was appointed to the *Diadem*, the object then immediately in view was to cooperate either with or without General Miranda, in such objects mentioned in the memorial as might be thought conducive to the interests of Great Britain." Ibid., 137. The memorial referred to was one drawn up by Popham in October, 1804, regarding designs on Spanish America. Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 509–. See also the reply of Lord Melville to a question of the president of the court, Popham's Trial, 139.

[b] Whitelocke's Trial, I, Appendix, xxii.

[c] Ibid., v.

[d] Ibid., xxvii.

[e] Ibid., xxvi, xxvii.

[f] Ibid., xxxi.

[g] Ibid., xxviii.

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called on to defend it against the arguments and the insinuations of Cevallos. As in the case of Armstrong, Madison tried to forearm his agent by sending copies of the diplomatic correspondence relating to the affair.[a] It was a wise precaution, for Erving reported that in his first interview with Cevallos, the latter "launched out into the most bitter reproaches" against the Government of the United States for "its procedure with regard to Yrujo." The Spaniard pointedly connected the Miranda affair with the sudden dismissal of Yrujo and of the Marquis of Casa Calvo.[b] In this interview, Cevallos struck the keynote of many of his subsequent representations to the legation of the United States.[c]

He went further, and on July 18, 1806, informed Erving that "the expedition of pirates" would be made the basis of reclamation against the United States, because of the injuries, costs, and prejudices which it had caused to Spain. The responsibility, he maintained, was indubitable because of the mere fact that such an expedition had left the port of New York.[d] On more than one occasion did Erving repel the insinuations of Cevallos regarding the treatment of Yrujo and of Casa Calvo and their connection with the Miranda affair. On July 22 he replied to the demand for reclamation, informing Cevallos that such a reclamation could not "be supported on any known principles; that to attach responsibility to the American Government for the acts of Miranda, it will be necessary to show that some countenance has been given to his projects, or that it neglected to arrest and defeat them after his criminal intentions were known and proved." If, as Cevallos maintained, rumors of the expedition were spread over the country days before the departure of Miranda,

[a] Madison to Erving, February 20, 1806 (copy), State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, Spain, VI.

[b] Erving to Monroe, June 18, 1806, Monroe MSS., XI, f. 1374.

[c] Cevallos to Erving, June 24, 1806 (copy), State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Ministers, Spain, X. An extract from a note of June 2, 1806, addressed by Cevallos to Erving will show how the Miranda affair was associated with the treatment of Yrujo by the Government of the United States: "Pero si á lo improprio de este paso se añaden las circunstancias en q^{e} se verificó se hace mucho mas sensible la naturaleza del agravio. Era precisamente al mismo tiempo que al traidor Miranda tan conocido p^{r} sus excesos revolucionarios se hallaba en New York preparando sus intrigas y disponienda una agresion contra las Poseciones de S. M. Se estaban entonces preparando en aquel puerto de los Ests Un^{s} á tres jornados de la residencia de su Govno., las armas, las municiones y los facciosos que habían de salir impunemente dentro de pocas días con escándalo universal p^{a} atacar una parte de los dominios del Rey en buques Americanos, con tripulacion y gente de guerra Americana, llevando á su bordo hijos y Parientes de personas empleados p^{r} el Govierno Americano, costeada la impresa con capitales de Cuidades Americanos, y asegurados los buques en compañías de seguros Americanos. Los rumores de esta expedicion escandalosa se divulgaban ya p^{r} el Continente de los Est^{s} Un^{s}. Ya este tiempo es q^{do} Mr Madison tiene p^{r} conveniente cortar toda comunicacion con el ministro de S. M. No me permiteré la mas pequeña reflexion sobre la coincidencia de estas dos circunstancias, ni tampoco entraré aquí en el p^{r} menos alguno sobre el asunto de la expedicion de Miranda p^{r} ser este el asunto de una reclamacion q^{e} separadamt^{e} corresponde hacerse al Gov^{no} de los Est^{s} Un^{s}; pero si es mui del caso referir aquí que restituido el Ministro de S. M. á Philadelphia pasó hasta tres notas al Sec^{o} de estado sobre los designos hostiles de Miranda y sobre los medias de contenerlos; las dos de ellas p^{r} el conducto del Ministro de Francia; y que todas tres se le debolvieron en la misma forma, dos p^{r} medio del mismo ministro y la tercera sin abrir baxo una cubierta de la Secretaría de Estado." (Copy, ibid.)

[d] Ibid., July 18, 1806 (copy), State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Ministers, Spain, X.

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why, asked Erving, did the minister of France make no representations on the subject until the departure of the *Leander*? In conclusion Erving maintained that the proceedings of the United States were "calculated to satisfy most effectually the demands of justice; at once to vindicate the character of the Government and to manifest its good faith and friendly disposition towards His Catholic Majesty."[a] As Erving suggested in a dispatch to his Government, it was evident that the Spaniards were urging this claim for the purpose of having something with which to offset the claims of the United States against Spain[b] as well as to hinder the negotiations between the two powers.

The Spaniards did not readily give up their contention. On August 7, 1807, when Valentin de Foronda had just become chargé d'affaires of Spain in the United States, the latter informed Madison that the Spaniards had been caused great expense by the attack of "the traitor Miranda." Consequently he entered a most solemn protest, demanding satisfaction for all the damages and prejudices which had resulted or which might result to the Spanish Government or its subjects.[c] In an interesting letter to Madison in regard to this demand for satisfaction, Jefferson suggested that probably this was meant as a "set-off" against possible recriminations by the United States in regard to the western intrigues of Spain. He advised that nothing be said of these, however, but that when proof was secured a remonstrance and a demand for satisfaction should be made. If Congress approved, reprisals might then be made on the Floridas, "until satisfaction for that and for spoliations and until a settlemt. of boundary. I had rather have war against Spain than not, if we go to war against England, our Southern defensive force can take the Floridas, volunteers for a Mexican army will flock to our standards, and rich pabulum will be offered to our privateers in the plunder of their commerce and coasts, probably Cuba would add itself to our confederation."[d] On August 23 Madison responded to Foronda, vindicating the "conduct" of his Government against the charge "of not taking measures to prevent the expedition."[e] This did not end the matter, however, for in February, 1808,

[a] Cevallos to Erving, July 22, 1806 (copy), State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Ministers, Spain, X.

[b] Erving to Madison, June 17, 1806; "Taking all circumstances into consideration, I am persuaded that this affair put in the shape of a formal demand of satisfactory explanation from our Government, is intended only to delay and embarras such negotiations as may be set on foot for the adjustment of other points of difference, as well as to throw weight into the scale of their own pretensions." Ibid. The instructions of J. A. Caballero, August 8, 1806, to the viceroy of New Spain to the effect that an account should be kept of the cost of preparing for an attack by Miranda, show the object of the Spanish Government clearly. A. G. M., Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, 197, Documentary Appendix, No. 6.

[c] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, Spain, II.

[d] August 16, 1807, Jefferson MSS., series 1, XII, f. 232.

[e] Notes of "Letters from the Secretary of State to Mr. Foronda, Chargé d'Affaires of His Catholic Majesty," State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, Spain, II. The volume containing the originals of the communications has been lost.

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Cevallos again urged the demand for indemnification on our representative in Spain.[a] It was not renounced by the Spanish Government until the treaty of 1819 was made with the United States.

The expedition of Miranda against Spanish America in 1806, although originally fitted out in a port of the United States, was in many respects more of a British than an American enterprise. It is true that private individuals and at least one prominent federal official promoted the enterprise in various ways. It is clear that the neglect of the Federal Government to interfere was responsible for the departure of the expedition from New York. But a large percentage of Miranda's fighting force was composed of men who had fought under the English flag. At the time of the attack on Coro, more than one-half of the invading force was composed of British marines and seamen, or men recruited in the British West Indies. Without the supplies that came from the resources of the British West Indies, frequently drawn from the stores of the British Government, the expedition could hardly have proceeded on its way. Without the protection of the British naval force, an attack on the Spanish continent would have been extremely hazardous, if not impossible. Without the support of the *Lily* and other British vessels, Miranda, if indeed he had even succeeded in securing a foothold on the Spanish domain, would have found great difficulty in making his retreat. An indication of this is the fact that Miranda was compelled to relinquish temporarily his cherished designs when the active support of the British naval officers was withdrawn.

If the British Government did not order its representatives in the West Indies to aid Miranda, and no evidence has been found that it did so, it is nevertheless indubitable that by neglecting for a time to instruct its servants in the West Indies to withhold the aid which the Government knew some of them were affording Miranda, that Government gave its "implied sanction" to the undertaking. It is hardly enough to say with Lord Castlereagh that "this operation, unsupported by any effective aid, proceeded from a British port, with just enough of cooperation on our part to mix us in the policy and failure of the effort, but without any adequate prospect of rendering it successful."[b]

The main reasons for the failure of the expedition are not far to seek. The delays of Miranda and the warnings sent by Yrujo hindered the success of the attacks on the mainland by enabling the Spaniards in Caracas to put themselves in a condition to repulse the invaders. Again, it is very evident that the strength of the expedition was woefully inadequate for the task which had been undertaken.

[a] Cevallos to Erving, February 22, 1808 (copy), State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Spain, X.

[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 315. There is an interesting indorsement on the letter of Admiral Cochrane to Marsden, April 12, 1806 (Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 521), "4 June. Answer * * * and approve of the communication he has made to M. Miranda." Ad. Sec., In Letters, 327.

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Miranda himself was to an extent conscious of this; witness his attempts to secure aid from the British. In 1808, so good a judge as Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had devoted some time to a study of the problem, believed that the revolutionizing of Terra Firma could not be safely undertaken without 10,000 British regulars.[a] If, however, Miranda had had only a few thousand such troops he would probably have attained a degree of success, as there were a number of disaffected spirits in the province who would have joined him if he had had a stronger support from the English.

In the opinion of the writer, however, it would be vain to imagine that Miranda, whatever his initial successes, could have established, far less maintained, the independence of Caracas and the adjacent territories without a strong army. For whether the Minto story was entirely a fiction or not, certain it is that Terra Firma, and indeed all Spanish America, contained at this time large numbers of men fanatically devoted to the reigning Spanish house, who would not have submitted to the establishment of an independent government without a bloody and protracted struggle. As later history, too, mournfully demonstrated, those Spanish Americans who desired liberty or death were often a small although an active minority. The expedition of 1806, while it exemplifies the sympathy of English naval commanders for an attack on Spanish America, demonstrates that the inhabitants of the captain-generalship of Caracas, at least, would not rally to the support of a feeble invader. If this were a fair criterion, one would be forced to conclude that Miranda's working hypothesis of Spanish-American cooperation was a fallacy.

Viewed in the light of the English attacks on the southern part of Spanish America, Miranda's abortive expedition of 1806 acquires greater significance. It appears very likely that, if the attack of Miranda had been so far successful as to secure for him the firm possession of strategic points on the Spanish mainland, the English Government might have materially aided him in connection with its designs against the La Plata region. The lack of a positive policy toward Spanish America might have been changed into one of opportunism by the ministry of "All the Talents," even though Grenville was the prime minister. It is possible that Popham and Miranda may have had some secret understanding regarding the attacks which they directed against the different sections of South America at almost the same time.[b]

A symbolic design on a handkerchief of English manufacture found in the colonies near Miranda's point of attack in the spring of 1807 illustrates some contemporary sentiment on the English attitude

[a] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VII, 58.

[b] In the Connecticut Journal, December 25, 1806, is a letter from Trinidad, November 16, 1806, in which it is stated that Miranda received a letter from Popham dated at Buenos Ayres.

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toward Spanish America so well that it is worth a brief description. On this handkerchief were portraits of Sir Home Popham, General Beresford, Washington, and Miranda, associated, as it were, to obtain the same end, or because of the similarity of their undertakings, with many sketches of naval battles and bordered with these four inscriptions: "It is not commerce but union; Let arts, industry and commerce flourish; Religion and its holy ministers be protected; Persons, conscience and commerce be at liberty." The apotheosis of Christopher Columbus filled the center and English colors adorned the sides. England was depicted as goddess of the seas, the lion of Spain at her feet. A youth was pictured rolling up the French colors, and poking the lion with the hilt of his sword. On the handkerchief was this inscription: "The dawn of day in South America."[a] The captain-general of Caracas declared, in referring to this handkerchief, that the rebel Miranda worked in connivance and with the support of the English as the result of a comprehensive plan of Spanish-American conquest formed by that Government.[b]

Such was the Spaniard's interpretation. Whatever may have been the designs of Pitt in regard to the Spanish dominions in America in 1805 and 1806, it is evident that the expeditions of Miranda and Popham in 1806 are to an extent the projection upon the map of Spanish America of plans drawn up in 1803 and 1804 with the consent or tacit approbation of that prime minister. These expeditions afford another illustration of the vitality of the idea of Spanish-American emancipation in the West Indies, the United States, and England.

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[a] Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, April 1, 1807, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9; the London Chronicle, 1807, part 2, 449, gives a summary of part of the dispatch.

[b] Ibid; Rojas, El General Miranda, 240. Vasconcelos to the Prince of Peace, April 1, 1807, also illustrates this conception of the Spanish captain-general: "Con efecto, serenísimo señor, la proyectada independencia ó por mejor decir los bastos designios de establecimientos coloniales que ocultaba la ambicion de aquella Potencia enemiga bajo unas apariencias mas lisongeras para los pueblos no tenían otros límites que los que ha puesto la naturaleza á los dilitados dominios de la América Meridional. Las expediciones contra Caracas y Buenos Ayres fueron concebidas á un tiempo simentadas sobre la misma base y executadas casi en una misma época. Aquellas dos tentativas hubieran sido coadyubadas por otras muchas si las alteraciones políticas de la Europa no hubieran dado á la Francia una preponderancia imprevista que obligó á los ingleses á tener sus fuerzas reconcentrados. Se aseguraba el éxito de la empresa en la multiplicidad de los medios y se creía que el imperio español de la América representado por Miranda como inconsistente en su misma grandeza no podría resistir á la impresion simultánea de tantos empujes diferentes y que su propio peso precipitaría su caida * * *." A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-4-9.

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Chapter X.

ENGLAND AND SPANISH AMERICA IN 1808.

The classic description of Francisco de Miranda was written by James Biggs, one of his followers in the expedition of 1806. "He is about five feet ten inches high. His limbs are well proportioned; his whole frame is stout and active. His complexion is dark, florid and healthy. His eyes are hazel colored, but not of the darkest hue. They are piercing, quick and intelligent, expressing more of the severe than the mild feelings. He has good teeth, which he takes much care to keep clean. His nose is large and handsome, rather of the English than Roman cast. His chest is square and prominent. His hair is gray and he wears it tied long behind with powder. He has strong gray whiskers growing on the outer edges of his ears, as large as most Spaniards have on their cheeks. In the coutour of his visage you plainly perceive an expression of pertinaciousness and suspicion. Upon the whole without saying he is an elegant, we may pronounce him a handsome man. He has a constant habit of picking his teeth. When sitting he is never perfectly still; his foot or hand must be kept moving to keep time with his mind which is always in exercise. He always sleeps a few moments after dinner, and then walks till bed time, which with him is about midnight. He is an eminent example of temperance. A scanty or bad meal is never regarded by him as a subject of complaint. He uses no ardent spirits; seldom any wine. * * * He is a courtier and gentleman in his manners. Dignity and grace preside in his movements. Unless when angry, he has a great command of his feelings; and can assume what looks and tones he pleases. In general his demeanor is marked by hauteur and distance. When he is angry he loses discretion. He is impatient of contradiction. In discourse he is logical in the management of his thoughts. He appears conversant on all subjects. His iron memory prevents his ever being at a loss for names, dates and authorities."[a]

We have already noticed the attitude of the English Government toward Spanish America in 1806 and 1807 as illustrated in the treatment accorded to Popham and Miranda and by the instructions to Generals Crawford and Whitelock. Other propositions were under the consideration of the Government of England about the same time which will be briefly considered here, as they form an introduction to

[a] Biggs, 288-290.

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the more serious consideration of the subject in the first half of the year 1808, after the arrival of Miranda in England from the West Indies. Again, they serve to show how strong a hold the idea of revolutionizing Spanish America had on the minds of men in England.

In many of these plans the attention of the cabinet was called to the feasibility of attacking Mexico or Buenos Ayres. On February 14, 1806, William Jacob drew up a plan for an attack on Spanish America.[a] In July he formulated another plan for an "Attack of Mexico from the Eastern Side."[b] Such projects multiplied as the successes of the French arms on the continent increased. It appeared dangerous to an increasing number of people that an enormous commerce with Spanish America should be so largely in the hands of Spain, the dependent ally of France. The development of Napoleon's continental system, which aimed to exclude English goods from territory under French control, rendered it more and more necessary for England to secure new markets for her manufactures. The victories of Napoleon at Jena and Friedland and the peace of Tilsit made him to a large extent the master of the Continent. England, however, had a compensating advantage. Her naval strength, made supreme by the battle of Trafalgar in October, 1805, placed her in a position to more easily direct an attack on Spanish America, whenever it should seem advisable to relinquish or to relax the struggle against France in Europe, and to endeavor by counter projects to prevent that power from gaining to her side the rich resources of the colonial empire of Spain. Such was still the contingency on which English attitude toward Spanish America depended.

Nineteen days after the battle of Jena, Lord Castlereagh, who had become greatly interested in Spanish America, submitted to the consideration of his intimate friend, the experienced military officer, Sir Arthur Wellesley, a plan for the conquest of New Spain.[c] Acting on this suggestion, the latter drew up several careful and detailed memoranda regarding expeditions against Manila and New Spain.[d] In the end of 1806, or early in 1807, the English Government appears to have contemplated an attack on New Spain with forces led by Wellesley.[e] In 1807 the Duke of Orleans presented a memoir in which he declared that only "the timely and well-directed interference of Great Britain could prevent Spanish America from falling a prey to Jacobinism." He advised that "regular monarchical governments" be established in Spanish America. To initiate the movement, he suggested that a European prince be sent to Mexico, "the keystone of the arch." When this was removed the Empire would fall to pieces.[f] General

[a] P. R. O., Spain, 90.
[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 293–302.
[c] Alison, Lives of Castlereagh and Stewart, I, 227–229.
[d] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI, 35–.
[e] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 316.
[f] Ibid., 332–344.

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Dumouriez seconded this plea; in one of his communications he suggested that a Bourbon prince be made King of Mexico.[a] Mr. Wright, a former English naval commander, called attention to the Mosquito shore. He dilated upon the rich soil, the healthy climate, and the good harbors of that region. Its numerous products were called to mind. Only a small force was needed to attack it. Success in that place might cause Spain "a mortal wound." "Under the polishing hand of British protection," he declared "that resourceful country would soon shine forth as one of the brightest jewels in the British diadem."[b]

On May 1, 1807, Castlereagh, who had become secretary of war and the colonies in the Portland ministry formed in March, 1807, prepared a memorandum on the problem of Spanish America. After referring to the lack of a fixed policy on the part of the preceding cabinet toward that country, he asked the ministers to consider whether the value of an "occupancy" of or a "connection" with Spanish America by conquest, "either during war, or upon a peace," would compensate for the "drain and incumbrance" it would be upon the "other military operations" and upon the population of England, and if not, "whether some principle of acting more consonant to the sentiments and interests of the people of South America" could not be adopted, which might relieve England "from the hopeless task of conquering this extensive country, against the temper of its population." Castlereagh then said that the two extreme methods of procedure in respect to Spanish America by England were either conquest with a view to permanent possession, or an attempt to revolutionize that country. He expressed his belief that it was indispensible that the English should not present themselves "in any other light than as auxiliaries and protectors. In order to prove our sincerity in this respect, we should be prepared to pursue our object by a native force, to be created under our countenance, and the particular interest which we should be understood alone to propose to ourselves should be the depriving our enemy of one of his chief resources, and the opening to our manufactures the markets of that great continent."[c] A policy was here outlined with which Miranda's plans might harmonize.

Perhaps the representations of Miranda's agents in London directed the attention of the English officials to Terra Firma. In the middle of February, 1807, Sir Arthur Wellesley proposed an attack on Terra Firma. He calculated that there were about 13,000 Spanish troops in Venezuela, Maracaibo, Guiana, and Margarita. Accordingly it was his opinion that an attack on that part of the Spanish dominions should not be made with any less than 10,000 men besides artillery. This force, he declared, should consist of 6,000 British infantry,

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 365. [b] Ibid., 324-. [c] Ibid., 314-324.

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2,600 black infantry, and 1,400 British cavalry. Wellesley suggested that the force should have its rendezvous at Barbados, and that the attacking troops should be divided into three corps; one was to attack La Guayra and the city of Caracas, the second was to attack the province of Cumana, the third was to ascend the Orinoco, seize the capital of Spanish Guiana, and occupy such other posts on the river as would insure control of its navigation. The three bodies could then unite and complete the conquest of the country.

In discussing the policy of undertaking the conquest, Wellesley declared that although these territories were the "most fertile in the world, and might turn out to be the most valuable colony that Great Britain or any other nation ever possessed," that as the slave trade would have to be abolished, the possession of the territory would be of "little positive advantage to Great Britain," because the methods of agriculture could not be then improved. The commercial advantages of ownership would not be great, as "large quantities" of English goods already found their way into that region. Wellesley thought that the direct gain that would accrue to England from the possession of these colonies would not compensate her for the cost of making the conquest and "the inconvenience of maintaining it." But he suggested that at the close of the war it might be wise for England to establish an independent government in Caracas in order to prevent the French from establishing themselves in this area so well situated for commerce.[a]

As has been indicated in the preceding chapter, Miranda did not relinquish hope of British assistance when the support and protection of the British navy was withdrawn from his expedition and he was forced into retirement at Trinidad. The envoy who had been dispatched from the West Indies apparently wrote to Miranda and announced his favorable reception by the ministry of All the Talents.[b] Miranda's old friend, John Turnbull, was associated with De Rouvray in the task of representing the revolutionist at the court of London. From these agents Miranda appears to have received various communications relating to the state of the negotiations. On hearing of the appointment of Castlereagh, Miranda brought his views directly to the consideration of that minister.

"The present situation and disposition of the People in the whole Province of Caracas," said Miranda, "is very favorable to this undertaking yet, notwithstanding the terror that the Government tries to inspire by few executions, and the tremendous pursuits of the Inquisition, made an absolute political tool on this occasion. The general Orders given to the Commanders of the principal Towns in this Province, with the exception of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, is

[a] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI, 56-61. [b] Biggs, 244.

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to evacuate them in case of my landing with any substantial force, and the inhabitants to retire into the Country; but these have sent me information, that they will do no such thing, when the opportunity arrives. * * * The late transactions at Buenos Ayres have produced no good or favorable impression on the part of the People of South America, towards the British Nation. I always thought that the project of conquest was unpopular in the Country, and impracticable to any considerable extent, productive of much mischief and confusion in the internal parts of S. A., and the most odious that could be presented to the Priests and religious People of the Country; while the Independency would meet with the approbation of every class of the Society; with the exception of the Agents of the Spanish Government, and some wretched or despicable contraband Traders on the Coast, and in the Islands of Trinidad, and Jamaica. * * * I really perceive an incalculable mischief in the delay of the proposed operation, for if we do not substract and protect the Continent of South America now, from the influence and domineering ambition of France, the whole will be very soon and ultimately be absorbed in the same fatal and universal dominion. Some of their troops are already in the Country, and although their exertions towards converting the People's minds in favor of France, has not produced much proselytism in the Province of Caracas until now, it is doing incalculable mischief already, and will ultimately succeed in their nefarious views and intentions. I beseech You My Lord, on these considerations, to take some prompt and definitive measure that may put a stop to this incalculable evil; or release the American People from the dangerous exertions in which they are embarked, by opposing the French and Spanish Governments' views, which ultimately must be fatal to themselves, if not efficaciously supported by the Government of Great Britain. * * * My own exertions in this Island are almost at an End, if I do not receive the promised support from G. B. I have been keeping here at my own Expence, the Ship *Leander*, as well as the Officers and Men that went with us and were tryed in the late Expedition, as they may be of great service in going again over the same ground, possessing besides the Language and Knowledge of the Country, and having relations and friends in it." [a]

Such were the main arguments which Miranda directed to Castlereagh from Trinidad on June 10, 1807.[a] During his stay in that island Miranda had evidently gained the confidence and good will of Governor Hislop, for on October 21 of this year the latter wrote to Castlereagh commending Miranda's devotion to the interests of England and informing the Government that the South American had decided to leave for England at once, believing that his speedy arrival in London might be "of consequence." [b] But Miranda did not leave

[a] P. R. O., Trinidad, 18

[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 403, 404.

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pendence from Europe and the preservation of civil liberty. The point of government would be easily settled by peaceable persuasion. The identity of language, religion, and administration would greatly decrease the difficulty of changing the form of government "without convulsions."

Miranda next proceeded to a discussion of the plan of attack. As of yore, he wished the operations to begin in the region of Caracas, Santa Fé, and Quito. If these proved successful, and the regulations introduced were "wise and acceptable to the people," they might expect to see the movement imitated in a short time, in Mexico through the Isthmus of Panama and Guatemala, in Peru through Quito, and at Buenos Ayres through Peru and Chile. He believed that a force of 10,000 men and a competent cooperating naval force would be sufficient to execute this plan. In conclusion, Miranda took occasion to repel some "illiberal insinuations" which he thought had been made against his character. He declared that when he saw the Spanish-American provinces in the enjoyment of a "rational civil liberty" under a "permanent form of government" that would "preserve it and promise them happiness," his "personal views and interest" would be "highly gratified" and his labors "perfectly rewarded." Then he would be satisfied with the position of a private citizen.[a] These propositions of 1808 are similar to those made in previous years by Miranda; the immediate point of attack is about the same; the same sanguine hopes of cooperation by the inhabitants are entertained; but more English aid is required, and Miranda has openly abandoned his scheme for a vast Spanish-American federation, holding that four distinct States should be formed.

On February 8, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who by this time had certainly conversed with Miranda concerning the government to be established and the plan of attack, made a memorandum on the policy of "effecting a revolution" which was "to establish an independent government in a part or the whole" of the Spanish dominions in America. He expressed his opinion that any attempt by England to conquer Buenos Ayres would fail and that the only mode of separating it from Spain was by a revolution which would establish an independent government. He felt that the discontent which had been evidenced in previous revolts still existed. He did not believe that Miranda's failure in 1806 showed that the people of Terra Firma were any less inclined to a revolution than they were in 1796 and 1797. He sagaciously declared, however, that he had not seen "any proof" from Miranda that there was a disposition to revolt against the Spanish authorities, but he believed personally that the inhabitants of Terra Firma favored a revolution. The most feasible points of attack in Spanish America were, in his judgment, Mexico and Terra

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh VII, 405–412.

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Firma. After carefully weighing the advantages and the disadvantages of these two regions, he inclined in favor of an attack on Terra Firma with a land and naval force. This decision was probably in large part due to Miranda's arguments. Wellesley pointed out that the English possessed the means of communicating with the inhabitants through Miranda. In case the attack should fail, it would be easier to withdraw from Terra Firma than from Mexico. In spite of Miranda's opinion, Wellesley doubted the expediency of making the attack during the rainy season, but advocated beginning operations in December. He thought that the republican constitution which was proposed by Miranda was "too regularly constructed ever to answer any good effect." He suggested that the government in each viceroyalty should be a monarchy with a representative body elected perhaps by the cabildos and certain qualified landowners. A superior assembly ought to be instituted composed of "the ancient noblesse, who might be named by the king for life." The old institutions should be preserved and amended only as "time and experience" showed the necessity of modification. He affirmed that Miranda did not "seem disinclined to a monachy," but asked whom the English desired to establish as the monarch, a question which Wellesley could not answer.[a]

On the same day, the latter drew up two other memoranda supplementary to those which he had prepared some time before. One of these discussed a plan of operations against Mexico with 17,000 troops to rendezvous at Jamaica, in case the Government should decide to make an attack in that quarter.[b] The other elaborated a plan of operations against Terra Firma. In this plan, Wellesley suggested that an attack be made with 10,000 soldiers, but now favored making Grenada rather than Barbados the place of rendezvous. After the attack had succeeded in Terra Firma and a government had been organized and forces raised, they "should proceed to the further conquest of the country towards Santa Fé de Bogota."[c] This resembled closely the schemes which Miranda had so often urged.

On May 16 Miranda, as impatient of delay as ever, again took up his facile pen to address the English Government. He pointed out that the events in Spain by which the country was given to Napoleon, were intimately related to the execution of their plans for the liberation of Spanish America, that if they did not avail themselves of "this grand and providential opportunity," they might afterwards "lament it forever." If they appeared before the Spanish Americans "offering them assistance for emancipation, rational liberty, and independence," everything favored them, but if the French arrived there first with some "plausible" scheme and "suitable" intrigues, the best laid plans might be defeated or partly thwarted. He

[a] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI, 61–66. [b] Ibid., 66, 67. [c] Ibid., 67, 68.

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therefore asked whether it would not be wiser to leave behind some part of the cooperating force to join the expedition later. This would anticipate the schemes of the enemy and prevent exposing the whole of their operations to defeat by "a fatal delay."[a] As regards the execution of Miranda's plans, subsequent events were to demonstrate the farsightedness of this view.

The usurpations of Napoleon by which he aimed to secure dominance in the Iberian peninsula affected the English attitude toward Spanish America profoundly. In the spring of 1808 Napoleon secured possession of the great fortresses in northern Spain. In March the Spanish king, Charles IV, abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand. In May Napoleon forced both Ferdinand VII and his father to surrender their rights to the Spanish crown. These measures which made Napoleon boast that he was "master of the situation in Spain as in the rest of Europe," stimulated the English Government to hasten its preparations for the revolutionizing of Spanish America. Castlereagh deemed it quite possible that Napoleon would be successful in his designs on Spain. He accordingly deemed it the duty of the cabinet to "make every exertion for preventing the American provinces of Spain from falling into the hands of France by the same 'treachery' which was subjugating Spain itself."

Hence, on June 4, the Duke of Manchester, who was governor of Jamaica, was instructed to communicate confidentially with the governor of Cuba with a view to defeating the "criminal usurpations" of France. Manchester was to transmit to the Spanish governor of that island accounts of the actions of Napoleon, and was to take advantage of these communications "to draw the Spanish governor into some immediate act of resentment and hostility to France." He was to impress on the mind of the governor of Cuba the view that England was the only power which could either be "instrumental in restoring the independence of Spain and the rights of the royal family or of preserving the Spanish provinces from becoming the plunder of the French armies." Whatever might be the ultimate solution of the present difficulties, the primary step was for the Spanish colonial governments to adopt immediately "a declaration of hostility against France, a determination to resist her, and a cordial cooperation and union with Great Britain in the means of resisting her."

If the governor of Cuba was disposed to enter into a negotiation with Manchester for preserving the Spanish colonies from the rule of Napoleon, the latter was authorized to state that, in whatever measures England might take to preserve these provinces either to a prince of Spain or for the purpose of establishing independent governments, she formally disclaimed and renounced every intention of "conquering any of these provinces or of subjugating them to the

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 441, 442.

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crown of Great Britain." It was affirmed that the actions of England would be limited to defeating the designs of Napoleon and maintaining the colonies independent of France, which was "necessary equally to their own honor, freedom, and happiness and to the security of the British Empire." If the governor of Cuba acceded to these views, the duke was at once to attempt to concert measures to prevent the introduction of any French forces or officers into that island. The English governor was even authorized to take such other measures as sending a detachment of 1,000 men to Cuba to support what was described as "the cause of the general independence of the world." [a] On the same day the commander of the English land forces in the Leeward Islands was similarly informed regarding the attitude of England toward Spanish America. He was directed to reenforce the Duke of Manchester to the extent of 1,000 men if called upon. [b]

The dispatch of June 4 was brought to the governor of Jamaica by Charles Williamson, who was sent in order that he might be confidentially employed by Manchester in preventing Spanish America from falling into the power of France.[c] With Williamson was sent Pavia,[d] probably with a view to his use in Mexico. Papers were also transmitted for distribution in the colonies of Spain which presented her conduct toward France in such a detestable light as was calculated to separate them from the parent country. Manchester was also instructed that, if the Spanish governors of Florida or Habana were disposed to act in concert with him, he was authorized to "make advances" to the respective governors for the payment of their troops till some "arrangement" could be made.[e] In spite of "the horror of revolutionizing" Spanish America, which conservative Englishmen had often avowed, the separation of the Spanish

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VI, 364-367.

[b] "The late unparallel'd Proceedings in Spain by Bonaparte in forcing the whole Royal Family of Spain to abdicate and renounce their Right to the Throne and the Measures he is taking to place that Kingdom and the Spanish American Provinces under his immediate Power call for every Exertion of His Majesty's Government. If it may not be in their Power to prevent the Effects of his Measures in Spain itself it may be possible to counteract them in the Spanish American Provinces. Measures are preparing for that purpose which will shortly be communicated to you. I have written fully upon this Subject to the Duke of Manchester, His Majesty's Governor of Jamaica, and if he shall apply to you for a Reinforcement of One thousand Men I am to signify to you His Majesty's Commands that you do Concert Measures with the Naval Commander on the Leeward Island Station for having them forwarded to Jamaica.

"I enclose to you a Publication containing some accounts of what has passed in Spain and I am to desire you will have the passages marked translated into Spanish and a considerable number printed and measures taken for circulating them through the Spanish Provinces which it is conceived may easily be effected from the Free Ports.

"If any Spanish Officers shall be sent to Barbadoes by Vice Admiral Purvis with a view to their being confidentially sent into the Spanish Provinces you will concert with the Naval Commander on the Station the best means of sending them to their Destination and establishing with them a Confidential Correspondence."

In the left margin of the note there is written "L'Ambigu Nos. 1 and 2, 3, 4, and 5." Draft of despatch to the "Commander of the Forces in the Leeward Islands," June 4, 1808, P. R. O., W. and L. Is., 25.

[c] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VI, 369.

[d] Ibid., 367, 368; Pavia's name is spelled Pavier in the published correspondence.

[e] Ibid., 368.

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dominions in America from the mother country seemed almost determined upon by England because at last Spain was actually being absorbed by France.[a]

The instructions sent to the English governors in the West Indies were evidently sent in view of the plans which the English Government was contemplating in the beginning of June. At that time the cabinet had under consideration operations whereby a corps of about 8,000 men was to be sent from Cork to join General Spencer on the coast of Spain. If circumstances did not promise success there, these forces, reenforced by General Spencer's corps of about 5,000 men, were to proceed to the West Indies with a view to an attack on the Spanish colonies near the Gulf of Mexico, or the force was to be divided and part of it was to be sent to the La Plata region and part against the province of Caracas.[b] Wellesley drew up a detailed memorandum of the ordnance and stores required for these proposed expeditions. The part relating to the projected expedition to Caracas suggested that 18,000 muskets with bayonets, the same number of pikes, 75,000 musket flints, and 3,000,000 ball cartridges be sent at once to the West Indies with the troops from Spain. A large amount of additional military stores was to be sent from England a little later. The specifications for this included intrenching tools for 16,000 men.[c] Besides this, there was to be sent in a "list of the ordnance and stores required for the use of the native government expected to be established in South America," as soon as "further communication" was had with Miranda.[d]

The cabinet then was apparently wavering between an attack on the La Plata region and one on some part of northern Spanish America. It is quite possible that if political circumstances had been favorable, an attack would have been made in both of these regions

[a] Stanhope, Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, 69, gives Wellesley's thoughts on this topic in 1835. Manchester to Castlereagh on July 31, 1808, thus describes the measures which he took on the arrival of Pavia and Williamson:

"By the arrival of the *Flying Fish* on the 16th Instant, with Mr. Williamson and Mr. Pavia on board, I had the honor to receive Your Lordship's Dispatches; and I lost no time in paying them all the Attention, and in carrying the purport of them into execution, with all the Promptitude it was in my power to give.

"But the Intelligence which Mr. Williamson learnt during his stay with Lord Collingwood off Cadiz, of a general Insurrection, and successfull Opposition to the French in Spain; in some degree influenced the mode of my proceeding—and Your Lordship will, I hope, approve of my having regulated my Conduct by these later Accounts—at the same time not departing from the general Principles of the Instructions I had the honor to receive from your Lordship.

"Conceiving that the making the Spaniards in Cuba acquainted with the Temper and Disposition of their Countrymen in Europe, would, in the first instance be the most likely mode to forward Your Lordship's views; I dispatched Captain Foster, in whose prudence I could perfectly rely, together with Mr. Williamson, and Mr. Pavia, under the protection of a Flag of Truce, with Prisoners, directly for the Havannah; with a full account of the Information I had received, addressed by me to the Governor—assuring him of its Authenticity, requesting his attention to the pacific disposition of our Mother Countries, and declaring to him the readiness of Great Britain to put a any attempt he might be induced to make for the preservation of his Colony from the Dominion of France." P. R. O., Jamaica, 64.

[b] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI 68–70.

[c] Ibid., 71, 72.

[d] Ibid., 70.

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about the same time. The weight of Wellesley's influence was cast on the side of Miranda's favorite venture. He was selected by Castlereagh for the command of the expedition, or at least a part of it. In a memorandum drawn up on June 6, Wellesley indicated that he preferred an attack on the Caracas region even to an attack on New Spain. He believed operations ought to be begun there for four reasons: First, the "military difficulties" were not so great as in the gulf territories; second, they had the means of communicating with the people of the country through Miranda and of explaining opportunely the object of the operations; third, they could begin their operations there earlier in the year; and fourth, success in Caracas would remove many difficulties attending their operations elsewhere and there would be less difficulty in withdrawing in case of failure.[a]

A memorandum of orders for the board of ordnance was also made by Wellesley about this time. He suggested that a field train, accompanied by artillerymen with six months' provisions and a large amount of ordnance and military stores be embarked and in readiness to sail from Falmouth or Cork on the succeeding 1st of July. These stores were to be "in addition to those required by a paper given in by general Miranda."[b] Transports were to be ready for the conveyance of troops and six months' stores and provisions on June 20. Battalions of negroes and negro pioneers were to be gathered in the West Indies.[c] Miranda later alleged that supplies were actually stored at Trinidad for use in the expedition.[d] Downie and Roorbach, who had partaken of Miranda's fortunes in 1806, appear to have been induced to remain in England, whither they had come in the expectation of being employed in the attack.[e] Perhaps Wellesley also thought of employing Thomas Picton in the enterprise which had so long enlisted the interest of that stern soldier.[f] It is extremely probable that part, at least, of the military and naval force, amounting perhaps to 9,000 men,[g] which was gathering at Cork in the early days of June, 1808, would have been sent to the Caracas region under Wellesley to initiate the long-meditated separation of Spanish America from the parent country, if political circumstances had not suddenly changed. Miranda would doubtless have accompanied the expedition in some capacity.[h]

But the English Government did not carry out the plan. The national uprising in Spain against Napoleon, which began about the

[a] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI, 74.
[b] Ibid., 79.
[c] Ibid., 78.
[d] Memorandum of Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, September 25, 1810, P. R. O., Spain, 104.
[e] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 451.
[f] Stanhope, Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, 68.
[g] Oman, Peninsular War, I, 224. The London Times, June 7, 1808, puts the number of troops at 10,000.
[h] Nicholas Vansittart in a letter to Hodgson, January 27, 1814, expressed himself thus regarding Miranda: "Our object originally was to employ him in South America, and Lord Wellington was actually prepared to take him there, when the Spanish Revolution broke out in 1808." Bexley MSS., III, f. 9-.

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time that forces were being gathered at Cork for the contemplated expedition, put a new face upon politics. When the province of the Asturias boldly declared war on Napoleon and sent deputies to England to appeal for aid, the English Government decided that although Spain was nominally at war with England, yet its action in regard to Napoleon actually made Spain the ally of England. The English cabinet soon decided to send the forces that had been collected at Cork to the Spanish peninsula instead of against Spanish America. Perhaps Miranda was apprehensive of this step, for on the 6th of June he submitted to the English Government a memorandum on his financial affairs.[a] If Miranda's later allegation is true, the Government now offered him a position in the expedition of Wellesley which was now destined beyond question for Spain instead of for Spanish America. On June 6, also, Miranda sent to Castlereagh a copy of his note of January 28, 1791, declining the proposition and repeating the request which he had made to Pitt in 1791 that services should not be requested of him against Spain for any other object than the emancipation of Spanish America.[b]

It was certainly a dramatic moment when Sir Arthur Wellesley broke the news of the change in England's plans to Miranda. Twenty-seven years later the Duke of Wellington thus described the scene: "I think I never had a more difficult business than when the Government bade me tell Miranda that we would have nothing to do with his plan. I thought it best to walk out in the streets with him and tell him there, to prevent his bursting out. But even there he was so loud and angry, that I told him I would walk on first a little that we might not attract the notice of everybody passing. When I joined him again he was cooler. He said: 'You are going over into Spain * * * you will be lost—nothing can save you; that, however, is your affair; but what grieves me is that there never was such an opportunity thrown away.' "[c]

Further evidence was soon given of the change in the plans of the English cabinet. On June 20, the Duke of Manchester was instructed to alter the character of the communications to the governor of Cuba. He was to transmit to him an account of the negotiations between the English ministry and the deputies from the Asturias. He was to inform the governor of Cuba that the King of England had determined "to cooperate with the Provinces of Spain in rescuing their Country from the tyranny of the French," and that he entertained

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 450, 451.

[b] Antepara, 220, 221. Miranda was accustomed to display this letter as an evidence of his attitude toward Spain and England. It was sent in copy with other documents to Spanish America in 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 89. A copy of this letter was also among the documents intercepted by Governor Cockburn of Curaçao in January, 1809; it was prefaced by the following note: "Note delivered to Mr. Pitt on his request—desiring to know what were D. Franco de Miranda's views, soon after the Convention with Spain in 1790 about Nootka-Sound." P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 670.

[c] Stanhope, Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, 69.

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the hope that the governor and the people of Cuba would second these efforts "for preventing any Attack of the French in the Spanish Provinces and for assisting Spain by the Aid of her Trans-Atlantic Provinces." In conclusion, Governor Manchester was instructed to "observe a similar Line of Correspondence" in any Communications he might be able "to open with the Governors of Mexico and Florida."[a] On the same day instructions of a similar tenor were sent to the English commander at the Leeward Islands.[b] It was ordered that the insurrectionary papers that had been sent out were to be suppressed.[c] The mission of Williamson and Pavia, who had proceeded from Jamaica to Cuba,[d] came abruptly to an end. Shortly after the middle of June, Wellesley left London to take charge of the detachment of the British army at Cork, of which he had been made commander.[e] Other bodies of troops were added to those that had been bivouacking on the shores of Ireland.[f] The embarkation of the troops was speedily begun, and on July 12, 1808, the convoy sailed from Ireland toward the Iberian peninsula.[g]

What of Miranda and his designs? Miranda's chagrin must have been lessened by the fact that the English Government reestablished his pension and made a provision for his secretary, Molini. Evidently some other than financial subjects had been alluded to by Miranda in his note of June 6, for Wellesley informed Miranda that these would be settled after "knowing the results from Spain." Miranda was also informed that henceforward he was to continue his communications with the English Government through the medium of General Stewart instead of Sir Arthur Wellesley.[h] It is probable that the other subjects referred to the revolutionizing of Spanish America and that the idea which in so many varying forms had been in the minds of Englishmen for so long was not at once banished. It is quite possible that the English Government thought that it might have

[a] The dispatch of June 4, transmitted by Mr. Williamson, is first referred to, then the reasons for the modifications of these instructions are stated: "Since that Dispatch was written Two Deputies have arrived from the States of the Province of Asturias representing that this Province had openly risen and declared War against France, had been joined by the Province of Leon and was in Expectation of Co-operation from Gallicia, also that Invitations had been sent to all the other Provinces to join in a general Confederacy against France in favor of the Legitimate Race of their Monarchs and of their National Independence.

"They have solicited the Aid of His Majesty in furtherance of Their Honorable Exertions and I now inclose copies of the Communications they have made and of the Answers which have been given them by His Majesty's Command. * * *

"Under the Circumstances however of this statement Your Grace will see the propriety of altering the Nature of the Communication to be made to the Governor of the Havannah. Your Grace will transmit to the Governor the correspondence I have enclosed * * *." The most important part of what follows is quoted above. P. R. O., Jamaica, 64.

[b] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VI, 374, 375.

[c] Ibid., 375.

[d] Williamson and Foster to Manchester, August 1, 1808, P. R. O., Jamaica, 65.

[e] London Times, June 17, 1808; Gurwood, Despatches of Wellington, IV, 11.

[f] London Times, June 22 and July 13, 1808.

[g] London Times, July 19, 1808.

[h] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 450, 451.

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only temporarily suspended the execution of this project, pending the outcome of operations in Spain.[a] In any case it judged it wise again to form a definite financial attachment with Miranda as a reward for his past services and perhaps because in some future contingency it might be useful.

Viewed in the light of subsequent events, the spirited rising in the little province of the Asturias was fraught with great significance. Although there were still men in England who dreamed of liberating Spanish America, the Government had entered upon a course of action which made such intervention in the Spanish Indies more and more an impossibility. England's efforts were now steadfastly turned toward the preservation of the integrity of the Spanish dominions in both hemispheres. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who might have been the initiator of a great movement which would have transformed viceroyalties of Spain into appanages of England, became engaged in the brilliant military exploits which were to thwart the ambitions of Napoleon and to win for himself the title of the Duke of Wellington. The alliance which the English entered into with the Spanish patriots on July 4, 1808, proved to be an effectual bar to the execution of Miranda's favorite design. Francisco de Miranda was forced to linger in the busy English metropolis, the scene of so many blasted ambitions. Unwittingly his highest hopes of English cooperation in his life purpose had sailed away with the soldiers of Wellesley.

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh,, VI, 375, VII, 442-. Historians have generally neglected to consider the plan of England for attacking Spanish America in 1808. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 502, 503, and Oman, Peninsular War, I, 224, briefly suggest it; Broderick and Fotheringham, Political History of England, and Rose, Napoleon, I, make no mention of it.

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Chapter XI.

MIRANDA IN RETIREMENT.

Bitterly disappointed though Miranda was by the sudden change in the destination of the expedition that sailed from Cork, yet his hopes of promoting an insurrection in Spanish America were not utterly shattered. They seemed destined to bloom perennially. Debarred from presenting to the English Government schemes that aimed at the subversion of the authority of the ally of England in her American dominions, he lived a comparatively quiet life in London in the enjoyment of a pension from the English Government, and employed a large part of his time in meditating upon the future of Spain and of Spanish America. The results of his cogitations he strove to disseminate in England as well as in Spanish America.

At least once he ventured to address Castlereagh on the "political affairs of South America." On August 19, 1808, he informed that minister that he had received various important communications relating to the province of Caracas. Having been unable to consult Sir Charles Stewart on the subject, he had deemed it wisest in the present juncture of affairs to advise his correspondents to open a direct communication with the British Government by authorized persons "in order to concert with it such measures as circumstances might require" without listening to the Spanish juntas. He declared that he had even recommended that the cabildos of Caracas should themselves assume the government of that country.[a] This was only a partial statement of the facts.

About a week after the forces under Wellesley had left Ireland Miranda had directed a letter to the Marquis del Toro and the cabildo of Caracas. In it he had declared that the circumstances were "the most critical and dangerous for America that ever occurred since our ancestors first settled there." He pictured the perilous condition of Spain, declaring that the most probable though least desirable result of the conquest of Spain by France would be the subjection of "the Colombian Continent" to the same misfortunes as the Spanish Peninsula. "In supposition of these events," said Miranda, "I earnestly entreat your lordships to assume, in a municipal representative body, the government of the province into your own hands; and to send to this capital, without delay, authorized persons, capable of managing affairs of such magnitude; that we may devise with this Government

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 448-.

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what ought to be done for the safety and future destinies of the New World." He advised them to avoid making any hostile resolutions or offensive alliances, and declared that the views and the interests of the Spanish juntas were incompatible with the "interests and rights" of the American provinces. He requested that a copy of the letter be transmitted to Santa Fé and Quito, so that these provinces might take similar action.[a]

On July 24, 1808, Miranda directed a letter of similar import to the cabildo of Buenos Ayres. In it Miranda praised the action of the inhabitants of that part of Spanish America in repulsing the British attack. He called their attention to a number of official documents of the English Government which expounded the attitude of that Government toward the Spanish dominions in America at different epochs. In a postscript he suggested that it would be opportune to send this communication to Peru, Quito, and Chile.[b] In a letter to the cabildos of Habana and Mexico, dated September 10, 1808, he went so far as to intimate that although the "political plans" of England with respect to Spanish America had "changed their direction," her "views" remained the same. To this letter was appended copies of documents showing the attitude of France toward Spanish America in 1792 and of Miranda's letter of June 6, 1808, to Castlereagh, stating why he did not accompany the expedition of Wellesley against Spain.[c]

The most important of this series of letters was addressed to the Marquis del Toro and the cabildo of Caracas on October 6 of the same year. In this epistle Miranda expressed his fear that a fatal conflict would soon be precipitated between the Spanish governors and the people of Spanish America. He declared that although the power of a State resided essentially in the people, yet if they lacked in obedience and subordination to the supreme government and its magistrates, instead of preserving the State they would destroy it by anarchy as in France. Through lack of a representative organization in the beginning, the directors of the present revolution in Spain were compelled to make an imperfect form of government, and subsequently they had hardly time to concert a plan of defense and general organization before that Kingdom was overrun by the enemy. That his fellow-countrymen might be forearmed, he sent them a "sketch of a representative organization and government for our America," which he recommended to their consideration at that moment. He declared that although he did not think the Spanish people capable of a rational liberty, he did believe the Colombian people capable of receiving it and enjoying it, chiefly because they were "not yet corrupted." Miranda then scathingly denounced the captain-general of Caracas.

[a] Antepara, 270–273; Rojas, El General Miranda, 233, 234.
[b] Antepara, 273–275.
[c] Ibid., 276, 277.

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"And if the rule of the Prince of Peace has covered Spain with eternal disgrace, what shall we say of this province beneath the yoke of Guevara Vasconcelos?" He made some melancholy reflections on the fate of such men as Gual and España, who had sacrificed their lives for the revolutionary cause. He then adjured them to amend their evil state, to follow the present good example of the Spaniards, whose vices they had servilely followed for so long, by reforming their government and claiming with dignity their "liberties and independence," which, in his opinion, were the sine qua non. Besides the copy of a constitution, he appended other inflammatory documents relating to his various endeavors in England, France, and the United States to emancipate his native land.[a]

The plans of government, provisional and federal, transmitted by Miranda to Caracas are worthy of detailed examination, embodying, as they must, his mature ideas on the government of independent Spanish America. Perhaps he had them more or less clearly in mind when he attacked Terra Firma in 1806. They are probably in essence the plans that he had ready to take with him in the projected expedition of 1808.[b] They are the plans, or the basis of the plans, which Miranda took with him to South America in 1810 and in part at least tried to impose upon the Venezuelans. The first clause in the provisional scheme declared that all authority emanating from the Spanish Government was ipso facto abolished. Assemblies were to be formed of certain inhabitants of whatever class, born or settled in the country, 21 years of age, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the new government and to American independence. No one was to be a member of these assemblies who did not enjoy an annual income of 50 piastres. No one that had ever performed domestic service for hire or had suffered an infamous punishment was to be admitted. No one was to be admitted who was not born of free parents.

The Spanish local authorities were to be replaced by the cabildos and ayuntamientos of the towns, which were to be reenforced one-third by members chosen from among the Indians and the people of color of the province. All were to be confirmed in their offices by the municipal assemblies. After the first choice, age and property qualifications were to be required for all members. Each cabildo was to choose two alcaldes, who were to have control of justice and police in the district. The extraordinary cabildos, chosen as described, were to select from all the citizens of the district one or more members, according to the size of the city or town, who were to unite to form a provincial assembly charged with the general government of the province until the establishment of the federal government. These provincial assemblies were to choose two citizens, called "curacas," who were to be intrusted with the execution of the provincial laws during the war.

[a] Antepara, 278-285; Rojas, El General Miranda, 234-239.

[b] Rojas, El General Miranda 236.

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All existing laws were to remain in force except those imposing a personal tax. Customs duties were to be henceforward at the rate of 15 per cent on importations and 20 per cent on exportations. All rules relating to the "odious tribunal" of the Inquisition were swept away. Religious toleration as a "principle of natural right" was to be permitted; but Roman Catholicism was to be the national religion of the Colombian people. During the war all the armed forces were to be under the direction of one citizen, called the "hatunapa," who was to be nominated by the general assembly and confirmed by the local assemblies of the province. His chief duties were to be the organization of the army and the defense of the country. He was to nominate all the officers to the assembly for sanction, and was to be assisted by a council of three chosen by the assembly. Until the assembly made a definitive arrangement, the necessary funds were to be raised by requisitions of the commander in chief, who was to be held responsible for the exercise of his powers. During the war the provincial clergy were to be under the control of a vicar chosen by the assembly. The curés of the province were to be named, or at least confirmed, by their respective parishioners. In general, foreigners not settled in the country before independence could not be admitted to the rights of citizenship except on a residence of six consecutive years in the country, or military service during three campaigns. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government were to withdraw into the interior of the country during the continuance of the war. Anyone wishing to leave the country was to be permitted to depart. Those who voluntarily took up arms against their country were to be forever expatriated. Anyone breaking the oath of fidelity was to be severely punished.

The most significant part of the plan was the sketch for a federal government. Citizenship was to be limited to persons born in the country of free parents, and to strangers married and settled in the country, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the new government, or who had served for more than three campaigns in the independent armies. Assemblies were to be formed of all citizens 21 years of age, possessing at least 10 arpents of cultivated land. Cabildos, composed of members chosen by the active citizens of each district, were to form a body of electors for the national election. They were also to nominate the members of the provincial assemblies and were to be intrusted with the internal administration of the towns. The provincial assemblies were to supervise the administration of the provinces. They could formulate laws which, however, were not to interfere with the execution of the federal laws, for all provincial laws had to be approved by the general legislative assembly before going into operation. The provincial assemblies, as in the provisional scheme,

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were empowered to choose two citizens, called "curacas," who were to exercise the executive power of the province.

The provincial assemblies were to choose the members of the general legislative body which was to be proportioned to the population of the province. This "Colombian council," as Miranda designated it, was to make laws for "the entire American federation." As in the project of 1790, careful provisions, resembling those in the Constitution of the United States, were provided for the amendment of the fundamental law. Unlike the plan presented to Pitt in 1790, in this constitution there was provision for only one legislative chamber.

The supreme executive power was normally to be vested in two persons, chosen by the general legislative body for ten years from all the active citizens of the empire of the age of 40 years, who had previously filled one of the great offices of the empire, and who possessed at least 200 arpents of land. These officials were to be called incas, a "name venerable in the country." One inca was to remain constantly at the capital of the empire, where the general legislative body was to meet. The other was to traverse the different provinces. They were to watch over the welfare of the empire and were empowered to defend it against sudden attack. They could not wage an offensive war, however, without the consent of the council. They could appoint censors, ediles, and questors, whose functions were much like those of the corresponding officers in the plan of 1790. The incas were to be responsible to the nation for the proper exercise of their powers. In extreme circumstances, the legislative council was to decree the nomination of a single ruler, clothed with all the powers of a Roman dictator, whose term of office was not to be prolonged beyond one year. This dictator was to be chosen by the incas from the citizens who had attained the age of at least 45 years, and who had already filled one of the great offices of the empire.

Careful provisions were also made for a provincial and a national judiciary. The judges presiding over the provincial courts were to be appointed by the provincial assemblies with the consent of "the inca." If he disapproved of the nomination, and the legislative council confirmed his action, a new election had to be made. The judges were to hold office for life, unless convicted of misconduct before the high national court. The method of trial was to be by jury as practiced in England and the United States; but there was to be established a special jury until the mass of citizens were more "au fait" with liberty. Federal judges could only be removed on impeachment by the supreme national court. This was to be composed of a president and two judges chosen by the executive power from the national judges. It was to have jurisdiction over cases relating to the law of nations, those arising from treaties with foreign powers, and the misdeeds of federal magistrates.

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As in the provisional scheme, Roman Catholicism was declared to be the religion. Complete religious toleration was, however, to be observed. Priests and ministers of the gospel as well as judges were to be excluded from civil and military offices. All notaries or lawyers were also to be debarred. In both the provisional and the federal schemes a graduated series of age and property qualifications increasing with the importance of the position was arranged for office-holders. The term of office was generally specified as five years.

Unlike the plan of 1790, this frame of federal government did not delimit the territories of the projected federation. The empire was evidently to include more territory than the province of Venezuela, for the federal city was to be built in the most central point, "perhaps on the Isthmus of Panamá." This capital was to be named Colombo, after the discoverer of that beautiful part of the world.[a] Miranda probably intended to include at least the regions of Caracas and Santa Fé. Perhaps, as in 1790, he intended to include all Spanish America in the federation. But this seems unlikely in view of his suggestions to Sir Arthur Wellesley in 1808, unless indeed Miranda had again changed his plan.

The most notable feature of this federal constitution is that it proposed to establish not what may be called a pure republic, but an empire or an imperial republic. The government is more centralized and monarchical in type than that proposed by Miranda in 1790. The provision for a dictator is especially suggestive. It is not easy to determine whether this provision was modeled on the Roman constitution, as the provisions for ediles, questors, and censors, or whether the suggestion is to be taken as an indication of Miranda's keen perception of the needs of the Spanish Americans. Perhaps he aspired to fill that lofty position himself.

It is probable that Miranda was the chief author of this constitutional scheme. In the letter which accompanied it he declared that it had been approved by men well versed in such matters in England and in the United States.[b] It is possible that Pitt was partly responsible for some of the provisions.[c] Some parts of the scheme had perhaps been modified as the results of the suggestions of Sir Arthur Wellesley.[d] It is likely that Miranda had profited by the suggestions of others. Many of the provisions of this constitution, like the earlier products of Miranda's cogitations, show a careful study, or at least a knowledge, of different constitutions. In the opinion of the writer, this federal plan is noteworthy as an attempt

[a] These plans were inclosed in a dispatch of Cockburn to Castlereagh, January 28, 1809; they accompanied a copy of the letter of Miranda of October 6, 1808, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 670; Documentary Appendix, No. 7.

[b] Antepara, 279; Rojas, El General Miranda, 236.

[c] Am. Hist. Rev., VI, 519.

[d] Wellington, Supplementary Despatches, VI, 65, 66.

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to evolve a representative form of government of an aristocratical and monarchical type in part from the Spanish-American colonial institutions. It is perhaps not too much to say that, judged by subsequent history, this frame of government was more adapted in some respects to the political genius, or rather the lack of political genius, of the Spanish-American people than the theoretically democratic forms generally adopted on the attainment of independence.

The various letters dispatched by Miranda did not reach their destination without the knowledge of the Spanish Government. The Marquis del Toro, whom Miranda evidently considered his friend and willing coadjutor, on receiving the letter of July 20, 1808, soon delivered it up to Juan de Casas, the captain-general of Caracas, declaring that he had received in the same sealed packet a "Declaratory or instruction of a spy to the King of England." He vigorously disavowed any personal or political acquaintance with Miranda, whom he stigmatized as "the outlawed Traitor." He averred that the sentiments in the packet were at war with his real opinions. "The fact is," said he, "that the perfidious Miranda, after the fatal experiment he had, has as yet not desisted from his infamous plan, and assiduously endeavors to pervert the constant and sincere loyalty of the inhabitants of these provinces to their natural and lawful sovereign." Toro requested, with apparent indignation, that the matter be brought to the attention of his Sovereign, in order that a vigorous complaint might be made to the English Government, so that Miranda might be "punished and forced to make due reparation" for the "atrocious offense" offered to his honor.[a] In a short time Toro received a similar packet, which he again forwarded to the captain-general.[b] Whether Toro was sincere and truthful in all his statements or not, which in view of his subsequent conduct seems to the writer very questionable, his actions were certainly politic, as any attempt to communicate with Miranda was punishable with death.

This was not the end of Miranda's letter-writing activity. In the latter part of January, 1809, the English captain, Fyfe, and Governor Cockburn, of Curaçao, intercepted another packet which Miranda had addressed to the Marquis del Toro. These officers seized the packet, and on examination decided that its delivery would be incompatible with the relations existing between Spain and England, as well as dangerous to Toro. Cockburn felt it necessary to assure the Spanish authorities that the English Government had no complicity in the affair, expressing his conviction that it was "an intrigue of the Enemy to shake the honorable sentiments with which the generous offers" of England "and the public declaration

[a] Toro to Casas, October 25, 1808 (translation), P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In letters, 4354.
[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 242, 243.

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of our sovereign had so justly inspired the Spanish Nation." Cockburn transmitted the packet to the English authorities. He assured Admiral Rowley "that Miranda, so far from being enabled to aid the British interests, is held in general detestation on the Spanish Main; and I firmly believe that connection with him would not only inevitably prevent the success of any Enterprise in which he might be employed, but would tend more than any other measure whatsoever to overthrow our own, and effectually re-establish our Enemy's cause, in those important regions of the American Continent." [a] Cockburn's conduct in intercepting the packet was approved by the English Government.[b]

With the packet which Cockburn had seized were sent four similar packets—two addressed to Habana and two addressed to the City of Mexico.[c] Each of these was a small arsenal of revolutionary material drawn from the rich stores of Miranda. A packet addressed to Habana contained copies of his letters to Caracas, dated July 20 and October 6, 1808, and of those to Buenos Ayres dated, respectively, July 24 and September 10, 1808. It held copies of the letters of Miranda, Brissot, and Dumouriez in 1792 and 1793 regarding the revolutionizing of Spanish America from the base of Santo Domingo. Copies of Miranda's note to Pitt of January 28, 1791, and of Picton's inflammatory proclamation of June, 1797, to the inhabitants of Terra Firma were inclosed. There were copies of the Miranda-Cagigal correspondence of 1799–1800 relating to the career of Miranda at Habana. A copy was sent of Alexander Hamilton's letter of August 22, 1798, giving his views on Spanish-American emancipation.[d]

Miranda did not confine his labors of propagandism to the northern part of Spanish America. As early as April, 1808, he had been in communication with Saturino Peña, of Buenos Ayres. On July 24 he had addressed a letter to the cabildo of Buenos Ayres. On the following day Miranda wrote to Peña and to the cabildo of Buenos Ayres inclosing his scheme of government and copies of papers showing the attitude of the English toward Spanish America.[e] In January, 1809, a revolutionary sympathizer appears to have addressed a letter to Miranda from Rio de Janeiro.[f] It is possible that one of his correspondents was Philip Contucchi, who in the autumn of 1808 was attempting to promote a change of government in Buenos Ayres, supported by such men as Nicolas Peña and Manuel

[a] Cockburn to Rowley, February 11, 1809 (copy), P. R. O., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 4354.

[b] Draft to Cockburn, June 7, 1809, Ibid., Curaçao Transmissions, 670.

[c] Rowley to Pole, April 11, 1809, Ibid., Ad. Sec., In Letters, 4354.

[d] Inclosures in Pole to Hammond, August 31, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 89. A letter of Governor Cockburn, of Curaçao, to Lord Castlereagh, January 28, 1809, describes the measures taken to check Miranda's activity in letter writing. Curaçao Transmissions, 670, Documentary Appendix No. 8.

[e] Mitre, Historia de Belgrano, I, 481.

[f] Antepara, 285-287.

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Belgrano.[a] The machinations of Saturino Peña were detected and he fled to Brazil, but Miranda was still a source of anxiety even in far-off Buenos Ayres, for it was suggested that it might be wise to institute inquiries at Lima to discover whether or not he was extending his revolutionary designs to the province of Chile.[b]

Miranda was not allowed to carry on his insurrectionary correspondence with Spanish America in tranquillity. Early in January, 1809, the captain-general of Caracas made formal complaint to General Beckwith, governor of St. Vincent, regarding this activity.[c] Casas had also duly informed the central junta in Spain of the seditious papers sent to Toro.[d] The Spanish minister in London, Admiral Apodaca, was accordingly instructed to make a complaint to the British Government.[e] Hence on May 16, 1809, Apodaca protested against the activity of "the traitor," Miranda, "who in spite of the most sacred laws persisted in pursuing his depraved projects" through Admiral Cochrane. He suggested that appropriate measures should be taken to prevent the recurrence of such actions and to repress the temerity of the adventurer.[f]

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[a] Contínto to Sidney Smith, November 17 and November 30, 1808, Contucchi to Contínto, November 15, 1808; see also the representation of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres to the princess of the Brazils, September 20, 1808 (translations), P. R. O., Original Correspondence, War Office, 44; Antepara, 287, 289; Blanco, Documentos, II, 260.

[b] Mitre, Historia de Belgrano, I, 480–482. In the copy of the letter of Miranda of July 24, 1808, to the cabildo of Buenos Ayres the name of "D. Manuel Padilla" is found. P. R. O., Spain. 89. This is not found in the letter published in Antepara, 273, 274.

[c] Casas to Beckwith, January 20, 1809, P. R. O., L. and W. Is., 27.

[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 242, 243, 244.

[e] Ibid., 246.

[f] Apodaca to Canning, May 16, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 84; a minute of this is found in A. G. S., Estado, 8172. The dispatch reads: "El infrascrito Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. Catª Fernando 7º y en su Rl nombre de la Suprema Junta Guvernativa de España é Indias, tiene el honor de exponer á la consideracion del Sor Canning, primer Secretario de S. M. B. en el Departamento de negocios extrangeros, que el Govierno de S. M. Catª ha sabido por documentos auténticos que pasan en su poder que el traidor Francisco de Miranda, natural de Caracas, uno de los Dominios de S. M. C., aprovechándose de las circunstancias apuradas en que la perfida invasion de los franceses constituía á la España, trataba con papeles sediciosos remitidos desde este Capital aquella Provincia, de sustraher dicha Colonia de la dominacion del Rey su amo y del Govierno que obra en su Rl nombre; y esto después que ya estaba dichosamente restablecida la paz entre España é Inglaterra y de haber declarado S. M. B. la integridad absoluta de los Dominios del Rey Católico, pues están fechados en Londres á 20 de Julio de 1808.

"La Junta Suprema no extraña tal procedes en su sujeto, ocupado únicamente en proyectos revolucionarios, sin mérito ni consideracion alguna y que baxo otros pretextos renueve su infidencia contra su Rey y su patria, aunque le es sumamente doloroso ser amenazada la tranquilidad pública en un tpo que es tan necesaria para obrar en union contra su implacable enemigo.

"No le ha sido menos sensible ni puede menos de llamar su atencion la circunstancia de que dichos papeles se hayan transportado de Sir Alexandro Cokrane, oficial al servicio de S. M. B. en la época antes referida de este publicado felizmente la paz entre ambas potencias y declarada por S. M. B. la integridad de las posesiones de S. M. Catª.

"Esta circunstancia no puede menos de ser igualmente sensible á S. M. B. y á su ilustrado Govierno que tantas pruebas están dando de su amistad y buena correspondencia al de la España, como así mismo que desde esta Capital pueda el revoltoso Miranda continuar tranquilamente sus manejos insidiosos contra los honorados Vasallos y posesiones de S. M. Católica que tan pronta como eficazmente se han declarada por la justa causa que ambas Naciones sostienen, reconociendo al Rey su amo dn Fernando 7º. y al sabio Govierno de España que obra en su nombre.

"El infrascrito tiene órdenes de éste para hacer al de S. M. B. tan justas demonstraciones: le es igualmente penoso que tenga aquel tan desagradables motivos de sentimiento, como que no pueda obviarse él causarlos al de S. M. B. (que sin duda parte los del Rey Católico), dándole conocimiento de ellos, por la necesidad de poner remedio á unos acontecimientos que á primera vista presentan toda la transcendencia de que son susceptibles en perjuicio del bien común de los Vasallos de S. M. C. tranquilidad de sus posesiones y fin de la justa causa que ambos Soberanos aprovecharse de ellos y aun del mismo Miranda para conseguir sus abusivos intentos contra ambos estados y Vasallos. * * * "

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On June 3 following the English foreign secretary, Canning, expressed to Apodaca his "most perfect confidence" that Cochrane was not aware of the contents or of the source of the letters which had been sent out by Miranda. The Spanish minister was assured that the "most positive Orders" had "been sent out to Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to trace, if possible, the means by which those letters were conveyed to his hands, and to be particularly on his guard not to suffer any others to pass through the same Channel." Canning declared that the letters had been sent "without the knowledge of the British Government."[a] Miranda was evidently informed that, if any "fresh instance" of this kind came to the knowledge of the British ministers, they would "feel it necessary to order him immediately to quit His Majesty's Dominions."[b] Doubtless the Spanish Government would have been glad of any occurrence which would have cast the much detested and much feared Miranda into its power.[c]

Apodaca also attempted to spy into the movements of Miranda. In this he was aided by Captain Saenz, alias Juanico, who arrived in London from Venezuela in the latter part of June, 1809, apparently charged with a commission from the Marquis del Toro and the cabildo of Caracas to Miranda.[d] In spite of the suspicions with which Miranda seems at first to have regarded him, this informer succeeded in inveigling himself into the confidence of his fellow-countryman. He gave to the Spanish minister the names of some of the alleged friends of Miranda in Caracas and assured him that the latter was now directing his designs against Brazil and Buenos Ayres. Saenz also gave to Apodaca some revolutionary literature, which Miranda had intrusted to him for distribution in Caracas.[e] Apodaca accordingly, while expressing his confidence in the loyalty of the inhabitants of that region, complained to Canning that Miranda, forgetting the sacred obligations of a subject and despising the intimations which had been given him by the British Government, was now directing his revolutionary machinations toward the southern part of Spanish America.[f]

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[a] Canning to Apodaca, June 3, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 84.

[b] Draft to Cockburn, June 7, 1809, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 670.

[c] Rojas, El General Miranda, 246.

[d] Ibid., 239; Blanco, Documentos, II, 260, 261.

[e] Rojas, El General Miranda, 240; Blanco, Documentos, II, 260, 261; Apodaca to Garay, July 17, 1809, reports what he has learned of Miranda through Saenz, whom he instructed, "á verle y, con cautela explorarse sur sus] intenciones y disposiciones: lo hizo en dos ocasiones * * * á resulta que aviendo le hecho varios pregtas. sobre sugetos de Caracas q^e bas en la adjunta lette (?) le contestó su paradero. * * *

"Noticia de las personas de Caracas p^r quien prg^to Miranda: P. Por Mato Capit^n retirado * * * R. Que quedado preso en Caracas. P. Por el doctor Montilla * * * R. Que avia muerto el hijo de éste q^e viario en Guardias quedaba preso. P. Por D^n Ant^o Leon * * * R. Que se avia remitido preso á España. P. Por el Marq^s del Toro * * * R. Que quedaba bueno en Caracas." A. G. S., Estado, 8172.

[f] Apodaca to Canning, July 22, 1809, P. R. O., Spain, 84; Rojas, El General Miranda, 247, 248, prints the communication with some omissions.

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This fresh complaint was brought to the attention of Lord Castlereagh, who asked Vansittart, who was supposed to be on intimate terms with Miranda, to find out how much truth there was in the representation. "I should very reluctantly," said he, "adopt any measure of unkindness to Miranda; but connected as we are with Spain, the honor of the country and the Government must not be compromised, and I think you will be able to obtain assurances from Miranda, so distinct with respect to his conduct, as to justify me in continuing to him the protection which he now receives."[a] In reply Vansittart declared his confidence in Miranda's "disposition to be quiet," and assured Castlereagh that he would try to strengthen it.[b] Having satisfied Vansittart, Miranda had evidently lulled the suspicions of the English ministry. On August 15, 1809, Canning sent a note to Apodaca in which he stated that, according to the investigations that he had been able to make, he was certain that the actual conduct of Miranda was not such as could inspire the least disquietude or lack of confidence on the part of Apodaca.[c]

In the first half of the year 1809 Miranda received an invitation from Caracas asking him to proceed to that country at once. After consulting with Vansittart, Miranda decided to remain in England. He wrote a letter to his countrymen declaring that a reunion with them at that time would be neither easy nor conducive to their emancipation.[d] We may be sure that this decision was not due to any change of heart, but was probably inspired by the firm belief which Miranda entertained that either Spain would be soon subjugated by the French and a "separation of the Colonies under British protection" would then take place spontaneously, or, that if Spain should be able to keep up the struggle, she would be "obliged to adopt a more liberal policy towards the Colonies and admit them to a full participation of liberty and civil rights."[e] It is very likely that the English Government brought some pressure to bear on Miranda to induce him to remain in England, fearing his inflammatory influence in the American possessions of its ally. The ministers were certainly not aware of the full scope of Miranda's attempts to spread discontent and revolutionary doctrines in Spanish America at this epoch. Several years afterwards Vansittart declared that, after the departure of Wellesley for Spain, the English officials endeavored to make Miranda "instrumental in composing the minds of his countrymen and preventing dissentions between them and the mother country."[f]

[a] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 454.
[b] Ibid., 454–456.
[c] Rojas, El General Miranda, 248.
[d] Ibid., 239; Antepara, 289, 290.
[e] Correspondence of Castlereagh, VII, 455, 456.
[f] Vansittart to Hodgson, January 27, 1814 (copy), Bexley MSS., III, f. 9–.

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Evidently some Englishmen cherished the delusion that the notorious filibuster and chronic revolutionist might be transformed into a pacificator.

It was during this period of apparent quiescence that Miranda sought to influence public opinion through the press. In January, 1809, The Edinburgh Review published an article entitled "South American Emancipation in review of Viscardo y Guzman's Lettre aux Espagnols-Américains. The writer of the article, who drew part of his information and his inspiration alike from Miranda, took occasion to consider at length the struggle for supremacy between France and England, the commercial advantages which would be derived through the revolutionizing of Spanish America by England, and the persistent efforts of Miranda for the emancipation of his native land. The English people were taken into confidence regarding a matter that had been long "almost exclusively the nursling of ministers."[a]

Some time in the following year there was published in London, under the nominal editorship of J. M. Antepara, a reprint of the article in The Edinburgh Review in a book entitled "South American Emancipation, Documents, historical and explanatory, showing the designs which have been in progress, and the exertions made by General Miranda for the attainment of that object during the last twenty-five years." The illustrative documents which were published were presented in a style that was typical of Miranda. In the introduction Antepara stated that these documents had been selected from the large collection of over sixty volumes preserved by Miranda in his private archives.[b] The guiding hand of the latter can be detected in the choice of these papers, which were evidently selected with a view to rehabilitate Miranda in the eyes of the world, as well as to inform the public of the true scope of his designs. Many of the documents thus published were those which Miranda had been sending in copy to his countrymen in Spanish America in 1808 and 1809. In fact, the book is to an extent an illustration, on a much larger scale, of the idea which dominated the letters which Miranda had been sending to his more or less willing countrymen. One can not avoid the conclusion that Antepara, who declared himself to be "a native of Guayaquil,"[c] and was perhaps an expatriated Jesuit, must have prepared the book under the immediate direction of Miranda

[a] Ed. Rev., XIII, 277–312. Internal evidence indicates that Miranda furnished some information in this article. Material was presented which until that date had not been made public; see pp. 307, 308, where hints of Miranda's plan of government are given; 291, 292, are found fragments of important unpublished letters. The sketch of Miranda's early life is in many particulars correct. External evidence points in the same direction. See Ed. An. Reg., IV, 387; Bentham's Works, II, 561; Amunátegui, Bello, 102. In response to an inquiry by the writer, the editor of the Edinburgh Review, Mr. Elliot, declared, October 7, 1902, that he had no information regarding the authorship of the article in question beyond the fact that it is attributed to "Milner, assisted by General Miranda," by W. A. Copinger, in a book printed privately at Manchester in 1895, entitled "On the Authorship of the First Hundred Numbers of the Edin. Review."

[b] Antepara, preface, IV.

[c] Ibid., title-page.

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himself. This book with its justificatory documents appears to have been intended for circulation in Spanish America as well as in England.

Miranda even directed his superabundant energy into the journalistic field. A Portuguese journal published in England appears to have been induced to favor the schemes of Miranda as "one who was to be the Washington of the southern continent."[a] In the spring of 1810 a Spanish journal, El Colombiano, was founded at London under the auspices of Miranda.[b] The second issue of this paper, which is the only copy yet found even in part, dealt with the extension of French domination over the European continent. It began with a brief discussion of the recent French triumphs in Andalusia. Under the rubric, "Increase of the Monstrous Power of Napoleon," Miranda, for he was evidently the editor as well as the sponsor of this paper, declared that Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louise of Austria had "given to France and to the Confederation of the Rhine, such a great accession of force, that Every Effort to diminish the ascendancy of Buonaparte will be useless for the present, and highly dangerous for the future." Napoleon was sarcastically characterized as the "Regenerator of the human Race," whose oppression increased in the same ratio with his colossal power. After discussing the recent decrees regarding such subjects as the press and state prisoners, the writer concluded: "Americans judge from these terrible and notorious facts, what lot those people and nations must expect, who being subjected or submitted to the Influence of France are obliged to live under such laws! The most oppressive System which could ever afflict Mankind! May Providence, which has separated you from Europe by the Vast Ocean, preserve you also from an influence so pestilential & so fatal."[c] Such were the sentiments expressed in that number of the paper which Miranda presented to the officials of the English Government as a sample of what the journal would be like if he were permitted to influence it.[d]

It is clear that El Colombiano aimed to spread a hatred of Napoleon and of the French among the Spanish Americans. At present we know little more about the attitude of the English Government

[a] Ed. An. Reg., IV, 387. Perhaps the journal was the Correio Braziliense, which paid some attention to Spanish America. See Antepara, 291, 292.

[b] Norris to Hamilton, April 9, 1810, said: "I send you the 2d number of the Colombiano with Miranda's note. His visit to me in the course of which I took occasion to speak to him about the production, was relative to the enclosed letter to Mr Percival which sufficiently explains his sentiments and the complexion which he will endeavor to give the Colombiano if he is permitted to influence it." P. R. O., Spain, 102.

[c] El Colombiano, April 1, 1810, No. 2, in part and in translation, ibid. This fragment of the paper preserved in the English archives is the only direct indication which we have regarding its contents, for no other copies of the paper have been found elsewhere. The British Museum does not contain a copy of the Colombiano, and as yet no trace of it has been found in Spanish America. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 508, note.

[d] Norris to Hamilton, April 9, 1810, P. R. O., Spain, 102.

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toward this journal or the influence of Miranda in shaping its utterances. Thanks to the system of espionage maintained by the Spanish minister in London, he was informed of the nature of the paper by one of his omnipresent agents, who subscribed himself as Abela. The latter declared that El Colombiano was intended for circulation in Spanish America. It was described as "an incendiary paper, subversive of the good order and tranquillity and union which ought to reign in those dominions." Abela had also succeeded in ferreting out the editor, Miranda.[a] If the later advices of the Spanish minister are equally reliable, Miranda was aided in his editorial duties by Antepara and an expatriated Spanish American called Cortes.[b] Apodaca considered it his duty to complain at once regarding this new channel into which the unresting energy of Miranda had been turned. The English Government informed the Spaniard, however, that it could not act in the matter because the publication was permitted by the laws of England.

Consequently Apodaca wrote to the viceroy of Lima about the journal, its editors, and its evil reputation. The Spanish minister in the United States was also advised and instructed to warn the Spanish viceroys and governors.[c]

A little later the watchful Apodaca had reason to believe that copies of El Colombiano and El Español, a paper of a similar type, had been laden on board a vessel bound for Veracruz with the intention of distributing them in New Spain to fòment an insurrection.[d] In August, 1810, Miranda even addressed some numbers of El Colombiano to a sympathizer at Buenos Ayres.[e] This agitator was indeed a veritable thorn in the tender flesh of the Spaniards.

While Francisco de Miranda was busy with his propagandist labors in England, events in America were progressing so as to favor his plans largely because of the ambitions of France. The designs of the French on Spanish America were not relinquished when Napoleon came into power, for his policy with regard to that region was, in some respects, a continuation of that of Brissot and Talleyrand. He secured possession of Louisiana, but was forced to transfer it to the United States instead of making it a military colony which might expand at the expense of that power.[f] In Napoleon's mind

[a] Abela to Apodaca, March 27, 1810, thus describes the purpose of El Colombiano: "No para vendirse en ella sino para enbiarle á nuestras Américas exhortándola á la independencia * * * era un papel incendario ysubversivo del buen orden y tranquilidad y union que debe reinar en aquellos dominios; y yo desde luego he tomado á mi cargo responder á dicho papel. Mas todavia no se contentaba con esto mi zele y buen deseo, y asi he procurado con las más exquisitos diligencias averiguar quien fuese el autor de aquel papel, y por fin he conseguido saber por la misma imprenta de Juignet en donde ha empreso, que el autor es el General Miranda * * * ". A. G. S., Estado, 8173.

[b] Apodaca to Hormazas, March 28, 1810, ibid.

[c] Apodaca to Bardaxi, May 15, 1810, ibid.

[d] Apodaca to Bardaxi, May 19, 1810, A. G. S., Estado, 8173.

[e] Antepara, 292.

[f] Adams, United States, II, 6-10, gives the instructions to the military commander of Louisiana in 1802.

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the revolutionizing of Spanish America was closely related to the struggle with England.[a] At the very time when he intimated his intention of calling a convention of Spanish delegates at Bayonne he expressed his purpose of sending to Spanish America vessels laden with proclamations and muskets.[b] Orders to this effect were subsequently given.[c] Napoleon perhaps flattered himself that he might thus secure possession of that part of America.[d] When he had, as he thought, seated his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, Napoleon sent envoys to America to disseminate the news of the dynastic change and to establish French control of the Spanish Indies. His envoys fared badly, however. De Sassenay, who was sent to Buenos Ayres in May, 1808, was thrust into prison,[e] and the two agents who were sent to Caracas fled from an infuriated populace.[f] Evidence has been found to show that Napoleonic emissaries were busy fomenting insurrection in Spanish America,[g] when the inhabitants were actually taking advantage of the disturbed condition of Spain to establish provisional or semiindependent governments.

It was, in fact, the interference of Napoleon in Spanish affairs which promoted the political changes in Venezuela and other provinces that culminated in the Spanish-American revolution. On April 18, 1809, commissioners arrived in the city of Caracas from Spain with orders that the newly-established regency be recognized. The next day there was an uprising, the captain-general, Vicente Emparan, who had been appointed by Napoleon,[h] was deposed, and the government was vested in a junta.[i] The leading Spanish officials were soon deported.[j] Although the Venezuelan leaders still professed allegiance to Ferdinand, this movement of April 19, 1809,

[a] Correspondance de Napoléon, XVII, 17, 72, 176–179.

[b] Ibid., 76, 77.

[c] Ibid., 103, 107, 125, 149, 217, 260.

[d] Ibid., 212, 213, 246, 247.

[e] De Sassenay, Napoléon Ier et la Fondation de la Rép. Ar., 154, 211, 248, 253, 260–263.

[f] Blanco, Documentos, II, 164–166, 160–; Smyth, Life of Beaver, 334–, gives a vivid description of the attitude of the people of Caracas toward the French and the English on receipt of the news of the changes in Spain.

[g] Alleged instructions of Napoleon to his emissaries, which were in circulation in 1810, are printed by Walton, Dissentions of Spanish America, Appendix, document B. A copy of the original (Spanish) is found accompanying a list of commissioners, "Comisionados del Rey José Napoleon en las dos Americas," (copy), in P. R. O. Curaçao Transmissions, 671. A copy of alleged instructions of Napoleon to D'Ambliment, September 24, 1810, is found in P. R. O., Spain, 110. The alarm created by such information is illustrated by the offer made by the government in The Caracas Gazette, January 15, 1811, "of 'one thousand Dollars' to him or to them, who shall discover any such emissaries of the Tyrant, of Europe, who may be found concealed or disguised among us" (translation), P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 675. There is material in the Mexican archives which shows that warnings were sent to viceroys of New Spain regarding the designs of Joseph Napoleon on Spanish America in 1810 and even in 1815 after the return of Napoleon from Elba: Calleja to the minister of the Indies, September 30, 1815, Documentary Appendix, No. 11; Lardizabal to Calleja, May 22, 1815; note of Calleja, September 6, 1815, A. G. M., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, B., 268. In the same volume can be found some reports of local officials in New Spain regarding the steps taken in response to the warnings sent by Lardizabal which was accompanied by a printed list of the French agents in Spanish America.

[h] Correspondance de Napoléon, XVII, 246, 247.

[i] Blanco, Documentos, II, 391.

[j] Layard to Liverpool, May 8, 1810, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 671.

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was in some respects a revolution in disguise. Whatever the pretexts or excuses offered for this action, it is evident that some of the leaders had dreamt of establishing independence.[a] The provisional authority, vested in a junta, at once characterized itself as a "new government,"[b] although in an address to the Spanish regency this junta declared that it would be dissolved on the restoration of Ferdinand or on the establishment of a government more suited to exercise the sovereignty of the entire Spanish nation.[c] A proclamation to the Spanish Americans was drawn up, in which it was boldly asserted that Venezuela had placed herself in the ranks of "the free nations."[d] The number of the junta was soon fixed at twenty-three. The Marquis de Casa León was made president of this body, which was virtually vested with the supreme power in the province of Caracas. The heads of various departments, as foreign affairs, war, and the navy, were chosen.[e] On April 27 an address was issued to the cabildos of the capitals of other Spanish American States asking them to join the movement and to form a great Spanish-American confederation.[f] On June 11, 1810, elaborate regulations were issued, which provided for the choice by secondary election of deputies from the adjacent provinces who might create "a well constituted central power."[g]

Before this time, however, it had become apparent that the leaders at Caracas were not to have undisputed control of the region. The city of Coro and the province of Maracaibo had refused to follow the example of Caracas, and proclaimed their adherence to the ruling Spanish junta.[h] The Marquis del Toro, the quondam correspondent of Miranda, who was now a leader of the radical party, was soon intrusted with the task of subduing the Corians.[i] A civil war was thus begun. About this time other Spanish-American provinces took measures similar to those taken by the Caracians. In July, 1810, the Spanish regency declared the province of Caracas to be in a state of blockade.[j] Affairs drifted until Spain and Venezuela, at least, were so far apart that they could only be reunited by a war, if at all.

The leaders of this movement in Venezuela evidently hoped to secure aid or encouragement from foreign powers. In April, 1810, Juan

[a] "Notes on the Caracas," July, 1810, P. R. O., Spain, 106. These notes were made by Marquis Wellesley, or by some one under his direction, and suggest the motives of Bolívar and Méndez, who participated in the movement. Rojas, Los Hombres, presents the thesis that this was a premeditated revolution.

[b] Blanco, Documentos, II, 405.

[c] Ibid., 421.

[d] Caracas Gazette in the London Times, July 2, 1810; Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 54.

[e] Blanco, Documentos, II, 406, 407.

[f] Ibid., 407, 408.

[g] Ibid., 504–534.

[h] Ibid., 428, 429, 434, 440, 480.

[i] Ibid., 490.

[j] Ibid., 571, 572.

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Vicente Bolívar and Telesforo de Orea were intrusted with a commission to the United States.[a] They proceeded to that country and made representations to the Government without any apparent effect. At the same time, however, Robert K. Lowry was appointed marine and commercial agent for the United States to the province of Venezuela.[b] The policy of the United States then toward Venezuela was not such as to greatly encourage those who thought of securing material succor from that quarter.

Although England did not at this time appoint an agent to Venezuela she was kept well informed of the progress of events, especially through Governor Hodgson of Curaçao and the diplomatic agents Simón de Bolívar and Luis López Mendez, who were sent to England to plead for Venezuela. These envoys arrived in England on July 10, 1810,[c] and soon met the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, Marquis Wellesley. At a conference the marquis informed the commissioners that the English Government could enter into no official relations with them because of the alliance of July, 1808, with Spain. The declarations of the Venezuelans, however, that they still adhered to Ferdinand, and that they were willing to aid the parent State in the contest with France, afforded the English minister a convenient excuse for other meetings.

In the course of the conferences Wellesley enunciated the policy which was to govern the attitude of the English Government toward the revolting Spanish-American colonies for many years. He urged the Venezuelans to forget temporary grievances, to become reconciled to the governing authorities in Spain, and to aid the mother country in the contest with France.[d] Bolívar and Mendez maintained, however, that they could better promote the cause of Ferdinand VII and of Spain under their existing organization than by a reunion with the Spanish authorities.[e] England finally offered her good offices to promote "an amicable adjustment" between Venezuela and Spain.[f] After the Venezuelan envoys secured a promise from England that she would protect them from France so long as they did not break with Spain,[g] the conferences ended. The policy of England then was one of neutrality and mediation in the quarrels between Spain and her colonies in America, a policy to which she

[a] Martin Tovar Ponte to the secretary of foreign affairs of the United States, April 28, 1810, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies; Documentary Appendix, No. 9.

[b] Lowry to Smith, July 10, 1810, June 9, 1811, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[c] Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 13, 14.

[d] "Memorandum of the Communication between the Marquess Wellesley and the Commissioners from Venezuela," P. R. O., Spain, 106; in Spanish, Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 26, 27.

[e] Ibid.

[f] "Note in reply to the Propositions from the Commissioners of Venezuela," P. R. O., Spain, 106; in Spanish, Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 22, 23.

[g] Ibid.

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clung despite the frequent appeals of the Spanish-American revolutionists and the ulterior suggestions of the Spanish authorities. This fixed policy, in striking contrast with her opportunistic attitude toward Spanish America on many earlier occasions, operated powerfully against the early recognition of the struggling Spanish-American republics by England.

That part of the secret instructions of Bolívar and Mendez which related to Francisco de Miranda was typical of the Venezuelan position at this time, as it could be interpreted to suit the convenience of the envoys. Although it did not prohibit the commissioners from dealing with Miranda, yet it conveyed the impression that Miranda ought to be viewed as one who had rebelled against Ferdinand VII, whose rights the governing junta of Venezuela at that time professed to represent. Nevertheless, it was stated that if Miranda's present situation would contribute in any proper manner to the commission he was not to be despised.[a] Apodaca soon learned that Miranda had visited the commissioners.[b]

Bolívar and Mendez did not hesitate long, if at all, about entering into cordial relations with their compatriot. They doubtless called on Miranda in his home on Grafton street. By his knowledge of English policy, it is certain that Miranda was in a position to give valuable hints to the envoys regarding the conduct of their affairs. The general was kept in close touch with the negotiations between the Venezuelans and the English Government. Important in its lasting effects was the fact that now, for the first time, Miranda met Simón Bolívar, who was also destined to achieve a lasting reputation as a revolutionist. It would be only natural for the professional conspirator to exert a powerful influence over this ardent, self-willed, and ambitious young man, while the story of the political changes beyond the sea must have fired Miranda with the desire of returning to his native land.

Events were soon to demonstrate that the presence of the envoys in London and conditions in Venezuela were to influence the fortunes of Miranda profoundly. On July 25, a few days after the Venezuelan commissioners had had their first conference with the English secretary of foreign affairs, Miranda informed the latter that the events of April last in Venezuela and the arrival of Bolívar and Mendez had made his presence in England "totally unnecessary." He

[a] A copy of the instructions which refer to Miranda, dated June 2, 1810, is found in P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 672. The part relating to Miranda is as follows: "Miranda el general q^{e}. fue de la Francia maquinó contra los dros de la Monarquia q^{e} tratamos de Conservar, y el Gobierno de Caracas p^{r} las tentativas q^{e} practicó contra esta Provincia en el año de 1806 p^{r}. la Costa de Ocumare y p^{r}. Coro ofreció 30,000 p^{s}. p^{r}. su Cabeza. Nosostros conseg̃uentes en nuestra conducta debemos mirarlo como rebelado contra Fernando 7°, y baxo de esta intelig^{a} si estuviese en Londres, ó en otra parte de las escalas, ó recalados de los comisiados de este nuevo Gobierno, y se acercase á ellos, sabian tratarle como corresponde á estos principios, y á la inmunidad del territorio donde se hallase: y si su actual situacion pudiese contribuir de algun modo q^{e}. sea decente á la Comision, no será menospreciado."

[b] Apodaca to Bardaxi, July 17, 1810, A. G. S., Estado, 8173.

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delared that his friends and relations in the city of Caracas had sent "most pressing solicitations" for his "immediate return." He expressed his desire to be permitted to return "to the bosom" of his family and to the land which had given him "birth and education." After thanking the minister for the long hospitality and friendship of the English Government, he asked for "the due permission" to depart from England, a "definite arrangement, in the pecuniary allowance" settled upon him, and "a safe passage, in one of H. M's Ships of War to any of the Forts in the Province of Venezuela."[a] Evidently Miranda's desires were neither modest nor secret.

The request went unheeded. Accordingly, on August 29, Miranda again addressed Wellesley on the same theme, "his desire and intention of leaving England for South America." He said that he had "received new intimations from the Province of Caracas, and very pressing solicitations from Dn. Simon de Bolivar to the same purpose; which circumstance leaves him no alternative in the possibility of remaining by choice, any longer in this Country. If the pecuniary arrangements he mentioned in the aforesaid Letter, should be deemed inconvenient at the present moment, he is willing to postpone them to a future period; or even to relinquish his claim altogether, (though with no small inconvenience to his private concerns) for the welfare of his country and for the satisfaction of cooperating, united with his countrymen, to the salvation of South America; and to the support of Great Britain."[b] Miranda's determination had been taken.

The English minister, thus importuned, was apparently in a quandary. Although he could not prohibit Miranda from going to his native land, yet he was loath to grant the request, in all probability dreading Miranda's influence in Spanish America. On September 9 Wellesley requested the pensioner to delay his departure "for eight or ten days only." The latter, however, felt that circumstances made his departure urgent. On September 24, not having received any further communication on the mooted question, Miranda asked for Wellesley's kind decision and commands for those provinces, "Being fully persuaded that the object I have most at heart, next to the preservation of my native country, is the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain." He declared that the vessel on which he proposed embarking was to sail on the 2d of October.[b] The next day Miranda transmitted this memorandum on his financial relations with the English Government: "The settlement General Miranda could wish to be made in his pecuniary concerns would be: Either to continue the payment of his pension of £700 a year and his secretary Mr. Molini of £200 in the hands of his friend the Right Honorable

[a] P. R. O., Spain, 103. [b] Ibid., 104.

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Nicholas Vansittart or to give three or four years purchase once paid; which he should prefer. He also leaves to the consideration of H. M. Ministers if the losses he has sustained in the late fire at the Island of Trinidad, by the circumstance of retaining there, various articles of Clothing, Arms, and Ammunition, through the recommendation of Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Lord Wellington) for the purpose of being used in the Expedition prepared for the Coasts of Caraccas in the year 1808; should not be entitled to a compensation. The estimate of the various articles consumed he computes to be from eight hundred to 1000 Pounds sterling."[a]

Three days later Miranda apparently received a verbal response through Mr. Richard Wellesley to the effect that the marquis had as yet "no decision to communicate."[b] The astute Miranda had probably realized by this time that this temporizing policy had as its object his detention in England. The action of the English minister was probably influenced by the desire of the Spanish Government as voiced by Apodaca.[c] Miranda, however, held in his own hands the solution of the problem. On October 3 he informed Marquis Wellesley that not having been informed of any decision in regard to his departure and having learned that conditions in Caracas "urgently required" his presence, he had "taken the resolution" which he had previously intimated. "I hope," said Miranda, "that this step will not be deemed precipitate on my part, and that the claims stated in my *Memorandum* of the 25th, and transmitted through Mr R. Wellesley to your Lordship, will receive the attention which the propriety of the demand may deserve, from the equity of His Majesty's Ministers. My friend the Right Honorable Nicholas Vansittart remains charged with my powers, and will do me the favor to make the necessary application on my behalf."[d]

This was only carrying out a decision which he had formed early in August, for on the 3d of that month Miranda had written to the supreme junta of Venezuela intimating that he was on the eve of severing the relations which had existed between himself and the English Government and of responding to the invitations which he had received from his fellow-countrymen to pass to his native land.[e] For once Miranda was destined to leave the shores of England without a financial settlement with the Government which had sheltered him

[a] P. R. O., Spain, 104; a copy is found in ibid., 171, which differs slightly from the original.

[b] Miranda to Wellesley, October 3, 1810, ibid., 105.

[c] Apodaca to Bardaxi, November 26, 1810, shows that the former and Marquis Wellesley had conferred in regard to this matter: "En los mismos días e sabido q Miranda se avía ausentado de aquí para pasar á Caraccas, no obstante q el Marqs de Wellesley nos avía dicho al Duque de Albuquerque y á mí qe avía estado barallando con él para q no lo hiciese, y en el lo qual quedó accorde: pero el mismo sr Marqs. nos añadio q si se obstinaba en beneficiar su partida las leyes de esta Pays le daban derecho á q no se le pusiera impedimento y según me a dicho el segundo Secretº á quien y (?) aver luego qe supe esta occurencia * * *." A. G. S., Estado, 8173.

[d] P. R. O., Spain, 105.

[e] Blanco, Documentos, II, 580.

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for so long, and without its consent. The argus-eyed Spanish Government soon became aware of the departure of the notorious conspirator for Caracas.[a] Several years afterwards the Spanish minister, Cevallos, blamed the English Government for acquiescing in the departure of Miranda, which had had a very disastrous effect on the American provinces, declaring that the life of that man had been a "tissue of crimes and prevarications" and that his existence was "incompatible with repose and tranquillity."[b] Cevallos was properly informed that Miranda had actually been "induced to continue in England for a considerable period" at the "instance" of the foreign secretary after he had made preparations to leave.[c]

The private life of Miranda in London must have been interesting. It is at present difficult, however, to separate his private affairs from his revolutionizing activity. Miranda's home life is to a large extent shrouded in mystery. The South American certainly had a coterie of friends, sympathizers, reformers, revolutionists. As in previous years, his home was probably a gathering place for discontented Spanish Americans like Antepara.[d] We know that some prominent Englishmen were deeply interested in Miranda and Venezuela. The philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, was a warm friend of the agitator, at whose request he made a draft of a law for establishing the liberty of the press in Venezuela. Bentham even seems to have seriously entertained the thought of following Miranda if conditions appeared auspicious, for the purpose of formulating laws for the Venezuelans, which, he flattered himself, they would receive "as oracles."[e] Miranda was on friendly terms with William Wilberforce, who found his conversation "very entertaining and instructive, but used God's name very lightly, else all his sentiments and positions just, humane, and even delicate."[f] Bentham declared that Wilberforce "talked, half jest, half earnest," of paying the Venezuelans a visit.[g]

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[a] Apodaca to Bardaxi, November 26, 1810, as quoted above, p. 434, note [c]. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 509, makes this unsupported statement about the relations between Miranda and the English Government just before Miranda's departure for Caracas: "Como era de esperarse, el Gabinete británico rehusó perentoriamente la entrega de Miranda, pero á efecto de tranquilizar á su aliado, hubo de someter á caución la conducta del asilado, y la dió él mismo, con lo cual los postreros esfuerzos de Miranda hubieron de ser muy discretos y limitados, hasta el punto de necesitar una licencia especial para embarcarse en 1810 con rumbo á Venezuela."

[b] Cevallos to Henry Wellesley, January 20, 1815, P. R. O., Spain, 173.

[c] Henry Wellesley to Cevallos, February 4, 1815: "The next complaint relates to the permission which, in defiance of the repeated protests and representations of the Spanish Government, it is alleged was given to General Miranda to leave England. Don Pedro de Cevallos cannot be ignorant that the laws of Great Britain do not admit of any individual being forcibly detained in the Country unless he shall commit an offense which shall render him answerable to those Laws. But it happens in this case that, at the instance of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, General Miranda was induced to continue in England for a considerable period after he had made preparations for his departure, and when he did depart, so little was he encouraged by the Government to persevere in his enterprise, that upon his arrival at Caracas, he is known to have expressed his dissatisfaction at the conduct of His Majesty's Ministers, and to have publicly stated that no hopes were to be entertained by the Insurgents of assistance from Great Britain." (Copy), ibid.

[d] Antepara, preface, Wilberforce, Life of Wilberforce, III, 434, and Ed. Rev., XIX, 20, show something of the relations of Miranda with Spanish Americans in London.

[e] Bowring, Works of Bentham, X, 458.

[f] Wilberforce, Life of Wilberforce, III, 434; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 492.

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Miranda was still doubtless a zealous student "of the arts of either war or peace." Doctor Thompson, in his work called "Military Memoirs," said: "I have had assistance * * * from different quarters; but my great guide and assistant was General Miranda, a man of learning, genius, military talents, experience, and reputation."[a] Miranda and the envoys from Venezuela doubtless had many acquaintances besides the officials of the English Government; apparently they visited the "Borough school," established by Mr. Lancaster, and formed the resolution of sending two young men from Caracas to "be instructed in the principles of the system." [b] After Miranda had departed for his native land, Jeremy Bentham informed one of his friends: "A number of our considerable political characters, and even women, too, are already looking to that country and longing to go there. Lady Hester Stanhope, who was niece to Minister Pitt, and used to live with him, promised Miranda that if he found things there settled according to his wishes she would go over to him and superintend female schools for him." [c] It is evident that Miranda's residence in London was fruitful in promoting interest in his cause. As on a former occasion, Miranda bade farewell to England leaving his family behind him,[d] but carrying with him at least some of his cherished papers.

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[a] As quoted by Burke, Additional Reasons, 65.

[b] Ed. Rev., XIX, 20.

[c] Bowring, Works of Jeremy Bentham, X, 458.

[d] There is some mystery in regard to the family relations of Miranda. It is asserted by Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 492–494, that Miranda married Miss Sarah Andrews shortly before the year 1803, but no authority is cited. It is certain that Miranda had two children, Leander and Francisco, one of whom, at least, was born before Miranda left England to engage in the expedition of 1806, ibid., 494; Blanco, Documentos, II, 70, 71. Suggestions have been made that these children were illegitimate, Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 499. A fleeting reference to his family was made by Miranda in a letter to Vansittart, May 21, 1814, "La Lettre Cijointe est pour ma gouvernante, de qui j a grande confirme, et je n'ai pas besoin de vous recomender ma petitte famille," Bexley MSS., III, f. 737. The lives of the two sons of Miranda are touched on by Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 499, 500 and note, 527. In ibid., 528, is mention of descendants of Miranda's son, Leander. In a letter of Miranda, June 2, 1812, he said: "I return you many thanks for your attention to my family in Grafton street, which I hope you will continue with your wonted goodness." P. R. O., Spain, 171; the letter is unaddressed, but was evidently meant for Mr. Richard Wellesley, for a copy of this letter is addressed to him, ibid., 157.

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Chapter XII.

MIRANDA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST VENEZUELAN REPUBLIC.

The political horoscope had changed greatly since Miranda had left Caracas for Spain, for the Venezuelans had taken a great step toward absolute independence. As in the case of the revolution in North America, a most influential factor in shaping the actions of the people was the attitude of a few great leaders. Most prominent among these from 1810 to 1812 were Simón de Bolívar and Francisco de Miranda. The return of these men to Venezuela at the same crucial epoch was pregnant with significance. Like Miranda, Bolívar had profited by travel and study in the Old World; he was now 27 years of age, steadily growing in reputation and strength, becoming a fanatic in the cause of independence—decidedly a man of the future.

In some respects Miranda was comparable with Bolívar, in others in sharp contrast. Although he was 54 years old, far riper in judgment than Bolívar, Miranda had not lost his youthful enthusiasm for liberty. It was as a revolutionist, who had ignominiously failed in his attack on Coro in 1806, that Miranda was known to the great body of inhabitants of his native land, if known at all. In the eyes of many he was enveloped in the glamor of a conspirator of state. Nevertheless, his abilities were such that he was destined to become the focus of public attention. Miranda was grave and austere in his bearing, persuasive, aggressive, ambitious, confident that he carried the prescription for some Venezuelan ills in his portfolio of precious papers. This son of Caracas was not of a conciliatory disposition; he inevitably attracted or repelled strongly. The many severe trials and disappointments which he had experienced had perhaps rather embittered his disposition than decreased his pertinaciousness or chastened his spirit.

The rôle of Miranda was rendered doubly difficult because he was not only a stranger to the land of his nativity, but it was in many respects strange to him. The list of his friends and acquaintances must have been short, while he was only imperfectly acquainted with conditions in Venezuela. He knew perhaps less of his fellow-countrymen than they did of him. Whether the Venezuelans, many of whom were just awakening to political self-consciousness, looked upon Miranda as an adventurous soldier of fortune or a gift of favoring

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Providence, it soon became evident that his arrival was destined to influence powerfully the fortunes of Venezuela for good or evil. The man who for many long years had dreamt of kindling a revolutionary fire in Spanish America now found himself with some of the materials of combustion ready to hand, if indeed the fire was not already lit.

Miranda, accompanied by his secretary, Molini, left England on October 10, 1810.[a] According to his own account, he arrived at Curaçao, on the 28th of November.[b] Perhaps he again traveled under an assumed name.[c] After sojourning for a few days at the home of Col. John Robertson, secretary of the governor of Curaçao, Miranda departed in His Majesty's sloop of war, *Avon*, for La Guayra on December 4.[d] Whether the two friends had purposely arranged their journeys so that Bolívar should arrive in Venezuela first or not, Bolívar was certainly given an opportunity to prepare the way for Miranda. To take again the date furnished by the latter, he arrived at La Guayra on December 11,[e] several days after Bolívar had landed.

The attitude of the governing junta of Venezuela toward the long-exiled Miranda was somewhat dubious, perhaps vacillating. No reply appears to have been made to his congratulatory and effusive letter of August 3. On being informed of the arrival of Miranda, however, the junta took steps to receive him.[f] On December 11

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[a] Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, January 7, 1811, P. R. O., Spain, 125; in Spanish, Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 34; Layard to Liverpool, December 10, 1810, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 674.

[b] Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, January 7, 1811, P. R. O., Spain, 125; in Spanish, Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 34.

[c] Layard to Liverpool, December 10, 1810, reported that Miranda's arrival at Curaçao was not generally known until the departure of the packet on which he came. P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 674, see note *f*, below; Ducoudray Holstein, Memoirs of Simón Bolívar, 24, declares that Miranda traveled as Mr. Martin.

[d] Layard to Liverpool, December 10, 1810, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 674, see note *f*, below.

[e] Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, January 7, 1811, P. R. O., Spain, 125.

[f] Layard to Liverpool, December 17, 1810, declares that the junta appointed a committee to receive the voyager and to express its pleasure at his safe arrival. P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 674. There is some difference of opinion among Spanish-American historical writers regarding the exact date of the arrival of Simón Bolívar and Miranda in Venezuela. These views are conveniently massed by Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 99-101; Torrente holds that Miranda and Bolívar returned together; Yanes believes that Miranda arrived in November, 1810, his arrival having been announced by Bolívar; Díaz asserts that Bolívar returned in October bringing Miranda with him; Becerra is correct when he states that Miranda arrived at Curaçao in the end of November, 1810 (ibid., 16); he sets the date of his arrival in Caracas as December 13, and states that Bolívar arrived at Caracas on December 5, but references are lacking. The London Packet, March 4-6, 1811, prints a letter of Simón Bolívar dated December 7, 1811, in which he announces his arrival at La Guayra on December 5. According to Miranda's own statement he arrived at La Guayra on December 11: "In consequence of my written and verbal communication with Your Lordship, about the political state of South America, and particularly of the Province of Venezuela, I quitted England on the 10th of October, arrived at Barbadoes the 19th of Nov., at Curaçao on the 28 Ditto, and landed at La Guayra the 11th of Dec. last * * *." Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, January 7, 1811, P. R. O., Spain, 125. Layard to Liverpool, December 10, 1810, says: "I had not the honor of receiving any despatch from your lordship, by the first October packet, which arrived here, on the 28th ultimo, and proceeded to Jamaica, on the 30th following.

"General Miranda, with his Secretary, arrived in the Packet, but it was not publicly known here, until after her departure for Jamaica.

"The General left this, in his Majesty's Sloop of War—the *Avon*—Captain Fraser—Commander, on the 4th instant, for La Guayra.

"The *Saphire* sloop of War, with Colonel Bolívar, on board (one of the Caracas Deputies, from London) arrived at La Guayra on the 4th instant * * * ." P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 674. Enough evidence has been presented to show, in the judgment of the writer, that Bolívar arrived in Venezuela several days before Miranda.

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Miranda wrote to Roscio, the secretary of the junta, soliciting permission to proceed to the capital, and announcing his intention of spending the rest of his life as a private citizen.[a] Roscio replied on the next day, informing Miranda that the junta had granted him permission to pass to Caracas, but making various reflections which indicate that it was done with some misgivings. Miranda was informed that the former tyranny had been replaced by a government which aimed solely to secure the happiness of the people under its rule. Each citizen was now fully persuaded that his first debts were due to society, and considered in all his actions not his own interests but the common welfare. "Go then to increase the number of these. As much greater as have been the advantages which have bestowed upon you the experience and the knowledge of foreign courts, so much greater are the obligations which you have contracted in favour of a country which has given you birth and that now receives you. Such are the hopes with which the people of Caracas have received the knowledge of your arrival; and Their Highnesses in granting you the permission that you solicit to come to this city believe that they will be realized."[a]

Miranda might well have considered his reception by his fellow-countrymen as a triumph. The inhabitants of his native city received him, in the words of The Caraccas Gazette of December 21, 1810, "as a citizen of Venezuela whom the deserved distinctions and honors contributed by impartial Europe to his merit had not caused to forget his native land, for whose happiness he has made very frequent and efficacious attempts."[b] On December 25 the cabildo of the city of Valencia, influenced probably by Madariaga, publicly manifested joy over the arrival of Miranda. The incriminatory documents relating to Miranda's revolutionary activity which had been lodged in the Valencian archives were declared by the cabildo to relate to "the decorous, irreprehensible, and wise Patriotism" of Miranda.[c] The documents which had been filed at Valencia and elsewhere against the filibuster were, at least in part, collected and destroyed.[d] On January 7, 1811, the municipal assembly of San Carlos congratulated the general on his "happy return" and declared

[a] Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 32, 33.

[b] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 675; this extract and many of the other extracts that will be cited are in translation.

[c] Caraccas Gazette, January 18, 1811, contains the address of the cabildo of Valencia to Miranda, dated December 25, 1810, ibid.

[d] Ibid., Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 98. Miranda was evidently pleased with the action of the Valencians in collecting the documents which had been filed against him. On January 8, 1811, he wrote thus to Pedro Miguel Landaeta, representing the syndic of Valencia: "With Singular Esteem, I have received the Official Letter, which by Order of the Illustrious Cavildo and assembly, you have communicated, to me, dated the 25th December last; informing me that by an act of said day, celebrated by the same illustrious Body, it had been ordered, that the indecorous, and reprehensible Documents which the Power and Despotism of the Ancient Government had produced, against my person, should be collected, cancelled and Transmitted to the Supreme Junta of the Capital; and as I always believed, that the most honorable title, to which, an honest man can aspire, is that of 'a good Citizen and a faithful Servant of his Country', my Joy cannot be expressed at the voluntary act of the Illustrious City, of Valencia, and has produced in me, gratitude and patriotic Love, towards the province of Venezuela * * *." P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 675.

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that his efforts to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen demanded their "eternal gratitude. * * * Receive, thus," said they, "our sincere thanks, from the deepest recesses of our hearts."[a]

On February 4, 1811, the municipal assembly of Miranda's native city made extravagant expressions of joy at his return: "Venezuela! faithful and consequent in its principles, could not omit manifesting to your excellency the sincere expressions of her gratitude, without being deaf to the voice of justice and humanity, which is speaking in your favor—and if the Huzzahs and acclamations of a generous People, who carried you in triumph to the heart of your country have clearly shown the Jubilee and joy, which your Presence afforded in the Country, and the soft and sweet pleasure, which they were experiencing, in pressing you in their Arms, as well as the particular interest they took in giving to the person of your Excellency all the honors and dignity which belongs to you, vindicating your noble Character, against the Vexation, with which an arbitrary and despotic Government, has dared to blacken your patriotic proceedings, it will not less be considered as an august testimony of the esteem and regard toward your Excellency; of the affectionate sincerity with which they still lament the loss of your Companions victims of the former oppressive System, and of the injustice with which a shameful pusilanimity sacrificed the innocent Blood of many of her Children, and brethren of your Excellency to the views and caprice of our ancient Oppressors."[b]

Even the junta of Santa Fé caught the spirit of enthusiasm and sent a congratulatory address to Miranda in which it declared that he would "purify these regions, stained by the blood of so many victims, offered up at the shrine of despotism."[c] If, as Roscio assured Bello, Miranda was given the rank and pay of lieutenant-general,[d] he had causes for joy perhaps even more profound. Whatever the real sentiments of the junta, Miranda had been welcomed by many to his native land. The Venezuelans, however, did not all view with pleasure or equanimity the advent of the much-famed adventurer. Many years afterwards the royalist writer, Díaz, published his recollections of the reception of Miranda by the people of the city of Caracas. He declared that the most turbulent youths regarded him as the man of wisdom and the only one capable of directing the state.

[a] Caraccas Gazette, January 29, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 675.

[b] Caraccas Gazette, February 26, 1811, ibid. The London Packet, March 6, 1810, contains an account of Miranda's reception in a letter probably from Caracas. The Caraccas Gazette, January 29, 1811, contains this interesting note in regard to the reception of Miranda: "As a proof of the Spontaneous and general satisfaction, which the arrival of General Miranda has caused, in these Countries, we must inform the Public, (in addition to what they already have read) of the anxiety and patriotic curiosity, with which Don José de Alamo came, from Barquisimeto, in his old age, to this Capital, only to have the satisfaction to see and to know, before he will leave this Scene of life, a Man, who (in spite of the oppression of the former system) never was hated by his Countrymen." P. R. O., C[illegible] 'ssions, 675.

[c] London Packet, August 16–18, 1811.

[d] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 98.

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On the contrary, the more moderate and those of less tumultuous ideas began to see in Miranda a perilous being and one capable of overthrowing the state.[a] Although this is perhaps an extreme statement of the attitude of those who for some reason or other feared the effect which the arrival of an enthusiastic revolutionist like Miranda might have on the Venezuelans, yet it probably reflects the sentiments of some. Roscio certainly soon suspected the intentions or was jealous of the former general of France.[b]

Miranda did not utterly sever his connections with England. On January 7, 1811, he informed Marquis Wellesley of the "great applause, friendship, and affection" with which the people of Venezuela had received him. He declared that he had communicated to the junta the "views and wishes of the British Government * * * with respect to the safety of these Provinces, and the support they were at the same time bound to give to the Spanish cause in the Peninsula," with which, he declared, the sentiments of the Venezuelan Government were "perfectly in unison." He expressed his belief that the Venezuelans would "continue following the same moderate course." There is nothing to show that Miranda had been charged with any message whatever by the English Government, so that his statements to the Venezuelan junta could not have added anything to the information given by Simón Bolívar. Miranda further took occasion pointedly to remind the minister of the pension memorandum which he had left, and asked for a settlement, declaring that the "Military charges and duties" conferred upon him by Venezuela were "incompatible * * * with any foreign emoluments."[c] This makes it clear that Miranda had no desire to remain financially attached to the Government of England.

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[a] Díaz, Recuerdos, 30, 31.

[b] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 98. Mr. John Robertson, who visited Maracaibo in the autumn of 1808 on a confidential mission from the governor of Curaçao, in a report dated August 2, 1808, said: "The name of Miranda is generally abhorred and detested," P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 668. Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 105, after discussing the various views taken by Spanish-American writers regarding the attitude of the Venezuelans toward Miranda at this epoch concludes that because Miranda was not chosen to represent his native city in Congress, he was not received in triumph by his countrymen of La Guayra and Caracas. The representatives for the city of Caracas, however, had been chosen before Miranda's arrival in Venezuela (see below, p. 444); Miranda, therefore, could not well have been chosen to represent that city. The writer believes that the reception of Miranda by his fellow-countrymen was triumphant, but, as suggested in the text, that there was a small minority which viewed him with suspicion, dislike, or hatred.

[c] P. R. O., Spain, 125; in Spanish, Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 34, 35. The complete statement made by Miranda in this letter as regards the relations between England and Venezuela is: "The Government and the People of Venezuela have received me with great applause, friendship, and affection, conferring at the same time civic and military rewards; by which means I shall be able I hope, to have the influence required for the purpose of promoting the interests of Great Britain, as perfectly compatible with the welfare and safety of these Provinces.

"On my arrival at this Capital I did not fail in communicating to the Government, what the views and wishes of the British Government were, with respect to the safety of these Provinces, and the support they were at the same time bound to give to the Spanish Cause in the Peninsula. I found their sentiments perfectly in unison with Your Lordship's views and have no doubt but they will continue following the same moderate course; notwithstanding the provocations and harsh proceedings of the Agents of the Spanish Regency at Puerto Rico, without which, no disturbance would have occurred at Coro or Maracaibo,—nor in this Capital, where their plots obliged the government to take coercive measures, far distant from their wishes, and the conciliatory spirit they were pursuing * * *." Compare with this the statement made to the Spanish minister Cevallos by Henry Wellesley on February 4, 1815 (p. 435, note c, above).

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Vansittart, whom the Venezuelan had empowered as his attorney in financial matters, kept up an interesting correspondence with Miranda, which is worthy of brief notice. On March 7, 1811, the ex-secretary of the English treasury wrote to Miranda, congratulating him upon his reception by the Venezuelans. He urged Miranda to transmit to Mendez "frequent and detailed accounts" of events at Caracas, as the English people were puzzled by the contradictory and perverted reports which were received. He expressed the hope that Miranda's influence would be sufficient "to repress any violence and to controul any spirit of persecution" which might appear.[a] On March 19 Vansittart wrote again, informing Miranda of the unfavorable impression which the news of the arrest of some native Spaniards at Caracas had produced in England. He warned his correspondent that "nothing would more indispose both our Government and the public here to any connection with you than an appearance of severity; or so much unite opinions here in your favor as measures of mildness and conciliation to all classes of inhabitants in your country." He advised Miranda that it would be wise to establish the Venezuelan representation in England on a firm financial basis by regular remittances. If this was not soon done Mendez would soon be in embarrassed circumstances.[b]

The correspondence was not one-sided, for although many of the letters seem to have been lost, destroyed, or spirited away, we know that Miranda wrote to Vansittart as well as to other persons in England.[c] On July 3 Vansittart again wrote to Miranda tendering friendly advice. He informed his correspondent that the matter of the pension was still unsettled.[d] As late as August 19, 1811, the English ministers had not seen fit to settle definitely the financial claim of Miranda, perhaps not without design. On that day Vansittart again wrote to Miranda informing him that he had taken steps to make the English Government aware of the flourishing condition of the city of Caracas. He warned Miranda of the danger of "indiscriminate arming" among a people composed of such different races. He suggested that if sufficient financial inducements were held out experienced Swiss and German officers might be obtained in England whose services would be useful in the formation of a good military force. He also emphasized the value of a system of education as a unifying and elevating force.[e]

Enough has been said of this correspondence to show clearly that Vansittart was acting in the capacity of a private citizen with the public welfare at heart. He was doubtless animated by a sincere

[a] Bexley MSS., II, f., 206. This and some of the other letters to be referred to are obviously drafts or copies of letters sent to Miranda by Vansittart.

[b] Bexley MSS., II, f. 212–.

[c] Vansittart to Miranda, July 3, 1811, ibid., III, f. 73.

[d] Ibid., f. 73–.

[e] Ibid., II, f. 216–.

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interest in the fortunes of Miranda and the Venezuelan state. The Englishman was evidently anxious to keep in touch with the Venezuelan leader because of the possible future advantage which this connection might be to England politically and especially commercially. Not a particle of evidence has been found to show that the English Government attempted to influence, far less to control, Miranda's actions after his departure from England, although technically he was still on its roll of pensioners. The writer believes it extremely improbable that any attempt was made to make Miranda feel that he was even subject to suggestion from the English Government. Such action would have been inconsonant with the spirit of England's enunciated policy. In fact, evidence points in the other direction, for in June, 1811, in addition to the verbal instructions which he had been given, Governor Hodgson, of Curaçao, was warned by Lord Liverpool that the British Government was anxious that he should "abstain from any engagements or correspondence" with the Venezuelan leader "which might induce a suspicion * * * that General Miranda, had been abetted by the British government or encouraged by its connivance."[a] Still it is worth bearing in mind that if political circumstances in Europe had again changed so as to make the revolutionizing of Spanish America a possibility for England, the unsettled state of Miranda's pension would have afforded a convenient means of opening negotiations with the revolutionist.[b]

By dint of his experience, ability, and assertiveness Miranda soon forged to the front in Venezuelan affairs. True to his long-settled convictions, he at once tried to promote the movement that was on foot for the political union of the province of Santa Fé with Venezuela.[c] He was one of the most influential members, if not one of the real founders, of the Patriotic Society, to which other radicals like Simón Bolívar belonged. This was an association in the city of Caracas in which burning political questions were discussed. As contrasted with the restricted discussion under the old régime, this club must have seemed a veritable seminary of sedition to the royalists, for the most liberal doctrines were proclaimed in it.

[a] June 5, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao, 1.

[b] Vansittart attempted to get the pension of Miranda settled through Mr. Richard Wellesley, son of the marquis. In a letter of July 3, 1811, to Miranda, Vansittart made this statement: "I have spoken several times to Mr. R. W. respecting your pension. He is not able to get any decided answer from his father, who seems however more inclined to reimbourse the pension in the manner desired by you than to continue it. I believe it will be settled at last; but the time is uncertain, & it cannot be relied on as an immediate resource." Bexley MSS., III, f. 73–. On August 19, 1811, Vansittart again spoke of the pension to Miranda, as follows: "I have had several conversations about your pension with Mr. W. who appears to have the most friendly disposition towards you, but he has not been able to get his father to determine anything, though I proposed such an arrangement as I hoped would have removed his difficulties. You who know by experience how difficult it is in this country to get any business done out of the common course will not be surprised that I have not yet succeeded." Ibid., II, 216–.

[c] Miranda to the government of Cundinimarca, January 22, 1811 (translation), P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 676.

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"The Society," said a well-informed inhabitant of Caracas, "spoke to the people with a liberty and frankness inspired by an ardent love of country, and a solicitude for public information; they assailed with force and efficacy, the deception of prejudice, the illusions of fanaticism, the silly emptiness of nobility, the antiquated staleness * * * of servile habits, the trammels of self-interest; in short all the vices, errors, and monstrous impediments that were arrayed against the rights, dignity, and elevation of Venezuela. The public mind was almost ripe for the revolution and the time drew near for rending the prudential mask which had been thrown over the proceedings of the 19th of April when necessity compelled them to act in the name of Ferdinand VII."[a] From some points of view this Patriotic Society may not unaptly be compared with the Anglo-Saxon committee of correspondence. In other respects it is comparable to the French Jacobin club, from which perhaps Miranda or others had borrowed some notions. As events will indicate, it was an influential factor in preparing the way for the declaration of independence by Congress.

Before the arrival of Miranda in Caracas most of the members of the provincial congress had been elected. The six representatives for the city of Caracas had been elected in the beginning of November by an electoral assembly which had been chosen "by the vote of all the free men" of that district.[b] Miranda, therefore, could not expect to represent his native city in the assemblage. The congress could not meet at the prescribed time, probably because of the nonarrival of many of the delegates. Hence the junta felt compelled to postpone the date of meeting.[c] It was not until the beginning of March, 1811, that the congress, composed of about fifty members from the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, Margarita, Barcelona, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo met in the city of Caracas.[d] Eventually Miranda entered the congress as delegate for the district of Pao, in the province of Barcelona.

This legislative body came to be called the constituent congress. It had several important matters to consider, among them the condition of the finances, but preeminent in its importance was the problem of the precise form of government to be established. This almost necessarily involved the question of independence. Before

[a] Irvine's "Notes on Venezuela," State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. These notes were drawn up by Baptis Irvine, who was sent to Venezuela in 1818 by the Government of the United States as special agent. He was instructed, among other things, to collect and transmit to the State Department "the most correct information" which he could obtain regarding conditions in Venezuela. Acting on this request, on his return Irvine made out the notes above cited. In the course of this account Irvine makes frequent use of a manuscript history of the Venezuelan revolt which was written by a native of Caracas who had a detailed knowledge of the facts and good judgment. The name of the writer, however, was not given. It is the statement of this Caracian that is quoted. The instructions to Irvine are found in the bureau cited above. Despatches to Consuls, II, f. 93-.

[b] Caracas Gazette, November 3, 1810, Curaçao Transmissions, 674.

[c] Ibid., February 5, 1811, ibid., 675, contains the order of the junta.

[d] Ibid., March 5, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 676.

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discussing this issue, however, several minor matters were considered by congress. On July 1 a law was passed to encourage the emigration of foreigners to Venezuela.[a] Because of this, or for other reasons, many men of European birth came to the country, most of them being of an adventurous type. Among them was a Frenchman called Louis Delpech, Gregor Macgregor, who was later to gain notoriety at Amelia Island, and Col. John Robertson, at one time secretary to the governor of Curaçao. Many of them entered the military service of Venezuela.

On July 3 the president of the congress, Rodriguez Dominguez, declared that the time had come to treat of "absolute independence." As this opinion was supported by many delegates,[b] the assembly at once proceeded to consider the matter. The delegates who debated the question fall into two general classes; the radicals, who uncompromisingly favored the immediate declaration of independence, and the obstructionists, who opposed it by favoring its postponement or by other tactics. The first group included Tovar, Yanes, and Miranda. The second group, which was not constant, included Cabrera, Mayo, and Roscio.

The party which opposed the declaration urged that the time was inopportune and that a preliminary declaration should be made to prepare the minds of the people.[c] It was argued that confederation ought to precede the declaration of independence.[d] At least one of the delegates maintained that the congress lacked power to declare independence, for which a clear and specific authorization was necessary. Mayo de la Grita also declared that his instructions were inconsonant with any such action.[e] One of the most sensible arguments was advanced by Roscio, who declared, with apparent sincerity, that although he favored the declaration of independence, he believed it was advisable that the Venezuelans be first united in common action. He feared that an immediate declaration of independence would repel the dissentient peoples of Coro, Maracaibo, and Guiana.[f] These were not all the arguments, but they were among the weightiest ones.

The strongest pleas made in favor of the declaration were made by Yanes and Miranda. Unfortunately Miranda's harangues, for he made two on the 3d of July, are not accessible in full. The secretary of the congress stated that he was unable to take down the first speech literally because of an "unforeseen accident," but that Miranda supported the "necessity of independence with very solid arguments which formed an energetic and lengthy discourse." From the

[a] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.
[b] Blanco, Documentos, III, 125.
[c] Ibid., 125, 128, the argument of Cabrero and Alamo.
[d] Ibid., 127, 134, the argument of Hernandez.
[e] Ibid., 128, the argument of Mayo de la Grita.
[f] Blanco, Documentos, III, 132, 133.

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remarks of other speakers it can be gathered that Miranda reasoned that the formation of a republican government was inconsistent with an acknowledgment of Spanish sovereignty,[a] and that the Venezuelans had been in a position to declare their independence for some time.[b]

Miranda's argument on one point, however, has been preserved. He declared that the attitude of Venezuela caused ambiguity in the calculations of England and other powers capable of helping them. The European powers desired to know the exact state of Venezuela's relations with Spain, in order that they might not be exposed to the risk of arming the Venezuelans against themselves if the course of events should induce any of them to unite themselves with Spain. "In the condition in which we find ourselves," said Miranda, "a nation which aided us would not be able to count with security on our reciprocity, if it should require aid from us against Spain whose rights we have not yet solemnly disavowed. We ought to be independent to run the risks and to enjoy the advantages of it, in order that the European powers may be able to form firm compacts with us which will serve us by engaging directly the forces of the enemy against that power which aids us. Otherwise it would be to ask that they themselves should strengthen the hand which sooner or later may turn against them the arms which they themselves have given us."[a]

This argument, based upon the diplomatic possibilities which independence might offer to the nascent state came fittingly from the mouth of this orator. The suggestion that independent Venezuela could ally herself with England against her foes doubtless appealed strongly to the Venezuelan mind, for many of Miranda's compatriots firmly believed that Napoleon would ultimately subjugate Spain. In case the English were successful in the peninsula, Miranda's reasoning could be interpreted to mean that the Venezuelans might then endeavor to enlist the sympathies of Napoleon in their behalf. In the existing state of affairs, when the future fate of Venezuela hung largely on the outcome of the great struggle in Europe, Miranda's clever speech must have exerted great influence, for many of the Venezuelans were timorous in regard to their own power.

Yanes began by complimenting Miranda on the "various and weighty reasons" which he had presented and declared that he was unable to add anything to demonstrate the "justice, necessity, utility, and convenience of the proposition." He devoted himself to a refutation of the arguments with which the opponents of Miranda had tried to weaken or to elude the latter's arguments. He pointed out that confederation could not properly precede independence, for was not a confederation an association of free, sovereign, and independent

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 128. [b] Ibid., 129.

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states. Venezuela must strengthen her position by declaring her independence and then attempt to form a confederation. A preliminary expression of the wish of the people, he declared, was not necessary, for the people were represented in the constituent congress and the decision of a majority of that assembly was the general law of Venezuela. If they had consulted the people about the action of April 19, he declared, they would still be slaves. A postponement of the question was more dangerous than immediate action. Rather than take a backward step in the career on which she had entered, Caracas ought to bury herself in her own ruins.[a]

Shortly before the debate closed, Miranda tried to sum up the arguments by boldly declaring that almost all of the members of congress agreed on the utility and the advantages which would accrue from a prompt declaration of absolute independence. In his opinion the argument of Mayo on confederation had been refuted by Yanes. The plea that the congress lacked power and authorization to declare independence was more sophistical than exact.[b] But in spite of Miranda's prejudiced statement, an immediate declaration of independence was still hanging in the balance.

The Patriotic Society tried to influence congress. On July 4 a committee of that organization, acting on the suggestion of Simón Bolívar, appeared in the halls of congress and declared that the club had discussed the matter and favored an immediate declaration of independence.[c] One of its members, Miguel Peña, was permitted to make a lengthy address, in which he depicted the dilemma in which Venezuela was now placed and urged the declaration.[d] Congress now decided to suspend the discussion of the matter until the president could confer with the executive power whether such action would be compatible with public security.[e]

On July 5, congress met again and the president announced that the conference had decided in favor of the declaration.[e] Miranda arose and expressed his approval of this decision. He urged the necessity of immediate action because of the state of political affairs in the Peninsula.[f] There was now less open and decided opposition to independence than before. Mayo de la Grita, a priest, still argued that his instructions would not permit him to agree to a declaration.[g] Two delegates tried to find an argument against the declaration in the oath of allegiance that had been taken to Ferdinand VII,[g] but Roscio, who like some others was changing his mood, met this argument with the contention that this oath had been taken for their weal and not for their woe.[f]

The latter also presented a strong argument against the proposed declaration. He declared that although the justice and the neces-

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 129–131.
[b] Ibid., 134.
[c] Ibid., 139.
[d] Ibid., 139–143.
[e] Ibid., 144.
[f] Ibid., 155, 156.
[g] Ibid., 145.

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sity of the measure were demonstrated, publicists might well doubt whether Venezuela had the "necessary stature and the forces adequate" for such action. The United States had three millions of inhabitants when independence was declared; Venezuela had scarcely one million.[a] The significance of this plea was soon recognized. Cabrera pointed out that smaller and weaker States than Venezuela had been recognized by European powers before the French revolution.[a] Miranda enforced this argument. He declared that in 1776 the United States did not have three millions of inhabitants to rely upon, for the slaves amounted to over four hundred thousand. Other States were cited; San Marino contained scarcely five hundred thousand inhabitants, Geneva had played a distinguished part in history with no more than a million of inhabitants, Switzerland had only two millions, and Denmark even less. A few provinces of Holland, containing not over a million of inhabitants, had successfully contended against the tyrant Philip II and the Duke of Alva for their independence.[a]

Mayo, of San Felipe, although declaring that he favored independence, feared that the declaration might cause an exodus from Venezuela, and referred to the emigration from France as a case in point.[b] Miranda arose to dispose of this objection. He declared that in France only the nobles emigrated when a republic was proclaimed. In regard to Venezuela, the orator expressed his firm belief that only a few undesirable peninsulars, with whom amalgamation was impossible, would leave. Their departure would have a tranquilizing effect.[c] After other speeches had been made, the question was put by the president and the assembly was almost unanimous in favor of the declaration, the only open dissenter of whom we have record being Mayo de la Grita.[d]

Enough has been summarized of the debates to show that Miranda was one of the foremost champions of the declaration. In the words of Roscio, who was critically inclined, Miranda "bore himself well and debated wisely."[e] Because of Miranda's experience and undoubted prestige, his arguments must have won support for the declaration both in congress and among the people. It was indeed appropriate that the man who had dedicated himself to the emancipation of Spanish America should have been the active and indefatigable leader of the party which succeeded in having adopted the first formal declaration of independence by a Spanish-American State.

On the evening of July 5, the congress took supplementary measures. Roscio and Isnardi were appointed a committee to draw up an act stating the reasons for the declaration. Another committee

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 150.
[b] Ibid., 151.
[c] Ibid., 152.
[d] Ibid., 156.
[e] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 111.

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was appointed to formulate the oath of allegiance to the new government. General Miranda and two other members were chosen to select the design of the national flag and cockade.[a] This committee, dominated doubtless by Miranda, soon decided that the colors of the Venezuelan State were to be blue, yellow, and red.[b] Thus the colors which Miranda had displayed at the masthead of the *Leander*, and which the Spaniards had burned in derision when the captured filibusters were executed in 1806, became the colors of the first Venezuelan State.

In the act declaring their independence, which was approved on July 7, the Venezuelans asserted that they were only making use of their rights which they had recovered since April 19, 1810, in consequence of the French conquest of Spain and the occurrence at Bayonne. Some of the evils in the Spanish colonial régime were indicated, but a "veil was drawn over the three hundred years of Spanish domination in America," and the reasons for the declaration were based primarily upon the disordered condition of the Spanish peninsula, which had intensified the evils in the ultramarine provinces and called America to a new existence. Their actions, which resembled those that had been taken in Spain, had been characterized as revolutionary, their country was blockaded, and war declared against them. Their representation in the cortes had been reduced to a mere mockery. From this position of "political ambiguity" they were now forced, they declared, by the "hostile and unnatural" conduct of the Government of Spain. In consequence of these reasons and because of the alleged "imprescriptible rights" enjoyed by nations of "destroying every pact, convention, or association" which did not promote the end for which governments were established, they declared that the United Provinces of Venezuela were and ought to be "by act and right, free, sovereign, and independent States."[c]

This declaration speedily brought matters to a crisis. As a statement of policy, it relieved Venezuela from some of the difficulties connected with the ambiguous position which she had occupied since April 19, 1810, but it aggravated others. It could hardly be otherwise among a people which lacked money, allies, and a stable frame of government, without much real national spirit,[d] not only lacking a strong sense of unity but disintegrated by a caste system. Much more than in the case of the United States, is it possible that

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 156.

[b] Orea to Monroe, November 6, 1811, informed Monroe of the adoption of the declaration of independence and inclosed a colored representation of the Venezuelan flag. State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers relating to the Revolted Spanish Colonies. See also also Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 43, note A.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, III, 170–173.

[d] See the suggestive comment of Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 44, 45.

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the declaration of independence was the achievement of a vigorous minority. Even if it was not so, the Venezuelans lacked utterly experience in the art of self-government, so valuable an asset among Anglo-Saxon peoples. Had the conditions been propitious in every other respect, the lack of what may be called an instinct for government would have been a serious handicap for the Venezuelans. The appearance of a party corresponding to the tories or the loyalists of North America was one of the gravest dangers of the situation.

While the debates on the declaration of independence had been going on the supporters of Ferdinand VII had not been idle. In concert with the Spanish representatives at Porto Rico, they had conceived the project of damaging or destroying the patriot government. The cities of Caracas and Valencia were the centers of the conspiracy or movement, as one chooses to call it. On July 11 the discontented Canarians at Caracas rose in revolt.[a] Their rallying cry might well have been "Death to the traitors! Long live the King and the Inquisition."[b] The plans of the dissatisfied Caracians did not succeed, however, for they were soon overpowered, and many of the partisans of Ferdinand were cast into the prisons of Caracas.[c] The executive power issued a proclamation declaring that the innocent would be protected and the guilty punished.[d] A number of the supposed ringleaders were put to death.[e] To judge by some accounts, the heads of the unfortunates were severed from the trunks and exposed to view in the avenues of the capital. Some ascribed to Miranda the doubtful credit for this shocking treatment.[f]

The insurrection which occurred at Valencia was not so easily checked. This important city contained many devoted royalists, among them some fanatical ecclesiastics, who had rallied to their cause many of the lower classes.[g] The local government was unable to subdue the revolt. Hence on July 13 the Venezuelan congress, convinced that the nation stood in peril, issued a decree declaring that the executive power was for the time being empowered to take all steps which it might deem necessary for the public good.[d] In accordance with this provision, Miranda was called from his seat in congress and placed at the head of the army. On July 19 he left the city of Caracas with an army of about 4,000 men.[h] By Miranda's

[a] Lowry to Smith, August 21, 1811, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[b] Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 99.

[c] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 47.

[d] Blanco, Documentos, III, 161.

[e] Lowry to Smith, August 21, 1811, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I, gives the number executed as fifteen; Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 111, sets the number a little higher.

[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 47,48.

[g] Ibid., 49.

[h] Admiral Fraser to Rowley, July 21, 1811, sets the number at 4,000, P. R. O., Spain, 123; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 49.

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own report, he arrived at Maracay on the 21st, where he established a military hospital and made other preparations to attack the Valencians.[a] On July 22 several distinct propositions for capitulation were submitted to Miranda by the Valencians. The request of the besieged that they be allowed to treat with congress during an armistice in regard to accepting independence or not, was rejected by the general, who declared that he was "fully authorized by the Supreme Government of Venezuela to conclude on the matter."[b] According to the report of Miranda, some of the Valencians now invited him to approach the city. He therefore advanced to the post called the Morro, where the Valencians opened fire on his troops. Miranda's soldiers captured the fort and pursued the garrison inside the city. But near the convent of the Franciscans they received a bloody check. The commanding general now dismissed the thought of effecting a peaceable settlement with the Valencians and withdrew his troops from the interior of the city.[c]

Valencia was now closely invested. The surrounding country was subjugated and the city cut off from supplies.[d] Some of the Valencians, who were suffering severely, deserted the royalist cause and joined Miranda, while the most resolute defenders of the city prepared to make a final stand in the great square. The main outline of the rest of the operations is had from Miranda's last report. On August 12 a general assault was made and the besieged were driven to their last intrenchments. At daybreak of the following day the attack was resumed, and the Valencians, whose supply of water had been cut off, proposed terms of capitulation. Miranda, profiting by experience, demanded as a preliminary condition that his opponents first lay down their arms. The Valencians were finally forced to surrender at discretion and Miranda's troops took possession of the city. This was soon followed by the surrender of the flotilla on the lagoon of Valencia. In the dispatch announcing the fall of the city Miranda declared that he had "either subjugated or pacified" all "the Populations and Villages" that he had encountered since the 21st of July. Special mention was made of the distinguished services of Col. Simón Bolívar.[e] The priests, who had been the chief fomenters of the revolution, were arrested and thrown into prison. Some of the other leaders were imprisoned; many escaped to Coro.[f] The executive power of Venezuela established a special tribunal for the trial of the

[a] July 24, 1811, in "Extract from a Spanish Gazette," Caracas, July 30, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.

[b] The articles of capitulation are found in the Caracas Gazette, July 30, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.

[c] Report of Miranda, July 24, 1811, in "Extract from a Spanish Gazette," July 30, 1811, ibid.; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 50.

[d] Rojas, Los Hombres, 151, 152, quoting Miranda's report of August 10, 1811.

[e] Miranda to the secretary of war, August 13, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.

[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 51; Hodgson to Liverpool, August 18, 1811, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.

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delinquent Valencians, of which Miranda was made the presiding officer.[a]

In spite of the valuable services performed by the commanding general in this campaign, his conduct did not escape biting criticism. The stringency of his discipline evoked some complaints. It was asserted that he had caused an unnecessary effusion of blood.[b] Within and without congress Miranda's military operations were attacked with great animosity.[c] It even appears that Miranda was ordered to dismiss his troops.[d] Early in September the congress decided to summon the victorious commander to give an account of his actions.[e] The accused general appeared before the bar of congress and successfully defended himself against his enemies and critics.[f] To quote Irvine's notes, which probably embody some Venezuelan impressions worthy of credence: "Miranda was forced to vindicate himself before the congress, when he ought to have been employed in the field. His friends delight in descanting upon his accomplishments * * * and ascribe to him a promptness in argument, ingenuity in debate, and an eloquence not inferior to that of the great Pericles, when he harangued the citizens of Athens, and moved the multitude by his irresistible force of persuasion, as a tempest heaves the billows of the main."[g] While the fact that Miranda had fallen into an ambuscade at Valencia might have been just ground for criticism, the campaign had important effects on his fortunes. It had provoked and intensified the opposition and the jealousy of a faction opposed to that general, yet it increased his popularity with some of the lower classes who believed that he had military talent.[h] It hardly required the gift of prophecy to see that Miranda was the man of destiny who, if circumstances favored, would "soon be at the head of the government."[i]

The Venezuelans had not forgotten diplomacy. Méndez continued to act as the head of their embassy in England, but, in the face of the decided policy of that Government with regard to the Spanish Empire, the Venezuelans came to fasten their hopes of aid on the Government and the people of the United States. Early in 1811 José Rafael Revenga was made commissioner to the United States to replace Juan Vicente Bolívar. Orea was now the head of the embassy.[j] The latter addressed various communications to Monroe in regard to

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[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 206, 207.

[b] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 111.

[c] Ibid., Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 53.

[d] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 52.

[e] Rojas, El General Miranda, 606.

[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 53.

[g] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[h] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 52, 53; Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 111.

[i] Lowry to Smith, August 21, 1811, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[j] Escalona to the secretary of foreign relations of the United States, March 18, 1811, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

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this commission. He voiced what he declared to be the desire of the Government and the people of Venezuela for a lasting alliance between the United States and Venezuela and for commercial treaties useful to both powers.[a] After the Venezuelan declaration of independence, Orea and Revenga became the first diplomatic representatives of an independent Spanish American State, or one formally claiming independence, to the Government of the United States. Orea was now transformed into "an extraordinary agent of the confederation of Venezuela."[b] He again addressed Monroe, including the Venezuelan declaration of independence and the design of the national flag. In this letter of November 6, 1811, the envoy ventured to express the belief that the United States would recognize the Venezuelan confederation as a "free and independent nation," which would be the precursor of treaties of amity and commerce.[b]

On December 19, 1811, Secretary Monroe informed Orea that the President of the United States had received the declaration of independence "with the interest which so important an event was calculated to excite."[c] Despite this colorless response, and the fact that the relations between the agents and the Secretary of State at this time were always unofficial, the Venezuelans kept their agent in the United States and continued to hope and plan for aid. Early in 1812 the leaders of the national movement in Venezuela, losing hope of securing aid from the Government of England, consulted with Lowry regarding ways and means of getting assistance in "arms and money" from the United States Government. Some of them probably despaired of attaining their independence unaided. Lowry certainly inclined to this view. In February, 1812, he informed his government that the success of the revolution depended "in great measure on succors from abroad."[d]

One of the Venezuelans, at least, thought of getting aid or countenance from France, if other resorts failed. In the end of the year 1811 Orea, feeling the need of more encouragement perhaps than was involved in the phrase "friendly interest," made approaches to Sérurier, the French minister in the United States, regarding the attitude of the French Government toward the Venezuelans.[e] Early in December of the same year Orea actually wrote a letter to Napoleon, asking whether the latter would receive a minister from Venezuela in Paris.[f] Sérurier made a response in general terms, not wishing to compromise himself, and informed his Government of the

[a] Orea to Monroe, undated, marked No. 9, in State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

[b] Credentials of Orea, signed by Cristobal de Mendoza, July 27, 1811, ibid.

[c] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, 2.

[d] Lowry to Monroe, August 21, 1812, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. In this letter of August 21, 1811, Lowry informed Monroe that the independents had not even arms to defend themselves with in case of an invasion by the Spaniards.

[e] Sérurier to H. B. Maret, Nov. 10, and Dec. 9, 1811, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 66, f. 281, 360.

[f] December 4, 1811, ibid., f. 370.

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occurrence.[a] Great possibilities were involved in the step suggested by Orea's action. An arrangement by which Napoleon would have aided the Venezuelans against Spain would have weakened that power and encouraged the other Spanish-American colonies in revolt Although material difficulties would have rendered the task of aiding the Venezuelans hard, yet even moral encouragement would have been valuable at that time. Whatever was Napoleon's attitude at this time, further action on the part of Venezuela was made impossible by the internal dangers which soon threatened the very existence of the State. Sérurier soon ceased to inform his Government of conversations with Orea and discussed instead the pressing Venezuelan problems.

While Orea and Méndez were struggling with their peculiar difficulties, the congress of Venezuela was attempting to reorganize the country and to form a frame of government which would suit the changed political condition. The problem of the finances was one of the first which engaged the attention of the legislators. Specie was fast disappearing from circulation. Congress tried to ameliorate conditions by passing a law late in August, 1811, which provided for the issue of $1,000,000 of paper money in notes or tickets of the value of $1, $2, $8, and $16. The national revenues, especially the income from the tobacco monopoly and the import dues, were hypothecated for its redemption. Provisions were also made for the punishment of counterfeiters and such persons as might refuse to accept the paper as currency.[b]

While many felt that the necessity for this measure was urgent, there was much opposition to the policy of issuing paper promises to pay, and the results were unfortunate and detrimental to the public welfare. To quote briefly, as one expression of sentiment, the native of Caracas already referred to: "It was an unfortunate law, * * * calculated to disaffect the public mind, towards the revolution, and to exercise a malignant influence in unhinging the State * * * the small remnant of specie instantly vanished. The laborer who could not procure the usual quantity of provisions for his money, began only to curse a revolution which caused so unlucky a turn in his pittance, and which requited so badly the sweat of his brow. The merchant who came daily into collision with the consumers and cultivators, who felt great repugnance in receiving money without representation or surety, sold his merchandise at a loss of 5 to 10 per cent; for such was the discount on exchange with specie. In short it fell into general depreciation, and Congress daily received representations against it."[c] The amount of paper seems to have

[a] The response of Sérurier is dated December 4, 1811, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 66, f. 371.

[b] A translation of the law is found in P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 677.

[c] Irvine's Notes, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

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been increased by subsequent issues, while the evil effects of the policy did not decrease.[a]

The formation of a new representative system of government had been thought of before the return of Miranda to Venezuela.[b] After the declaration of independence had been made, the congress had replaced the junta by an administrative body known as the executive power. According to Roscio, it was some time before this that a committee had been intrusted by the junta with the duty of forming "a plan of constitution or bases of federation" to be submitted to congress. This committee included, among others, Ustariz, Roscio, and Miranda. There is no reason to doubt that the latter urged that the scheme of government which he had brought with him be adopted by the Venezuelans. This was probably the plan which has been described in a preceding chapter, or one based upon it, for it vested the executive power in two incas. But the other members of the committee would not approve of Miranda's aristocratic plan of the "two Incas," as Roscio characterized it, and recommended that a more democratic form of federal government be adopted. Miranda, being a man of great pertinacity of purpose and having settled convictions on the subject, clung desperately to his own scheme, which he fondly believed to be better fitted for the Spanish Americans. It is entirely possible that, as Roscio alleged, Miranda formed the design of ridiculing the democratic scheme and gathered a select coterie that undertook the task of criticising it and comparing it unfavorably with the plan of the two incas.[c]

Perhaps it was the committee appointed by the junta that was considering a plan of government, democratic in its principles, while the constituent congress was debating the declaration of independence.[d] In any case, such principles prevailed. There is nothing to show that Miranda's proposal for a monarchical republic was ever presented to the assembled congress. Its chief advocate seems to have contented himself with urging his plan on the committee and expounding its merits to his friends. On September 2 Francisco Javier de Ustariz laid a plan of government before the constituent congress for its consideration.[e] It is to be regretted that only fleeting references to the discussions over this constitution are available. So far as can be gleaned the majority of the legislators, influenced by

[a] Ibid., Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 55, declares that the issue was three millions. Morier to Marquis Wellesley, March 14, 1812, speaks of the evil effects of the paper money issues which he has heard about. P. R. O., Spain, 156. Hodgson to Liverpool, December 2, 1811, discusses the same topic. Ibid., Curaçao Transmissions, 678.

[b] Lowry to Smith, October 1, 1810, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I, said: "In imitation of the constitution of the United States, a Representative Govt. seems to be contemplated here; but from the Discordant materials of which the population is composed as well as from the extreme ignorance of the People, it will probably not suit the country.

[c] Arumátegui, Vida de Bello, 98, 99, 109, 110; Ducoudray Holstein, Memoirs of Simón Bolívar, 24, 25, confirms the contemporary statements of Roscio in some respects.

[d] Blanco, Documentos, III, 127.

[e] Ibid., 422.

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the example of the United States,[a] favored the adoption of a federal form of government. Some of the more thoughtful and experienced members, notably Miranda, opposed this tendency and favored the establishment of the "central republican system." These men argued, and this was probably Miranda's reasoning, that as the federal system was the most perfect type of a republic, it ought not to be established among a people that had been deprived of their rights for over three hundred years and had only recently begun to prosper because of external circumstances. Outside of the constituent congress these views probably received the ardent support of Simón Bolívar,[b] who was perhaps already "convinced of the impossibility of applying" a constitution like that of the United States to the "situation" of Venezuela.[c] The supporters of federal democracy triumphed, however, for on December 21, 1811, the congress of Venezuela adopted a federal constitution containing 228 articles.

This constitution vested the executive power in the hands of three persons, styled the supreme executive power. The legislative power was intrusted to a senate and a house of representatives. The judicial power was placed in one supreme court and other inferior courts. The slave trade and the use of torture were prohibited. In all public acts the "Colombian era" was to be used. With the exception of the officers in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, the only title to be applied was that of citizen. Many interesting articles were devoted to a statement of the rights of man. Provision was made for the admission of any other part of Spanish America into this federal union. This "pacto federativo" did not, however, receive the unqualified assent of all the members of the congress. Article 180, which abolished the "fuero," apparently an ecclesiastical privilege involving the exemption of the clergy from the civil courts, was strongly opposed by several deputies, evidently priests. Seven members of congress signed the constitution protesting against that article. The vice-president, Miranda, signed the instrument with certain reservations.[d]

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[a] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 59.

[b] This is based on the statements of Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 99, 100, whose discussion is based on El Publicista, which gave an account of the debates. Blanco, Documentos, III, 422, gives Miranda's reservations in signing the constitution.

[c] South American Independence, speech of Bolívar, February 15, 1819, 14, 15: "The more I admire the excellency of the Federal Constitution of Venezuela, the more I am convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation, and according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North America has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion on the first appearance of danger or embarrassment."

[d] It is regrettable that no full and clear statement of Miranda's reservations in signing the constitution is at hand; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 60, say: "Miranda la signa avec des restrictions, mais il ne les énonça pas; il indiqua, par cet acte, l'intention où il étoit de se ménager des ressources en cas d'événemens ultérieurs, car cette manière d'adhérer à la constitution lui facilitoit les moyens de se retracter quand il le jugeroit convenable." Although this judgment was made in the light of subsequent events, it may be the correct interpretation of Miranda's attitude toward the constitution. Macgregor to Percival, January 18, 1812, said: "The Constitution as drawn up by the Congress was signed by all the members on Saturday the 21st December and immediately signified to the people by the discharge of cannon and an illumination at the house of Congress, in other respects there was little appearance of rejoicing. General Miranda protested against

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This constitution was submitted to the people for their approval in the same month.[a] Gregor Macgregor, a Scotch adventurer who had just arrived in Caracas, declared that the signing of the constitution was "immediately signified to the people by the discharge of cannon and an illumination at the house of congress."[b] This constituent congress has not unaptly been compared to an architect, who wished "to construct a sumptuous palace without having at his disposal the necessary materials."[c]

Long before this federal constitution was adopted, signs of civil dissension had become noticeable among the independents in Venezuela. For this tendency Miranda was in part responsible. He was naturally dissatisfied because of the rejection of his cherished form of government. He entered zealously into certain controversies of a religious character provoked by the publication of articles by an Irishman, William Burke, on religious toleration.[d] The jealousy which had become so evident at the time of the Valencian campaign had not died out but had rather increased. The ambitious character and intriguing disposition of Miranda doubtless promoted the discontent. In one way and another he was building up a party attached to his interests. Madariaga had become one of his ardent partisans.[e] The family of Bolívar, for a time at least, supported Miranda.[f] The publication in The Caracas Gazette of parts of Antepara's South American Emancipation, presumably at the instigation of Miranda, won favor for the latter among some people.[g]

The most serious of Miranda's efforts to court popularity, however, was his attempt to gain the support of the colored people, who had been declared free. The mantuana party, Miranda's opponents, viewed this action with great dissatisfaction, a circumstance which Miranda probably used to his advantage. On June 11, 1811, Roscio

it generally, and the priests (who are members) against the abolition of their privileges, termed fueros. It has yet to be presented to the people who will signify their approbation or displeasure through the medium of their electors * * *." P. R. O., Spain, 171. On the other hand, Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 59, suggest that that part of the constitution abolishing the fueros was the only part submitted for approval.

In a letter to Bello, Roscio thus described Miranda's attitude toward the adoption of a frame of government by Venezuela: "La Junta le dió comision para que, acompañado de Ustáriz, de Ponte, de Sanz, de Paul i de Roscio, formase un plan de constitucion, ó bases de federacion que ofrecer al congreso el día de su instalacion. Quiso entonces que prevaleciese un plan que trajo de allá, en cual ramo ejecutivo debia conferirse á dos Incas, i su duracion debía ser le diez años. No era posible condescender con semejante pretension, ni reducirlo á convenir con el plan que ya Usted habrá visto impreso. De aquí nació su primer resentimiento. Se propuso la idea de ridiculizar nuestro plan; i á fin hizo sacar de el varias copias. Con el mismo objeto, se formó una tertulia de siete personas, que, sin ser censores, tomaron á su cargo la censura del papel. Cotejado con el de los Incas, mereció la aprobacion que Usted habrá observado. Miranda jamás exhibió el suyo al gobierno, ni otro alguna, que á los menos pudiese recomendar su trabajo material." Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 98, 99. It is the opinion of the writer that it was Miranda's dislike of the form of government which was established that caused him to sign the constitution with reservations.

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 390.

[b] Macgregor to Percival, January 18, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 171, see above, p. 456, note d.

[c] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 46.

[d] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 98-100; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 58

[e] Rojas, los Hombres, 24; Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 102.

[f] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 101, 102, 109, 110.

[g] Ibid., 102.

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complained to his friend Bello that Miranda was seeking to form "his party" among the colored people by "flattering them excessively with his views, conversations, and words expressive of the most liberal ideas."[a] By the time that the new Venezuelan constitution had been adopted comparatively distinct party lines had been formed. The mantuanas, composed of large landowners, who appear to have originally favored the independent movement, hoping perhaps to enjoy much of the power as a landed aristocracy, now began to coalesce with the pro-Spanish party, sometimes called the "godos," which was composed of the uncompromising opponents of the revolution. On January 18, 1812, Gregor Macgregor declared that the mulattoes, partly because of the encouragement given to them by Miranda, formed a "formidable" party within the State that did not yet realize its own strength, but light "was creeping fast in upon them every day." He predicted a civil war.[b]

But there is a brighter side to the picture. In the end of January, 1812, a constitution for the province of Caracas was completed which vested the government in an executive power, a chamber of representatives, and a senate.[c] On February 19 this was submitted to the people for sanction.[d] Signs of prosperity were evident, at least in the beautiful region about the city of Caracas.

The unknown Caracian, whose manuscript history Irvine used, waxed enthusiastic over the prospect. "The revolution had now assumed a grand, brilliant, and imposing aspect. People everywhere discoursed about their rights with the same familiarity that they used to converse about God and the King. * * * They were content and tranquil, vieing with each other in learning and improvement. Religious toleration, tacitly conceded by the admittance of useful foreigners, had attracted hundreds of them who were engaged in various branches of industry. Caracas, above all, presented the idea of an immense workshop; her population, already 50,000, announced what she was to be in the course of a few revolving years. A numerous and sprightly youth, assiduously imbibing knowledge by education, gave hopeful promise of furnishing future pillars to the State. From four to five periodical works issued from the press; two of which were living proofs of the liberty enjoyed. * * * Commerce took a surprising spring by the fostering encouragement held out to strangers under the new system, and by the profits they realized. Agriculture was enlivened; the perfection of cultivation by the general diffusion of information was about to become the foundation of public happiness. Industry revived; manufactures of paper, muskets, and several other articles were already in operation; the arts

[a] Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, 102; see also Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 39, 40.
[b] Macgregor to Percival, January 18, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 171.
[c] Blanco, Documentos, III, 491-526.
[d] Ibid., 527.

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received a new stimulus; the police had traced the limits of streets, squares, houses, and thus improved the interior economy of the city. * * * Public walks were laid out; bridges and sewers constructed; roads were repaired; and the lighting of the streets was to be accomplished in a few days. Public instruction made rapid progress. Schools of anatomy, mathematics, and public law were opened."[a] This glowing description by an undoubted sympathizer of the independent movement is in some respects perhaps too highly colored, but it indicates the improvement which was taking place and suggests his hopes for the future.

[a] Irvine's notes, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 56-58, also describe the astonishing prosperity of Caracas.

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Chapter XIII.

MIRANDA AS DICTATOR OF VENEZUELA.

The federal constitution over which the Venezuelans had pondered was destined to remain, so far as many of its provisions were concerned, a paper constitution. This was due in large part to a circumstance over which the Venezuelans had no control. On March 26, 1812, a dreadful earthquake visited certain parts of Venezuela. At Caracas the first shock occurred at a little after 4 o'clock in the afternoon of this feast day.[a] According to the English Captain Forrest, who visited La Guayra shortly after the earthquake, only three houses were left standing in that port. The forts and magazines were either totally destroyed, or so seriously damaged that it was impossible or hazardous to fire from them. So intensely did this calamity affect the minds of the people that, after the earthquake, the soldiers who had survived refused to bury the bodies of the dead, which consequently were burned on funeral piles. Forrest estimated the loss of life at that port and at Caracas to be between 15,000 and 20,000 souls. "In short," said the English captain, "this is a deathblow to Miranda and his followers, if the adherents of Ferdinand the Seventh do not lose time in taking advantage of the effect this calamitous visitation has had on the minds of the populace, it having happened upon Holy Thursday, a solemn Festival, and while they were all in Church, gave a degree of solemnity to the calamity, which was truly awful, and inspired very generally an Idea, that it was a Judgment of the Almighty, upon them, manifesting his displeasure, at their defection from Loyalty to their Sovereign."[b]

The effect upon the unfortunate Venezuelans must have been awful. In the words of one inhabitant of Caracas: "A multitude perished in the churches, whither they had gone on this festival, to adore the supreme Being. No pen can paint the dreaded disaster in half its multiformity of shapes. Men were maimed and bruised; our finest youth crushed to death; streets, temples, houses, bridges, public edifices, all destroyed. Every form of wretchedness passed in tragic review. The doleful groans and lamentations of the dying, and of persons imploring succor from beneath the ruins; horror depicted on every countenance; people abandoning their homes, their interests and dearest objects of their care; flying in crowds to the neighboring mountains. All these scenes of affliction and sorrow formed an assemblage so lamentable, as has no parallel in the annals

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 620; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire 62, 63.
[b] Forrest to Stirling, March 30, 1812 (copy), P. R. O., Spain, 139.

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of Venezuela. In twenty seconds all was overturned. About 8,000 souls perished in Caraccas. La Guayra, and Marycabo suffered in proportion, with Merida, Truxilla, Barquisimeto, and Tocuyo, Caróra, San Cárlos, San Felipe, and other districts were either damaged or laid in ruins."[a]

The clergy were not slow to perceive their opportunity. They now openly and strongly manifested their opposition to the independent movement. They attempted to persuade the people that the earthquake was a punishment upon them for having renounced their allegiance to Ferdinand. They boldly declared that it was a signal manifestation of the divine vengeance. Many of the inhabitants, influenced by the fervent and fanatical exhortations of their priests, forsook the cause of independence and joined the royalist party. So serious was this reaction that on April 9 the chamber of Caracas issued a proclamation to the people in which an attempt was made to counteract the teachings of the priests and to recall the wavering to their allegiance.[b] The federal congress felt compelled to pass a law for the punishment of desertions from the army. Despite this enactment, desertions "multiplied in a scandalous manner." Hence, on April 16, the executive power of Venezuela issued a decree punishing desertions with death. This decree provided for the establishment of commissions for the trial of deserters throughout the entire province of Caracas. It was stipulated that the officials charged with the execution of this edict were to be held responsible with their lives and honor for its proper enforcement.[c] Still the exhortations of the priests did not cease. Men neglected or forsook their ordinary occupations to engage in "prayers and penitences." One philosophic observer compared the country to a "vast camp" with "caravans of pilgrims trooping to Mecca, or hordes of inhabitants in religious frenzy." Speaking of the priests, he said: "They exhibited in their hands a Jesus on the cross, but in their hearts were chains of slavery."[d]

[a] Irvine's notes, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 63, estimate the loss of life at Caracas at 8,000 and at La Guayra at 2,500. Other contemporary accounts of the earthquake can be found. Niles' Register, II, 131, 132, prints some anonymous letters. In a letter of Alexander Scott (an agent of the United States who was sent to Venezuela with a donation) to the Secretary of State of the United States, November 10, 1812, he repeats the substance of a former communication and describes the earthquake results thus: "So completely destroyed by the earthquake was La Guayra, that only one house remained, and Caraccas was equally an heap of ruins. Not less than thirty thousand persons are computed to have perished, and the loss in property estimated at four millions of dollars. The destruction extended thro'out the country not only dwelling houses, but the coffee and sugar mills and machinery being entirely ruined. Unfortunately for the independence of the country, the Barracks containing the troops, occasioned by their fall a great loss of lives, most of the men having perished under the ruins. The panic and distress produced by these disasters, the influence of a corrupt clergy, who persuaded the credulous people, that this misfortune was the vengeance of Providence for their political conduct, produced despondency among the friends of freedom, and inspired the Loyalists with renewed hopes and courage." State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 619.

[c] Ibid., 623.

[d] The inhabitant of Caracas already referred to, Irvine's notes, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. See also Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 65.

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The reports of this calamity naturally evoked expressions of sympathy from various quarters. The Congress of the United States passed a law authorizing the President to purchase a quantity of provisions and to present them to the Government of Venezuela in the name of the United States.[a] Alexander Scott was intrusted with the delivery of the provisions to the Venezuelans. He arrived at La Guayra on June 27, 1812, and found the "five other vessels bringing the donation, at that place."[b]

The undoubted effect of the earthquake was to favor greatly the success of the royalists, who had maintained a stubborn resistance at Coro and Maracaibo. After that event their forces made great headway under the leadership of Domingo Monteverde. On February 9, 1812, the latter had been given charge of a few hundred soldiers at Coro by Fernando Mijares, captain-general of Venezuela.[c] Monteverde took advantage of the consternation and disaffection and soon made himself master of several towns in Venezuela. Soon after the earthquake he got control of Caróra and Guanare.[d] He then advanced to San Carlos where he defeated the independent forces. Some of the inhabitants openly deserted the independent cause and passed over, not always without treachery, to the royalist camp.[e] This transfer of interest was no small factor in contributing to the success of Monteverde, which startled the independent leaders.

The Venezuelan congress, which had assembled at Valencia, attempted to take measures to check this invasion. This body decided to intrust the military operations not to Miranda, the man best fitted to command, but to the Marquis del Toro. This action was probably due to the bitter jealousy with which Miranda was regarded by many of his fellow-countrymen. Toro, however, was not very successful in recruiting troops and preparing for the invaders.[f] Hence the Venezuelans saw themselves compelled by force of circumstances to place Miranda once more in supreme control of the military forces. On April 23 the executive power of the Venezuelan confederation appointed Miranda generalissimo of all the armies of the State. The general was invested with absolute power to take whatever steps he might deem necessary for the salvation of the country.[g] This action was soon confirmed by the authorities of the province of Caracas, who approved of the "ample powers" which had been granted to Miranda, because of his "well-known

[a] Annals of Congress, 12th, 2, 1378.

[b] Scott to Monroe, November 16, 1812, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[c] Urquinaona, Resúmen, 23, cites the commission.

[d] Urquinaona, Resúmen, 24, 25, where the dispatches of Monteverde of March 29 and April 21, 1812, are briefly quoted.

[e] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 67; Lowry to Monroe, June 5, 1812, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 66–68.

[g] Rojas, El General Miranda, 628.

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Military knowledge, his Valor and decided Patriotism."[a] On May 4, by a secret order, in addition the commander in chief was given complete control over the national funds for warlike purposes.[b]

Miranda at once took steps to save the country. He gathered recruits, and many foreigners enlisted under his banner, among them Colonel Robertson and Gregor Macgregor. A French legion was soon organized.[c] A number of important appointments were made, Manuel María de las Casas and Miguel Peña being placed in charge of the port of La Guayra. Miranda placed Simón Bolívar in command of Porto Cavello, which had fallen vacant. This appointment has been criticized in various ways. It has been pointed out that it was unsuited to Bolívar's active temperament, and it has even been intimated that Miranda wished to remove Bolívar from the scene of action because he dreaded or was jealous of his growing reputation.[d] In the opinion of the writer, this may be imputing motives which did not exist, and which certainly do not comport with the treatment which Miranda gave Bolívar after the fall of Valencia. In any case, Miranda could hardly have given Bolívar a more important command. Porto Cavello was justly considered by many as the most important fortified town in the State; it afforded a valuable and perhaps an indispensable outlet to the sea; it contained large stores of ammunition; it held in its chief fortress many devoted loyalists. As the sequel will show, it was largely on the fate of Porto Cavello that the fortunes of the State depended. From this point of view the appointment was a mark of confidence.

On April 30, Miranda issued an address to his fellow-countrymen: "Soldiers! the Country threatened by some malevolent individuals invites you to the field of battle. It expects its Salvation from your bravery and patriotism. You may be sure of the victory. God of Hosts ever protects the cause of Justice. * * * Trust in your General who shall always lead you thro' the Path of virtue and Honor to the enjoyment of your Liberty."[e] Thus did Miranda from his headquarters at Caracas call the Venezuelans to arms. Although no figures are at hand, it is likely that Miranda increased his forces before leaving his native city to meet the invader.

The issue lay between Miranda and Monteverde. The former left Caracas with the purpose of checking the march of Monteverde, who was directing his army toward Valencia, which was now the seat of the federal government. For whatever reason, Miranda did not

[a] Caraccas Gazette, April 28, 1812, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679.

[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 628, 629.

[c] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679, contains a copy of an address of Colonel Ducayla to a division of Frenchmen, "who volunteered their services to fight the Enemies of the Independence of Venezuela." The address is dated May 4, 1812, and concludes: "Let the Tree of Liberty be planted by us at 'Coro and Maracaybo.' Vivat the Republic of Venesuela, Vivat the General Miranda."

[d] Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 113, 97, 98 note; Blanco, Documentos, III, 721, gives the comment of Austria.

[e] Translation, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679.

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reach that important city until it had fallen into the power of the royalist leader. Monteverde was highly elated with the capture of that place. He informed Cevallos on May 4 that he had entered it "in the midst of thousands of acclamations, huzzas, and chimes."[a] Despite his successes, Monteverde was not anxious to take the offensive, but was apprehensive of an attack by Miranda. Hardly had he come into the possession of the city when he addressed a letter to the governor of Coro, urging him to send aid to Valencia with "the utmost speed," as his position was "very critical."[b] On May 11 Monteverde wrote again, and, after picturing his deplorable condition and informing his correspondent of the various attempts which the "astute Miranda" had made to gain possession of the city, he urged the governor of Coro to send him munitions of war and other supplies, and asked that reenforcements should double their marches. Monteverde expressed his fear that Miranda would receive heavy artillery with which he would make a formal siege of Valencia.[c]

The Venezuelan general, however, was no more anxious to assume the offensive at once than his opponent. On May 8 Miranda issued a proclamation from Guacara in which he adjured the Valencians to cast out the Corians and to reunite themselves with the Caracians. He asked them to choose "either to be free or to die," but at the same time he declared that, as in his previous operations against them, he loved humanity.[d] This was followed by other proclamations of a similar type, which evinced Miranda's reluctance to proceed to extreme measures.[e] Several engagements took place between the opposing forces, but no decisive action occurred.[f] Monteverde was evidently content to wait for aid, while his opponent had decided to pursue, for the time being, an almost purely defensive policy, having established his headquarters at Maracay, a strong position. It is at this juncture, in the opinion of the writer, that Miranda's conduct as a general is deserving of criticism. If instead of adopting a Fabian policy, Miranda had boldly led his army against the royalist invaders, Monteverde might have been driven from Valencia, and the independent cause would have gained at least a temporary prestige.[g] Miranda, however, preferred to gather troops, hoping perhaps to cow Monteverde by a show of strength and thus avoid a sanguinary conflict.

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[a] Urquinaona, Resúmen, 25.

[b] Blanco, Documentos, IV, 20.

[c] Ibid., 21.

[d] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679.

[e] Undated, ibid.

[f] See the excerpts from the bulletins of war, especially those of May 12 and May 14, 1812; also the dispatch of Macgregor to Miranda, May 10, 1812, in which he reports his defeat by the royalists, ibid.

[g] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 53, 54, make this general criticism of Miranda: "Si cet homme avoit eu autant de courage et de fermeté qu'il avoit d'ambition, il auroit pu alors s'emparer sans résistance des rênes du gouvernement, et faire le bonheur de son pays." Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 234–, comments on the Fabian policy of Miranda unfavorably.

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If Miranda had calculated that his own power would increase by the adoption of a dilatory policy he was not mistaken. The executive power of Venezuela, in whose hands congress had vested the control of the State, resolved to take further measures to assure the safety of the imperiled republic. On May 17 this body deputed Roscio, one of its members, to proceed to Maracay to confer with the military commander and decide on the political and military measures which would accelerate the success of their arms, as well as upon the steps which ought to be taken with respect to foreign nations. It also suggested that action be taken to reestablish the force of public opinion, which had been destroyed among some people by fanaticism and superstition, and to stimulate the spirit of patriotism.[a] José Mercador was intrusted with a similar mission on behalf of the Caracian chamber of representatives. Francisco Talavera was sent by the executive power of the province of Caracas.[b] These commissioners met Miranda on May 19 at Maracay. After consultation they decided that the financial and the political affairs of the province of Caracas and of the Venezuelan confederation were in dire need of regulation. Fernández de León was placed in charge of the finances. Martial law was decided upon. Henceforth the commander in chief was to have the exclusive power of nominating the military officers who might be placed in charge of the various districts of the union. Miranda was expressly empowered to negotiate directly with European and American powers and was commissioned to appoint envoys to them for the purpose of securing means for the defense of the State.[c] It is very likely that these steps were in accordance with the wishes of the supreme military commander,[d] if indeed they were not dictated by him.

Miranda had reached the climax of his career, for he was now virtually vested with all the powers of a dictator as outlined in his project of government. The idealist, who for many long years had dreamt of directing a revolution in Spanish America, was made the chief organizing force of the independent movement in his native land. One of the first measures of the dictator was to issue a high-sounding address to the people of Venezuela in which he reviewed the series of measures which had bestowed upon him "the unlimited and dictatorial powers" which he now enjoyed. He declared that his sole object would be the establishment of the liberty and independence of his country. He proclaimed that he would never abandon the post to which he had risen until he had avenged the injuries of the Venezuelans and reestablished "a rational liberty all over the territory of Venezuela." Then he would retire to become again a simple citizen and the Republic would be governed by its own constitution. The

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 502.
[b] Ibid., 631.
[c] Ibid., 631–633.
[d] Ibid., 664, 667; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 70.

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dictator did not definitely outline his policy; he expressed his opinion that the finances ought to be regulated and that by the cooperation of the people and of the various governments a republican army would be mobilized and the enemy destroyed.[a] It is evident by this pronunciamento that the commander had decided to reorganize his forces at all costs before venturing on any offensive measures. On May 29 Miranda issued an impassioned address to the inhabitants of the province of Caracas in which he summoned all men able to bear arms to defend their imperiled country and to overthrow the royalists.[b] On June 19 the federal officials proclaimed martial law for a term of six months.[c] On the following day the chamber of representatives of Caracas published a decree proclaiming martial law.[d] On June 19 the legislature of Caracas issued an act providing for the conscription of a thousand slaves.[e] If Miranda did not instigate these measures, it is very probable that they were not in opposition to his desires.

Animated doubtless by his never-dying hope of foreign assistance, Miranda soon determined to exercise his extensive diplomatic powers. On May 20 he decided to send a representative to Santa Fé.[f] On May 29 he commissioned an agent to proceed to the English West Indies to lay the cause of Venezuela before his former friend Admiral Cochrane, and to negotiate for cooperation or succor.[g] Early in June he decided to dispatch envoys to Cundinamarca, Carthagena, England, and the United States.[h] On June 2 Miranda addressed his first letter to Governor Hodgson of Curaçao. In this epistle the dictator informed that governor of his recently acquired diplomatic powers and expressed his desire "to cement the present union, and to form if possible a more intimate connexion between" the two governments.[i] In reply, Hodgson curtly informed the independent chief that he would take the first opportunity of transmitting the letter to his Government.[j]

Thomas Molini, who had been the trusted secretary of the commander in chief, was fitly chosen to be the messenger to the Court of St. James. In the letter of instructions with which Molini was furnished, dated June 2, Miranda addressed Lord Castlereagh, who had succeeded Wellesley as minister of foreign affairs, in these words: "Having within these few days been appointed Generalissimo of Venezuela, with full Powers to treat with Foreign States, and take such other steps as may be most conducive to the interest and security of these Provinces; Being always animated with the same desire of forming a close and intimate connection with Great Britain; which I

[a] Blanco, Documentos, III, 727.
[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 634, 635.
[c] Ibid., 638–641.
[d] Ibid., 642, 643.
[e] Ibid., 644, 645.
[f] Ibid., 665.
[g] Blanco, Documentos, III, 728.
[h] Rojas, El General Miranda, 267.
[i] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679 (copy).
[j] June 27, 1812 (copy), ibid.

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conceive would be for the mutual interest and prosperity of both Nations; I have no doubt to meet with a similar disposition on the part of H. M. Government, in order to form if possible, an indissoluble union between both countries. The Bearer of this letter is my Secretary, Mr. Thomas Molini, who will be able to give H. M. Ministers every information they may desire, relative to the actual state of these Provinces."[a] This letter shows clearly Miranda's object in sending Molini to England. On the same day, a letter of similar character was addressed by the dictator to Mr. Richard Wellesley, in which it was suggested that he promote the desired end.[b] On June 2, also, Miranda addressed a letter to his friend, Jeremy Bentham, in which he said: "I hope the day is not far distant, when I shall see the liberty and happiness of this country established upon a solid and permanent footing. The appointment I have just received of Generalissimo of the Confederation of Venezuela, with full powers to treat with foreign nations, &c., will perhaps facilitate the means of promoting the object I have for so many years had in view."[c]

All these letters indicate that, in the beginning of June, 1812, Miranda did not despair of the Republic. There is no trustworthy evidence to show that Miranda made any attempt at this time to interest the Government of France in Venezuela.[d] Orea was still in the United States, but made no progress with that Government. He made no further approaches to the French Government, but employed at least part of his time in attempting to secure supplies and munitions of war for his country.[e]

Miranda also attempted to strengthen the independents by gathering forces beyond the bounds of Venezuela. Ducayla and Delpech were dispatched to the West Indies,[f] while Mr. Martin was sent to Santo Domingo for that purpose. The latter was commissioned to gather 500 recruits and empowered to offer as an inducement the rights and privileges of Venezuelan citizenship after three campaigns and a grant of land at the close of the war.[g]

Miranda had not forgotten Porto Cavello. On May 21 he wrote a letter to Bolívar urging him not to evacuate certain posts in the neighborhood of Nirgua, for when the Spaniards were driven from Valencia they would naturally endeavor to retreat by way of Nirgua,

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[a] P. R. O., Spain, 171.

[b] Ibid., 157.

[c] Bowring, Works of Bentham, X, 468.

[d] Pavia visited Tierra Firma in the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812 and on his return addressed a communication to the English Government in which he asserted that both Miranda and Nariño, who was a leader of the revolt in New Granada, were in the French interest, but this, so far as Miranda is concerned, is unsupported by any other evidence. Pavia to Poole, August 10, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 140.

[e] Sérurier to H. B. Maret, January 6, 1812, Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, 67, f. 115, 117, 131.

[f] Escobar to Ribon, October 19, 1812, Henry Will to Castlereagh, September 7, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 146; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 79; Rojas, El General Miranda, 586, 588.

[g] Miranda to Martin, July 2, 1812 (copy of translation), P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680.

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in which case Bolívar was to form a flying camp and fall upon the retreating enemy.[a]

But this partially formed plan of annihilating the army of Monteverde, like the diplomatic missions, never bore fruit.

On the forenoon of the 30th of June Francisco Fernández Vinony, one of the independent officers, profiting by the absence of the commander, treacherously hoisted the Spanish colors over the castle of St. Felipe at Porto Cavello. According to what seems to have been a preconcerted arrangement, the commanders of the other forts followed this example. The troops in the garrison, in the main, acquiesced in this change. The forces of Vinony were joined by the royalist prisoners, who were set free. Some of the inhabitants of the town appear to have joined the uprising, as well as the crews of some Venezuelan vessels in the port. The city was soon summoned to surrender, which it refused to do.[b] The royalists then opened fire on the city, which Bolívar attempted to defend with a small body of troops. Many of the inhabitants fled from the scene. Some of Bolívar's followers deserted, others were killed, captured, or disabled. On the 4th of July a body of Corians arrived to aid the royalists. In spite of his endeavors, Bolívar was ultimately compelled to leave the city, as he expressed it, "abandoned by all the world and followed only by eight officers."[c] The loss of this stronghold through royalist intrigues must have dejected Bolívar; in a letter to Miranda Bolívar profoundly regretted the loss of the port, expressing his despair that he had not been left lifeless "under the ruins of a city that ought to have been the last refuge of the liberty and the glory of Venezuela."[d]

The news of the fall of Porto Cavello must have broken the spirit of Miranda, who had withdrawn from Maracay and established his headquarters at Victoria. In response to the note of Bolívar informing him of the state of the port on July 1, the commander in chief informed Bolívar that he was awaiting with great anxiety any further information on that subject.[e] If, on the receipt of that notice, Miranda had dispatched a strong force to the aid of Bolívar immediately, it is possible that Porto Cavello might have been secured by the independents. To do this, however, the former would have been compelled to divide his forces in the face of the enemy or to have evacuated his position in front of Valencia, a dangerous proceeding. By the time that later reports reached Miranda, it was altogether too late to send any succor to Bolívar.

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[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 669.

[b] Istueta to Hodgson, July 3, 1812, gives a detailed account of the seizure of the fort by the royalists, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679.

[c] Rojas, El General Miranda, 660. Ibid., 648–661, is Bolívar's account of the occurrence. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 80, 81, give another.

[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 660, 661.

[e] Ibid., 687.

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On March 11, 1813, Delpech thus described the effects of the fall of Porto Cavello: "It was the capture of Porto Cavello that caused all the evils, put the climax to the discouragement, the disorder, and the confusion, at the same time that it increased almost ten-fold the audacity, and the means of the enemy, who at that moment were actually without any kind of munitions and had determined to make their retreat within two days; but scarcely had this important place been delivered to them with the immense magazines and munitions of war which it contained, when a swarm of hostile vessels arrived there carrying Troops, emigrés, and Opponents to the system of Venezuela."[a] The dismal report of the fall of this bulwark might well have evoked from Miranda the remark which, many years later, Pedro Gual attributed to him: "Venezuela is wounded to the heart."[b] The news of the fall of Porto Cavello certainly had a most dispiriting effect on the independent leaders. It was followed by the desertion of a large number of soldiers from the army. Many of the Venezuelans now enlisted under the royalist standard. There was at least one uprising of the colored people against the tottering government.[c]

So crucial was the state of affairs that a conference of Venezuelan leaders was held at Victoria. On this occasion Miranda again appears to have been the guiding influence. He showed the members of the federal executive power and a few other Venezuelan leaders the disastrous results arising from the loss of Porto Cavello and the occupation of the coast of Ocumare and Choroni, "less by the force of arms, than by the influence of perfidy, fanaticism, and fraud, which, in place of diminishing, were increasing and offering new advantages to the enemy." He also declared that there was a lack of arms, that there was no hope of foreign aid, and that at least two-thirds of the territory of Venezuela was occupied by the royalists. To relinquish the hope of foreign aid Miranda must indeed have been in despair; he had evidently determined to end the contest. What solution did he propose? Miranda proposed an armistice and negotiations for peace with the Spanish commander according to the terms of the mediation proposed by the English Government. All the Venezuelans present agreed or acquiesced in the propositions of Miranda and left to him the problem of settlement.[d] It was only to be expected that Miranda, who kept in close touch with England's attitude toward Spanish America, should have proposed to profit by the projected mediation. This does not necessarily mean, however, that if he had succeeded in having his plans adopted he would have been

[a] Communication of Delpech, February 27, 1813, submitted to the English Government by Molini, P. R. O., Spain, 151. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 81, declare that the fall of the port cast consternation into the independent headquarters.

[b] The statement attributed to Miranda many years later by Pedro Gual, Blanco, Documentos, III, 759.

[c] Rojas, El General Miranda, 738, 739; Communication of Delpech, February 27, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 151.

[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 738, 739.

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content to see Venezuela reunited with Spain. That would have been inconsistent with his character and ambitions.

On the same day on which the conference of Venezuelan leaders was held, July 12, Miranda proposed an armistice to Monteverde, declaring that he was anxious to avoid the bloodshed and other calamities accompanying an obstinate war.[a] The Spanish commander also declared himself desirous of avoiding a bloody war, but maintained that the cessation of hostilities ought not to check the progress of his troops that were moving by sea and land in front of Caracas.[b] To this Miranda did not agree, and commissioned Manuel Aldao to consult with Monteverde on the subject.[c] This difference, however, was not considered a bar to the continuance of negotiations. On July 17 Miranda authorized Aldao and José Sata y Bussy to treat with the Spanish commander regarding means of conciliation between the two parties. These agents were instructed to propose that the settlement of the contest be left to the mediators named by the court of England, who were then, it was declared, momentarily expected.[d] This proposition was not accepted by Monteverde. Other propositions were made by the independent agents which were unsatisfactory to Monteverde in whole or in part.

Miranda had evidently resolved to capitulate, for on July 22, although he declared that a sanction of the terms proposed by Monteverde was almost impossible, yet he commissioned the Marquis de Casa León to conduct the negotiations with the Spaniards,[e] a choice which was afterwards severely criticised. This agent made terms with the Spanish general and soon passed over to the Spanish camp. On July 25 the Venezuelan dictator, having consulted the federal executive power, agreed to the treaty arranged by León and Monteverde.[f] By this capitulation it was agreed that none of the stipulations were to exclude the Venezuelans from the enjoyment of the regulations of the cortes in regard to America. It was agreed that all persons in the unconquered territory, including pardos and free morenos, were to be considered sacred in person and property.[g] Sata y Bussy

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 739, 740.

[b] Ibid., 740.

[c] Ibid., 742.

[d] Ibid., 744. After Miranda and Bolívar had proceeded to Venezuela, the English Government attempted to arrange with Spain for mediation between the revolting colonies and the parent country. Three commissioners were appointed by England who were to pass to America, accompanied by Spanish commissioners. One of the English commissioners was Charles Stuart, to whom in December, 1811, Vansittart forwarded a letter of introduction to Miranda and informed him regarding Miranda's "character and views," perhaps with the expectation that it would aid the negotiations. Stuart to Vansittart, May 8, 1812, Bexley MSS., II, f. 236-. Instructions were drawn up for the English commissioners (P. R. O., Spain, 156, 204), but the attempt failed largely because of the attitude of Spain in regard to the inclusion of New Spain in the proposed mediation.

[e] Rojas, El General Miranda, 748.

[f] Ibid., 753.

[g] Ibid., 750-753; in a recapitulation of the contents of the articles, in a letter from Cevallos to Vaughn, August 2, 1815, the statement is made that those desiring to leave the country were to be given passports, but this is not provided in the articles themselves, P. R. O., Spain, 176.

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was delegated by Miranda to make the final arrangements for the execution of the treaty. These articles of capitulation were reported to the Government of Spain by Monteverde on August 18, 1812.[a]

To judge by its direct and indirect effects, the capitulation of Victoria was one of the most momentous events in the history of Venezuela. By it a Venezuelan army of about four thousand five hundred men[b] surrendered to a Spanish army probably inferior in numbers,[c] but fast increasing in strength and elated with success. It is certain that Miranda's army was being rapidly decimated by desertions.[d] The prestige of the Venezuelan dictator had greatly suffered by his inactive policy, while his predilection for foreign officers had increased the jealousy and the suspicion with which his conduct was regarded by some of the independent leaders. Some were doubtless convinced that their cause was hopeless, others entertained the hope that by a sudden coup d'état the Republic might have been saved. It is clear that not all agreed in the wisdom of the capitulation, and there is even reason to suspect that, while the negotiations were in progress, some of the dissatisfied followers of Miranda conceived the project of deposing the dictator and continuing the war.[e] Miranda's aid-de-camp, Leleux, said a little later: "The soldiers for the greatest part deposited their arms with the greatest reluctance."[f]

Because of this capitulation Miranda was denounced. The fact that the terms of the capitulation were not generally known naturally made the conduct of the general appear suspicious. Alexander Scott, who was unfavorably impressed by Miranda, declared that the distinctive qualities of the latter were "ambition and cowardice. * * * Miranda by a shameful and treacherous capitulation surrendered the liberties of his country." He characterized the independent general as a "brutal, capricious tyrant destitute of courage, honor, and abilities."[g] After the capitulation had been agreed to, Miranda was blamed for his selection of the persons to whom the negotiations were intrusted. In 1813 Delpech characterized León as "a traitor."[h] Of this there is some proof, for the latter was afterwards

[a] The report itself has not been found, but it is mentioned in a dispatch of Monteverde to the secretary of state, October 1, 1812, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12.

[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 760, this is the estimate of Miranda as found in his papers.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, IV, 28, quoting Monteverde's dispatch of August 4, 1812. One of the partisans of Monteverde declared at the time of the fall of Porto Cavello that the Corians alone had over thirteen thousand men (Istueta to Hodgson, July 3, 1812, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 679), but this is evidently an exaggerated estimate.

[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 761.

[e] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 82.

[f] Leleux to Vansittart, August 26, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 141.

[g] Scott to Monroe, November 26, 1812, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[h] Communication of Delpech, February 27, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 151.

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rewarded and honored for his services by Monteverde.[a] But nothing has been found to show that Miranda selected León as commissioner because of this probable leaning toward the enemy.

The accusation that Miranda betrayed Venezuela is one that hinges mainly on his relations with León. Although Miranda was charged with treachery at the time, it was not until the year 1829 that the royalist writer Díaz published the statement on which most of the subsequent charges of treason have been based. Díaz declared that the dictator was influenced to capitulate by León after the latter had promised him a thousand ounces of gold to pay his expenses to England.[b] Although no contemporary confirmation of this charge has been found, it is possible that Miranda was influenced by León to make terms with Monteverde. But even Díaz does not contend that Miranda entered into the negotiations because of the money offered by León; he declares that Miranda, influenced by León, declared that it was advisable to capitulate, but represented that his desires were not in harmony with his actual situation. The marquis, said Díaz, profited by this opportunity to offer Miranda the gold.

To accept this story at its face value, it would indicate that Miranda, having decided to stop fighting, was not averse to securing money which would aid him in leaving the country. The inference may of course be drawn that Miranda might not have agreed to the surrender if he had not been promised the gold, but, in the opinion of the writer, the course of events which has been followed shows that it was almost inevitable that Miranda would have capitulated in any case. But this story or legend rests almost entirely upon the recollections of a royalist, written seventeen years after the war. Certain it is that after Díaz's recollections were published, the Venezuelan, Paul, declared that León gave orders on Gerardo Patrullo to Miranda, which the latter never cashed.[c] In the absence of contemporary confirmation,

[a] Monteverde to the secretary of the hacienda of Spain and the Indies, August 9, 1812, after describing the actions of Casa León during the revolution and showing his royalist leanings, said: "Tal es Exmo Señor la conducta pública del Marques de Casa León que han puesto en mi noticia las personas de más recomendacion y providad á quienes me he dirigido en esta eleccion. En su vista y borradas qualesquiera imputaciones que la malignidad el error ó un excesivo zelo por la causa de S. M. hayan podido esparcir determine que nombrado Intendente de exercito y Real Hacienda de estas provincias se encargase del manejo organizacion ó por mejor decir creacion de unas rentas que no existen provisionalmente y hasta tanto que esté concluida esta obra ó hasta tanto que sea del agrado de S. M. * * *" A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 131-1-20.

[b] Díaz, Recuerdos, 46, 47.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, IV, 32, note to the defense of the family of Las Casas. Monteverde to the secretary of the hacienda of Spain and the Indies, August 9, 1812, after telling of the appointment of Casa León to the position of intendant of the Venezuelan finances by Miranda, said: "Que por este tiempo fueron de un golpe puestos en cadenas todos los españoles ó isleños residentes en esta ciudad y sus contornos con los fines más iniquos y que su salvacion se debía casi esclusivamente á los insesantes y activas diligencias del Marques, habiéndose con la mayor velocidad trasladádose al pueblo de la Victoria para conseguirlo de Miranda.

"Que en esta conferencia dio principio á la obra de la pacificacion del territorio que aun restaba á las armas de mi mando volviendo después á dexarla principada á la capital; para mantener el orden público y salvarla de la total ruina en que amenazaban se pultaria las costas que la componen y los efectos de una ley marcial y de la libertad de los esclavos publicados por el malvado Miranda.

"Ultimamente que viendo dilatarse la deseada conclusion de su obra volvió á la Victoria en donde aprovechándose del pretexto de concluirla pasó a mi campo del cual no volvió á esta ciudad hasta estar ocupada con mis tropas y en donde me dió las noticias que deseaba * * *." A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-1-20. Monteverde then says nothing about a transfer of gold from León to Miranda to promote the capitulation.

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the writer is inclined to believe that, whether León gave Miranda any money at the time of the capitulation or not, which is far from being historically certain, the dictator did not necessarily surrender because of money given to him by the marquis. What seems somewhat inconsistent with the story, which may be a fabrication, is the fact that as dictator of Venezuela Miranda had supervisory control over the finances of the State. Why then should he have bartered away his country and his own honor for a thousand ounces of gold?

There is no doubt that while the negotiations for the surrender were going on Miranda had directed the transfer of his own property, consisting mainly of books and papers, from Caracas to La Guayra. As early as July 15 León informed Miranda that Leleux had transferred certain papers of Miranda to La Guayra, and that he had entered into some understanding with Casas, the commander of the port.[a] Leleux placed the property with which he was intrusted on board his Majesty's ship *Sapphire*, addressed to the firm of Robertson & Belt of Curaçao, with whom Miranda had had business dealings.[b] But other property besides Miranda's books and papers was conveyed on board the *Sapphire*. On July 18, by the order of León, 10,000 pesos in specie from the state funds were delivered to George Robertson, an English merchant, apparently in accordance with the desires of Miranda.[c] About the end of July 12,000 pesos in addition were likewise transferred from Casas to Robertson.[d]

It is possible that this transfer may have been a fictitious one and that the dictator intended the specie, which was placed on board the *Sapphire*, for himself. There is no evidence that Miranda was directing the transfer of this treasure by virtue of any other arrangement than that by which he had been invested with the supreme power of the Venezuelan State. In following the orders of Miranda, it is evident that León was doing what perhaps he had a right to do in virtue of his powers as director of the finances. When Miranda arrived at La Guayra he appears to have declared that he had carefully avoided all discussions of the "floating property" of the State with Monteverde, and that he intended to use the state treasure in aiding the patriots to emigrate from the country.[e] According to the statements made by Pedro Gual many years afterwards, Miranda did not propose to relinquish the struggle for the emancipation of his native land after the capitulations of Victoria, but only intended to withdraw from the contest temporarily and to renew the attack from the base of New Granada.[f] The writer holds this to be an entirely credible view; certainly it is in harmony with the career and character of the revolutionist.

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[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 392.
[b] Leleux to Vansittart, August 26, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 141.
[c] Blanco, Documentos, III, 737, quoted from an article by Austria.
[d] A copy of the receipt for this transfer, dated July 30, 1812, is found in P. R. O., Spain, 153.
[e] Statement of George Robertson, July 31, 1812 (copy), P. R. O., Spain, 153.
[f] Blanco, Documentos, III, 761.

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Having agreed to the proposals of Monteverde of July 25, Miranda next intrusted the final arrangements of the capitulation to Sata y Bussy.[a] On the next day the general cautiously withdrew from Victoria to Caracas.[b] If we may believe Miranda, he informed the municipal authorities of his native city of the terms made with Monteverde, who sanctioned but did not publish them, awaiting the termination of the arrangements between Monteverde and Sata y Bussy.[c] When the surrender became known to the Venezuelan soldiers there was some disturbance among the troops at Victoria—the military stores were scattered and destroyed, and many of the soldiers were scattered over the country.[d] This disorder evidently interfered with the negotiations between Monteverde and Sata y Bussy regarding the delivery of the territory and the military properties.[e] These final arrangements were apparently not transmitted to Miranda until July 28.[e] Because of developments which had been going on in the meantime, these concluding articles were in all probability never ratified by Miranda. In any case, the terms of the capitulation were not generally known. Monteverde soon hauled down the independent flag in the city of Caracas and flung to the breeze the Spanish banner of blood and gold.

In a valuable and very suggestive memoir on the revolution in the captain-generalship of Caracas this comment is made on the capitulation of Victoria: "Miranda lost in an instant the fruit of thirty years of intrigues, his honour, and his liberty. Such is the deplorable end of political adventurers."[f] Some of the Venezuelans were intensely dissatisfied with the policy of Miranda. The apparent mystery surrounding the surrender, the sudden departure of Miranda from Victoria, the natural dissatisfaction of some of the leaders with the actions of their chief, bore disastrous consequences to him. Before the Spanish soldiers had entered Caracas, Miranda, who was evidently unwilling to trust himself to their mercy despite the capitulation, had left that city for La Guayra, where the *Sapphire* was awaiting him, bearing on board his precious papers and some treasure. On July 30 Miranda informed Captain Haynes of the *Sapphire* that the embargo which he had laid was to be raised at La Guayra.[g] Many other Venezuelan leaders, among whom was Simón Bolívar, arrived at this port about the same time, fleeing before the advancing Spaniards and intending perhaps to seek safety by emigration. On July 30 Captain Haynes urged the ex-dictator to embark at once,

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 753.
[b] Ibid., 755, 756.
[c] Ibid., 755.
[d] Ibid., 756.
[e] Ibid., 756, 757.
[f] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 84.
[g] Leleux to Vansittart, August 26, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 141; see also the statement of G. Robertson and B. A. Roche, July 31, 1812 (copy), ibid., 153.

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but the latter decided to remain on shore for the night. After Miranda had retired, a number of his associates, disgruntled at his conduct, fearful of their own safety, anxious to secure some pledge that Monteverde would keep his pledges, conspired to detain their chieftain on shore.

To quote the account of Leleux, Miranda's confidential aid-de-camp, who was at La Guayra when the events occurred: "The Governor of Guayra whose name is Casas, a mean man, whom the Gl had rised from the dust and loaded with favors at different times; had with indifferent coolness considered for a few days past, what line of conduct would be most advantageous to him. he nevertheless appear'd determined to follow the Gl, if he should order four thousand dollars in specie to be given to him, out of twenty-two thousand the Gl had embarked as his private property, this was declined and he was only offered $800. on the ground that the Gl. having to provide for a great number, he could but give little to every one. Casas made no answer; but from this very moment determined to stay and make his peace with Monteverde. He caballed, intrigued, the very moment the Gl went to bed, with some other malcontents and at three oclock, in the next morning, he arrested the unsuspecting Gl. who was quitely sleeping in his bed, put in a Castle; gave immediately advice of what he had done to Monteverde; ordered by his own authority those Vessels that had permission from Miranda not to go out the harbour, sunk an English one, that attempted it; detained every strangers and natives on Shore till the enemies entered the town. I had an hour after the good luck of escaping and of getting on board an English vessell, where I kept in hay with mules for two days &c, and after being tossed up and down for ten days arrived at Curaçao." [a]

This story tells the main outline of events, but Leleux did not know all the truth, for, on the authority of Monteverde, Las Casas had been in correspondence with the royalist commander for some time before he seized Miranda and detained other Venezuelan leaders.[b] Again, Las Casas is not the only one of the conspirators deserving of special mention. The official report of Monteverde gives valuable information regarding the responsibility for the betrayal of Miranda. The Spanish commander, who was in a position to know the facts, declared that three men, who had been compatriots of the Venezulean leader, were responsible for his seizure and consequent imprisonment. They were Manuel María de Las Casas, the military commander of La

[a] Leleux to Vansittart, August 26, 1812, P. R. O., Spain, 141.

[b] Monteverde to Hodgson, August 19, 1812, makes this statement: "Very happily the Military Commander Don Manuel María de Las Casas who was appointed by Miranda to the Command of La Guayra (but already corresponded with me knowing that I came to take possession of said City from the town of Victoria) * * *," P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680. This is in opposition to the statements made by the descendants of Las Casas in 1843, and accompanied by documents in an attempt to corroborate the statements; this is reprinted by Blanco, Documentos, IV, 14–57.

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Guayra, Miguel Peña, the civil commander in that port, and Simón Bolívar.[a] Las Casas was evidently a traitor to the cause, Peña was also disaffected and probably a recreant.[b] But, as regards Bolívar, it is probable that there is some other explanation or justification. If we may trust his biographer, Larrazábal, on this delicate point, Bolívar did not attempt to deny participation in the capture of his leader, but declared that he had seized Miranda not to serve the King but to chastise a traitor to his country.[c] This motive may well have animated the ardent and self-willed Bolívar, who, in a fit of resentment, had probably forgotten his own contribution to the disasters of his country by the surrender of Porto Cavello, an act which more than anything else precipitated the capitulation of Victoria. It was this imprisonment which prevented Miranda from accepting or rejecting the supplementary articles of surrender.

Not all the independent leaders were as unfortunate as Miranda, Gregor Macgregor, Antepara, and others sailed to Curaçao in the *Sapphire* with the books, papers, and other belongings of Miranda.[d] Many of the other leaders escaped, either to the adjoining continental territories or to the English West Indies. The signal services of Las Casas, Peña, and Bolívar to the royalist cause were not forgotten, for their persons were untouched. Bolívar was even granted by Monteverde a passport to leave the country.[e] It was an occurrence in some respects unique in history, by which the man who was destined to become the liberator of a large part of Spanish America purchased, in a sense, his liberty by participating in the seizure of his great precursor. The action of the commander of the *Sapphire* in carrying off the treasure and some of the revolutionists from

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[a] Monteverde to the secretary of State, August 26, 1812, uses these words: "Casas con el consejo de Peña, y por medio de Bolívar, había puesto emprisionar á Miranda," A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; in full in the Documentary Appendix, No. 10.

[b] In Rojas, El General Miranda, 471, is found a letter in which Peña asked for immediate release from his post on July 29: "Mi permanencia en este puerto como comandante político y subdelegado de hacienda puede ser pesarosa á varios de los que ya tienen preparada su marcha. Esto me mueve á suplicar á Vd. se sirva removerme inmediatamente del encargo; pues de otra manera, Vd. conoce mi carácter y que éste me hará proporcionar muchos disgustos que pueden evitarse con el favor que pido ahora á Vd. y á que creo accederá inmediatamente."

[c] Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 138. Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 84, 85, describe the betrayal of Miranda in these words: "Miranda se rendit à La Guayra pour s'embarquer avant l'arrivée des troupes espagnoles; mais comme il n'avoit plus d'autorité, les chefs militaires de la place projetèrent de s'opposer à son départ, s'il ne venoit pas muni d'un passe-port de Monteverde. L'ex-général étoit dans une sécurité parfaite, comptant sur les articles de la capitulation. Le capitaine de la corvette anglaise le pressoit de s'embarquer. Il s'obstina à passer la nuit à terre, et se coucha à neuf heures du soir dans la maison de son am Casas; mais son repos ne fut pas de longue durée: à onze heures, il fut éveillé par Simón Bolívar, Linos Clemente et Thomas Montilla; ceux-ci l'invitèrent à les suivre au Castillo-Colorado, fortresse de cette ville. Ils lui signifièrent l'ordre qu'ils avoient de l'arrêter, signé par son ami Casas, commandant de la place, chez qui il était logé. Il resta dans cette prison jusqu'à l'arrivée des troupes espagnoles.

"Nous ignorons si son arrestation fut faite par ordre de Monteverde, ou si le commandant de La Guayra la fit de son propre mouvement, pour se faire un mérite auprès du général espagnol. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'à l'arrivée des troupes de la métropole, on le sortit de sa prison, et on le jeta dans un des plus affreux cachots de La Guayra * * * ".

[d] See the list of passengers signed by Captain Haynes, August 3, 1812, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680.

[e] Monteverde to the secretary of State, August 26, 1812. A. G. I.. Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 137, 138.

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Venezuela caused Monteverde great dissatisfaction. Consequently he complained to the governor of Curaçao, declaring that the treasure which Miranda had laden on board the *Sapphire* belonged to the crown of Spain.[a] He also sent a complaint to the English naval commander at Barbados, and informed the Spanish Government of the event.[b] The money which had been embarked on the *Sapphire* was subsequently claimed by the firm of Robertson & Belt, who alleged that it properly belonged to them because of debts which had been incurred by Miranda.[c] It does not appear that the property in question was ever transferred to the Government of Spain, although the Spanish representative in England was directed to make a reclamation on that Government.[d]

The capitulations of Victoria expressly stipulated that the persons and property of people in unconquered territory should be sacred, but Monteverde did not see fit to respect this, although on August 3 he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Caracas announcing that his promises were sacred and his word inviolable.[e] The day after Miranda was captured eight other Venezuelan leaders, among them Roscio, Madariaga, and Isnardi, were seized by Monteverde, thrust into prison by his orders, and soon transported to Cadiz. The only discoverable justification which Monteverde ever gave for this violation of the treaty was that these men were conspiring to break it.[f] In the autumn of 1815 the Spanish Government alleged that the capitulation had no force because it had not been ratified by the insurgents.[g] Thus did the Spaniards attempt to justify Monteverde.

The seizure of the "eight monsters," as Monteverde characterized them, was followed by wholesale arrests of the Venezuelan patriots or rebels, as one elects to call them. In open and scandalous violation of the capitulation of July, 1812, they were thrust into prison.[h]

[a] August 19, 1812 (translation), P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680. Monteverde estimated the treasure at $22,000, and asked for the return of plate carried off.

[b] Monteverde to the secretary of State (?), August 7, 1812, annexed to which is a copy of his letter to the English admiral at Barbados, August 6, 1812, A. G. S., Estado, 8174. Monteverde to the secretary of the hacienda of Spain and the Indies, August 9, 1812, declares that "El Gefe de los facciosos el malvado Francisco Miranda en su fuga premeditada había arrastrado consigo y sus compañeros los restos de una hacienda despedazada aun con la poca plata bruta y alhajas de las iglesias que estaban depositadas en consequencia del terremoto y que pudo tener á mano, * * *" A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 131-1-20. In the copy of an official report (undated), however, made by R. B. Lloyd and C. A. De Larrey at Curaçao, where the property in part at least was seized because it was landed clandestinely, the only silver plate which is mentioned is reported as being found in two trunks marked "Simeon Bolivar" and "Bolivar," P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680. No mention is made of any other treasure. Neither does Miranda mention jewels or plate when he writes to his friend Vansittart from prison on April 13, 1815: "Qu'on n'oublie pas de ramasser mes Papiers, Livres, Équipages, et 23000 piastres en numéraire qui furent remis à la maison angloise de Robertson, Belt & Co., à Curaçao Molini connois tout cela; et je vous ai détaillé dans mes précédentes cette affaire. * * *" Bexley MSS., III, 257-.

[c] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 681, 682, contain a large number of documents relating to a lawsuit concerning this property; also P. R. O., Spain, 153, in which see the statement of the officers of the *Sapphire*, May 9, 1813.

[d] Labrador to Fernan Nuñez, November 22, 1812, A. G. S., Estado, 8174.

[e] Blanco, Documentos, III, 708; Urquinaona, Resúmen, 28, 29.

[f] Blanco, Documentos, III, 710, 711.

[g] Cevallos to Vaughn, September 10, 1815, P. R. O., Spain, 176.

[h] Delpech to Vansittart, February 27, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 151; Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 89, 90.

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In fact, there is a great truth in the lament made by Miranda in his dungeon that the only article of the capitulation which Monteverde observed was the "illegitimate" one which he had not sanctioned, namely that the Spanish commander was to be the sole ruler of the surrendered territory.[a] Great were the lamentations of the Venezuelans, for their sufferings were accentuated by the barbarous treatment which many of them were accorded by their jailors. The agent of the United States, Alexander Scott, thus briefly epitomized the policy of Monteverde toward the unfortunate inhabitants: "A system of proscription, sequestration, imprisonment, and cruelty almost unexampled, has been adopted and practiced toward the unhappy republicans. Loaded with irons, and deprived of the necessities of life, many have fallen victims to the contaminated air of crowded dungeons, noxious in all countries, but doubly fatal in a climate like this."[b]

Partly, at least, because of the deplorable results which flowed from the surrender, contemporaries and historical writers have questioned seriously the wisdom of that step. Manifold and diverse are the judgments which have been passed on Miranda's conduct, varying with the conception of his character. Only a few of the estimates may be noticed. Bolívar, in his manifesto to the nations of the world, characterized Miranda as a leader "possessed by ambition and violent passions, who either did not realize the risk or who wished to sacrifice the liberty of his native land * * *."[c] On the other hand, some writers have denounced the part acted by Bolívar; Spanish historians have called him "an ingrate" and "false

[a] Miranda to the president of the Spanish cortes, June 30, 1813, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 304, 305, prints this, but not with entire accuracy.

[b] Scott to Monroe, November 16, 1812, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, IV, 11. On the other hand, compare the statement made by Madariaga in a declaration dated Madrid, June 23, 1815: "In the Fortress of Ceuta on the 21st February 1814, the Auditor of War with the assistance of me, the Notary, proceeded to the principal Guard of this place, and being in it he ordered to appear before him a Man therein confined, who having promised to state the truth to the interrogatories which should be put to him before me, underwent the following examination. To the ordinary questions, he answered, that he was called Don Josef Cortes Madariaga, that he was a native of the City of Santiago de Chili, a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Caracas, and that he was 48 years of age. * * * Being questioned concerning the cause of his detention in the Guard-Room, or if he had any idea of it, he answered that after the sufferings of nineteen months which he had been under arrest owing to the infraction of the Convention of the 26th June 1812 concluded in the name of His Catholic Majesty Don Fernando 7 (whom God preserve) between the Commanding Officer of the National Armies Don Domingo Monteverde, and the Military Chief of the Revolted Provinces of Venezuela Don Francisco Miranda, with the consent of the Diplomatic Magistrates of that Country and the universal approval of all the Inhabitants, as comprehended in that treaty far from obtaining immunity for his person property and rights * * *," marked "Translation". P. R. O., Spain, 176. Nothing is said of treason by Miranda.

In the P. R. O., Spain, 163, 169, and 178, are found other communications from Madariaga, or Madariaga and his friends, to English officials, in which nothing is said or even hinted of any treason by Miranda; the only suggestion of any influence upon the capitulation is that of the proposed mediation of the English Government. This can be illustrated by an extract from a letter from Madariaga and his friends to the members of the English Parliament, May 11, 1814: "Nosotros somos los quatro individuos de Caracas, que huyendo de la opresion injustisima, que sufriamos en este presido de Ceuta, sin delito, sin condena, ni proceso, y con infraccion notorio de las capitulaciones celebrada con el Gobierno español en 26 de Julio de 1812 baxo el influxo de la mediacion propuesta pr la Inglaterra entre las desavenencias de America y España, nos refugiamos en Gibraltar * * *". P. R. O., Spain, 178.

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friend," and intimated that his participation in the seizure of Miranda at La Guayra was due to a desire to ingratiate himself with Monteverde.[a] The Venezuelans have not agreed in their judgments; some have maintained or intimated that Miranda was a traitor;[b] others have declared or suggested that the evil fate of Venezuela was due to Miranda's personal qualities, as ambition or timidity;[c] participants in the soul-trying events have published their recollections;[d] the descendants of Las Casas have tried to brush the stigma of treason from the family name;[e] and faint echoes of the great controversy may be caught at the present day.

A recent Venezuelan biographer of Simón Bolívar, withal a student of Miranda, has ascribed Miranda's capitulation to a desire to save his country from "unheard-of misfortunes."[f] It is the opinion of the writer that, in agreeing to the surrender of Venezuelan territory to Monteverde, Miranda was influenced by a belief that such a step was for the best interests of the Venezuelans. The succession of calamities that had befallen the struggling State might well have been considered ample reason for the negotiation of a treaty so favorable in its terms as that agreed upon. As has been already suggested, it is probable that Miranda did not mean to give up the contest after evacuating Venezuela. He had evidently concluded that it would be wiser to allow the Spaniards temporarily to gain control than to initiate a war to the death, a step from which he constitutionally shrank. One may condemn the comparative inaction of Miranda before the fall of Porto Cavello, but after the fall of that buttress, in view of the decrease of Miranda's army and the constant increase in strength of Monteverde, the chances of victory for the independents declined. In examining the sources for this epoch of Venezuelan history, one can not avoid the conviction that a multitude were bitterly opposed to separation from Spain; some of the inhabitants for whom Miranda and his followers were vainly endeavoring to insure liberty were hardly lukewarm in the cause of independence; many were willing or even anxious to be, not on the side of liberty and independence, but on the side of victory.

The Venezuelans were not ready for a free and independent government in 1812 under the guidance of Miranda. The enthusiastic revolutionist ought to have felt that his sanguine hopes of Spanish-American cooperation were to an extent misplaced. The writer believes that there is a great deal of truth in the concluding remarks of Delpech regarding the tragical climax of Miranda's career: "You

[a] Larrazábal, Vida de Bolívar, I, 131, mentions some.

[b] Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 275–, mentions some.

[c] Baralt y Díaz, Venezuela, I, 96–101.

[d] See the account of Pedro Gual as printed in Blanco, Documentos, III, 758–. The story of Austria is found in ibid., 737–.

[e] Ibid., IV, 14, reprints this defense.

[f] Rojas, Simón Bolívar, 67.

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know all that they have said about the general; much time would be needed to respond to the calumnies, the sophistries, the outrages with which they have overwhelmed him, in order to struggle with the multiform hydra of imposture, fanaticism, and ignorance. Besides you know well that people almost always judge events by their results; they have said that Miranda was a traitor because the villain Monteverde infringed the Capitulation, and all the people of property have been delivered up to the assassinous dagger of the infamous Spaniards, but without discussing these unfounded assertions, I venture to believe that, if Miranda had been a traitor, he would certainly not have deceived himself by partaking of the fate of those whom they say he sold to Monteverde; and if I did not have the conviction that he was incapable of such a base action, I would say that it is impossible, that a man who laboured all his life for the independence of America was able at the end of his career to forget this glorious enterprise, to stain his white hair, and to dishonour forever his memory in descending to the Tomb, and in return for so much ignominy and crime to receive no other recompense than chains and death."[a]

Other results of the surrender of Miranda were significant. Monteverde extended his power over other parts of Venezuela, Cumana, Barcelona, and Margarita.[b] He soon assumed the powers of captain-general, claiming to be the pacificator of the territory and refusing to recognize the authority of Mijares.[c] At the solicitation of Monteverde, the regency accorded him the title of captain-general.[d] He selected the Marquis de Casa León, whose fidelity he seems to have considered proven, as intendant of the royal finances.[e] All foreigners were ordered to leave. As a consequence, Lowry and Scott were soon compelled to depart from Venezuelan soil.[f] The Spanish authorities themselves disapproved and sometimes even denounced the actions of Monteverde,[g] who did not treat the Venezuelans like brothers, but acted on his theory that they were to be governed not by the ordinary law but by the law of conquest.[h] Indeed Monteverde was so little under the control of Spain that he was almost an independent ruler. Not the least important result of the wanton violation of the treaty of Victoria by Monteverde was its profound and enduring effect on many of the Venezuelans. It incited a revenge-

[a] Delpech to Vansittart, February 27, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 151. This was transmitted through Molini, who intimated that Delpech was unfavorably disposed toward Miranda; on the other hand, we know that Delpech was one of Miranda's lieutenants.

[b] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 90.

[c] Blanco, Documentos, III, 687-692.

[d] Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire, 93.

[e] Monteverde to the secretary of the hacienda of Spain and the Indies, August 9, 1812, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-1-20, see above, p. 472, note [a].

[f] Scott to Monroe, December 1, 1812, January 4, 1813, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

[g] See the statements of Mijares and Cevallos, cited by Urquinaona, Resúmen, 39.

[h] Monteverde to the minister of war, January 17, 1813, Urquinaona, Resúmen, 43, and note.

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ful spirit toward the mother country and was cited as one of the main reasons for the war to the death which subsequently raged between the independents and the royalists.[a] In 1813 the Toros, from their refuge in Trinidad, sent a memorial to the English Government, in which they not inaptly compared Monteverde to a ravening wolf.[b] The victims of the broken promises or unproven accusations of the Spaniards did not all pass the rest of their days in prison. Especially is it noteworthy that Madariaga and three of the other "monsters," who, after being transported to Spain were imprisoned at Ceuta, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their keepers and escaping to Gibraltar. The English commander at that fortress deemed it his duty to return them to the Spaniards, but they were in time released at the request of the Government of England.[c]

The closing scene of Miranda's efforts to establish the liberty of his native land is a tragedy. The revolutionist of revolutionists failed in his purpose because of an unfortunate combination of circumstances and the fact that the Venezuelans were not ready for his leadership. His life had not been utterly wasted, however, for while he pined away in a lonely cell the struggle in which we may well say that he had struck the first great blow was taken up by other hands.

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[a] See, for example, the proclamation of Bolívar and others, Urquinaona, Resúmen, 38, 39.

[b] March 5, 1813, P. R. O., Spain, 153.

[c] In the English Public Record Office, Spain, 173, 176, are a number of documents relating to the fortunes of Madariaga and his companions. The final release of the four prisoners of state was due to the argument of the English Government to Spain that the English commander at Gibraltar ought not to have returned the refugees; see Henry Wellesley to Cevallos, January 15, 1815, ibid., 173.

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Chapter XIV.

MIRANDA, A PRISONER OF SPAIN.

Although immured in the dungeons of La Guayra, Miranda did not despair. The rumor was soon abroad that he was being subjected to an examination by a military commission.[a] On the 31st of July a charge had been drawn up against Miranda to the effect that he was conspiring to leave his native land without having completed and published the capitulation. This was brought forward as a pretext for his incarceration.[b] But many years before Miranda had been declared a traitor by the Spanish Government and worthy of death. A reward had been offered for his capture, dead or alive, in 1806 when Vasconcelos had declared judgment against Miranda and his filibustering followers. This old judgment was now brought up against the captive.[b] A legal process was apparently begun against Miranda in the city of Caracas on November 3, 1812, but no attempt was made to hasten the proceedings. Monteverde soon indicated his intention of having the prisoner of state removed from Venezuela.[b] Early in 1813 Miranda was taken from La Guayra and thrust into a castle at Porto Cabello.[c] From that place, where some of his unfortunate followers in the expedition of 1806 had languished, on March 8, 1813, Miranda addressed a lengthy memorial to the audiencia of Caracas in which he vigorously protested against the infractions of the capitulation of Victoria.[d] Shortly afterwards, at the prisoner's request, a copy of this protest was forwarded to the authorities in Spain.[e]

The Spanish Government could hardly be expected to listen to these complaints, even though Miranda now declared, apparently adjusting himself to circumstances, that one of his reasons for surrendering was his desire to reconcile the American and European Spaniards, so that in the future they should form one family.[f] The Spaniards were doubtless elated at having at last in their clutches the detested conspirator, who had succeeded in eluding them for so many years. It was reported in Curaçao that Miranda was still confined in irons at Porto Cabello, but that his friends were allowed to furnish him with provisions and other necessaries of life. The rumor was

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[a] Hodgson to Bathurst, September 5, 1812, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 680.

[b] Fiscar to the minister of war, June 5, 1813, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 293, 294.

[c] Hodgson to Bathurst, March 16, 1813, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 681.

[d] Rojas, El General Miranda, 764-773.

[e] Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 294, quoting a document probably from the Spanish archives.

[f] Rojas, El General Miranda, 766.

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circulated that at one of his examinations he had declared that he was "a general in the British service and that he had acted under the orders of that Government," assertions which, if indeed they were made, did not gain credence.[a] In May, 1813, his condition was perhaps improved, as it was reported that his irons had been taken off.[b]

On the night of June 4, according to his own statement, Miranda was suddenly hurried on board a small vessel.[c] This precautionary measure was probably taken as a result of the reverses which Monteverde had suffered from the independents, who, under the leadership of Bolívar, were driving the royalists back on Caracas. As it was deemed advisable to keep Miranda in a safe place, he was soon transferred to Porto Rico, where he was imprisoned in Morro Castle.[d] Here he drew up a representation to the president of the Spanish cortes. In this address, which was dated June 30, he asked that the capitulations of Victoria be fulfilled, that impartial chiefs who would not themselves infringe the capitulation be appointed, and that the new Spanish constitution be put in force throughout the whole extent of Venezuela.[e] It must be placed to the credit of the Venezuelan chieftain that he did not at this time emphasize his own imprisonment as a special ground of complaint. On March 19, 1814, the former dictator repeated this protest.[f]

Miranda's friends in England did not altogether forget him. Molini, who had arrived in London, submitted papers to the English Government which told of the violation of the treaty of Victoria by Monteverde. He doubtless asked Méndez to intercede in behalf of Miranda. On October 14, 1812, Méndez wrote to Castlereagh pleading that England interpose in favor of the conquered Venezuelans and procure at least the exact fulfillment of the capitulation. He declared that this intervention in favor of General Miranda and his compatriots would be of great value in reestablishing order, peace, and confidence, in checking the horrors at Caracas, and in increasing the popularity of England in the New World. The only notice which the English Government appears to have taken was to write on the back of the communication: "Requests the countenance of England to the cause of Venezuela and Miranda's person,"[g] On November 28 following, Méndez wrote another representation to Castlereagh, on the back of which is written "further applications in favour of Miranda &c."[g]

[a] Hodgson to Bathurst, March 16, 1813, P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 681.

[b] Hodgson to Bathurst, May 12, 1813, ibid. Rafter, Memoirs of M'Gregor, 48, note, states that at La Guayra, "Miranda was chained in a dungeon, where he had nothing but straw to lie upon, and where he was frequently up to his ankles in water."

[c] Miranda to the president of the Spanish cortes, June 30, 1813, A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 303.

[d] One of the first notices of this is an unsigned letter from St. Thomas, July 4, 1813, P. R. O., Trinidad, 31.

[e] A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 300-307.

[f] "Lista de los expedientes y papeles que tratan de la Revolucion de Caracas . . . ," A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12.

[g] P. R. O., Spain, 157.

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But England as the ally of Spain did not feel disposed to interfere in behalf of the man whom she had pensioned and sheltered for so many years. Such applications would undoubtedly have fallen on deaf ears even if the English ministers had been willing to depart from their fixed policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of Spanish America. Through her ministers England was fond of declaring that she would not "interfere in any other manner than with a view to reconcile the differences between the two Parties by amicable Negotiation."[a]

The ex-dictator must have languished in prison at Porto Rico for more than a year. In the latter part of the year 1814 he was taken across the Atlantic to Cadiz. Here he was cast into the prison of the four towers in the arsenal of the Caracca near that city. Peter Turnbull, a son of Miranda's old friend, who had perhaps been sent in quest of the state prisoner, at last found Miranda in this Spanish dungeon. This young man wrote to England declaring that unless measures could be devised to effect an escape, Miranda would probably remain in prison the rest of his life. Peter Turnbull also addressed a note to the prisoner informing him of the health of his friends in England. The Englishman was informed through what he considered "an authentic channel" that for £1,000 the prisoner's liberty could be effected. Miranda's plight was soon made known to Vansittart, John Turnbull, and doubtless to others in England.[b] In the latter part of May, 1814, Miranda succeeded in smuggling out of his prison a letter to Vansittart. Again he complained of the bad faith of the Spanish Government, which he declared had observed the capitulation of Victoria as regarded all the world except himself, "the chief author of the scene." A "very powerful friend" was now needed to release him from the "clutches of despotism." "England, all-powerful today in Spain," said Miranda, "can easily render me this service, by demanding through the mediation of Lord Wellington or of her ambassador at Madrid that they fulfill the capitulation in my respect as they have fulfilled it with the others." Miranda also asked Vansittart to interest his friends in the matter as well as Miranda's friends. The prisoner besought his friend to care for his papers, books, and money which he thought safe at Curaçao. He expressed his belief that there was no need of commending his small family to the care of Vansittart, but asked that Mr. Taylor remit him some credit to the house of Duff at Cadiz.[c]

Other letters passed beyond the prison walls. No complaints have been found of brutal treatment by the jailors. Occasionally, however, the prisoner of state fell into a despondent tone, for in addition to the irksomeness of captivity he found it difficult at times to lay his fingers on the precious gold which he hoped would bring him release.

[a] Henry Wellesley to Cevallos, February 14, 1815, P. R. O., Spain, 173.
[b] John Turnbull to Vansittart, December 8, 1814, Bexley MSS., III, f. 208–.
[c] Miranda to Vansittart, May 24, 1814, ibid., f. 73–.

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On April 13, 1815, Miranda exclaimed: "It seems that adversity pursues me everywhere and in every possible manner."[a] He seems to have received very little information of what was passing in the world; in one of his letters he complained that his jailors did not even wish him to read the gazette of Madrid. "It is fear," said he, "which torments the spirits of these barbarians."[b] A miserable life this must have been for the energetic man who for so many years had assiduously studied the politics of the leading world powers. Finally, however, Miranda had less to complain of, for he secured some Latin classics, among them Horace, Virgil, and Cicero, besides a copy of Don Quixote and the New Testament.[b]

The chief cause of complaint and anxiety to Miranda was the scarcity of money. Often did he bewail the difficulty of obtaining it. Again and again did he appeal to his friends in England for financial assistance. On April 13, 1815, he asked Vansittart, who appears to have been his great hope, for he called him "mon unique ami," to send him through Señora Flores, Isla de León, credit for £200 on a commercial house in Cadiz. This, if it arrived in time, was the only means that would release him from his captivity.[c] On May 15, Miranda addressed another plea of this sort to Vansittart.[d] On August 15, he repeated his request for "a little money," declaring that in his "misery" £50 would be a large sum.[e] He did not rest content with his appeals to Vansittart, but wrote in a similar vein to Mr. Taylor of London,[e] evidently a banker, to Turnbull, Ross & Co. at Gibraltar,[f] and to P. E. Turnbull in London.[g] Miranda appears also to have written to Wellington,[h] perhaps on the same subject. In the autumn of 1815 Miranda seems to have changed his medium of communication, for he then desired that the letters of advice be directed to Señora Antonia de Salis, Isla de León.[i] It is likely that these repeated appeals secured some money for Miranda,[j] but it is hard to estimate how much. In February and March, 1816, Miranda continued this correspondence under the pseudonym of J. Amindra.[k] Evidently he had friends in London who were both willing and able to help him, for about this time Peter Turnbull made arrangements at Cadiz that Miranda should be supplied with whatever money he desired. The latter now appears to have entertained hopes of a speedy escape.[l]

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[a] Miranda to Vansittart, April 13, 1815, Bexley MSS., III, f. 257–.
[b] Miranda to Vansittart, August 15, 1815, ibid., f. 334–.
[c] Ibid., f. 257–.
[d] Ibid., f. 269–.
[e] Ibid., f. 334–.
[f] Rojas, El General Miranda, 775, 776.
[g] Ibid., 776.
[h] Miranda to Vansittart, August 15, 1815, Bexley MSS., III, f. 334–.
[i] Rojas, El General Miranda, 775, 776.
[j] Ibid., 777.
[k] Ibid., 778.
[l] Peter Turnbull to Taylor, April 8, 1816, Bexley MSS., IV, f. 43.

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Although some of the money probably reached the captive, he did not get outside of the walls of the Caracca. In March, 1816, he appears to have been attacked by a fever.[a] After his recovery Miranda was again very hopeful of gaining his freedom. This now seems to have engrossed all his attention. His plan, so far as can be determined, was to flee to Gibraltar on getting beyond his prison walls. If this course was out of the question, he had decided to direct his steps to a port on the coast of Portugal where he hoped to embark on some vessel flying a friendly flag.[a] About the time that he had calculated on making his escape, however, Miranda felt compelled to write a letter to young Turnbull asking him to forward 300 pesos without delay so that he might be able to depart within three days.[b] It is very likely that, as Peter Turnbull conjectured, Miranda was being deceived by "some artful people * * * in order to get money from him."[c]

It is also possible that the declining state of Miranda's health hindered or prevented the plan for escape from being carried out. The robust constitution which had withstood so many hardships was now rapidly breaking down. The aged revolutionist in brooding over his past was perhaps pained by the thought that the first link in the chain which held him had been forged by his own compatriots.[d] His troubles were soon destined to be over, however, for on the night of March 25 Miranda was seized by what his attendant described as an apoplectic fit, which threatened to cut off his career at once. He rallied from this attack, but was again prostrated by what was described as a sort of putrid fever, which reduced him to the last extremities. Several conferences of physicians held out no hope of recovery to the devoted servant, Pedro José Morán, who was now caring for him.[e] Early on the morning of July 14, in a lonely prison in Spain, the chief of the apostles of Spanish-American revolution "gave his soul to God, his name to history, and his body to the earth."[f] On July 16 the captain-general of Cadiz forwarded to Madrid the news that "el reo Don Francisco de Miranda" had died a "natural death."[g] Nevertheless, it was afterwards rumored, even in far-away Venezuela, that the Government which had hounded Miranda in life had perhaps used foul means to rid itself of the aged conspirator. Irvine was doubtless recording current sentiment in Venezuela when he wrote in his notes in 1818 that Miranda had died "whether of grief, by poison,

[a] Rojas, El General Miranda, 779.

[b] Dated, hoi, Juéves (copy), Bexley MSS., IV, f. 40.

[c] Peter Turnbull to Vansittart, April 7, 1816, Bexley MSS., IV, f. 39.

[d] Such are the sentiments ascribed to Miranda in Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 513, as coming from Sauri, alleged to have been a fellow-prisoner of Miranda at this time.

[e] Rojas, El General Miranda, 780.

[f] Becerra, Miranda, II, 518; for the time of Miranda's death, see the letter of Morán, Rojas, El General Miranda, 780, 781.

[g] Dispatch of the captain-general of Cadiz to Cisneros, July 16, 1816, as quoted by Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 519.

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or by secret execution is not certain."[a] Whatever the cause or the occasion of Miranda's death, one can not doubt that the news was welcome to the Spanish Government.

The faithful friend and attendant, Morán, who retained possession of a few papers which Miranda, true to his life-long habit had sedulously preserved, declared that the priests and friars who were present would not allow him to pay his master any funeral rites, "in the same condition in which he expired, with matrass, sheets, and other bedclothes they seized hold of him and carried him away for interment, they immediately afterwards came and took away his clothes and everything belonging to him to burn them."[b] Thus ends the life story of Miranda, near the city through the streets of which he had trod in the pride of early manhood, and where not a few merchants had enriched themselves by a jealous commercial monoply of those colonies, "excessively oppressed," which Miranda labored so long to emancipate. Perhaps in death he served his family, for it is asserted with confidence that the Government of England paid a pension to his son, Leander, for many years.[c] We are to-day not certain of the last resting place of that "restless man," Francisco de Miranda, who suffered a species of martyrdom for the cause which he loved.

It has become evident that in his public career Miranda was not always consistent. He was an international free lance, often changing his ground and his point of view to suit what he thought were the exigencies of the occasion. He was a clever opportunist, comparable in many respects with Aaron Burr. Miranda was prone to become disgusted with men and with nations when he thought that they had suspended or discarded his schemes. In some cases he impresses one as a person who would not scruple at means to gain his end. Miranda was a man of an unusually active disposition, possessed of unresting energy, and dominated by a powerful will. He was of a sanguine temperament, a man with such high expectations that he was sometimes a self-deluded idealist. One of his characteristic traits was a perseverance almost unparalleled in the annals of filibustering; he was almost as "undespairing" as the great explorer, La Salle. The signal success of Miranda in interesting men and women of such diverse stations in life in his daring projects is testimony to his versatility, persuasive power, and personal magnetism. His life is in great part a series of intrigues, frequently of a diplomatic character. Miranda had a rare keenness of vision for diplomatic openings which might favor his darling projects. Like

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[a] Irvine's Notes on Venezuela, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Consular Letters, La Guayra, I. See also Rafter, Memoirs of M'Gregor, 48; Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 519. It seems to the writer unlikely that Miranda died an unnatural death, although his death was probably hastened by the imprisonment.

[b] Rojas, El General Miranda, 781; Bowring, Works of Bentham, X, 487, 488.

[c] Becerra, Vida de Miranda, II, 499, alleges that a pension was paid to Miranda's widow and to his son, Leander, till the death of the latter in 1886.

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some other Spanish-American leaders, this general was doubtless possessed of much personal ambition, which became especially noticeable during that brief period when his career almost epitomized the history of the first republic of Venezuela.

Miranda was of a visionary and doctrinaire type of mind, far less successful in the practical conduct of affairs than in plotting magnificent schemes on paper. A master of the art of war, he was unsuccessful in the crucial contests of the great struggles in which he became engaged. His conduct at Neerwinden; on the occasion of the attack on the schooners in the expedition of 1806; and his surrender at Victoria, lend color to the belief that he had a streak of cowardice. Because of his conduct in the first and the last of these exploits he was actually accused of treason. In the first instance he was acquitted in such a manner as to leave no doubt that he had been unjustly accused. For the fateful surrender in 1812, Miranda has been roundly denounced, but the writer feels that his whole mature life gives the lie to the accusation of deliberate treason. The writer believes that while Miranda sometimes deemed prudence the greater part of valor, and may even have been a coward, he was not a traitor to Venezuela. But it is at the same time possible that the man who was rewarded for his conspiracies against Spain by a pension from the Government which sheltered him so long, who pledged his valuable library to promote the expedition of 1806, may have attempted to profit financially by the capitulation of the Venezuelan army to Monteverde in 1812. This interpretation, however, is not inconsistent with the view that the independent leader was acting with the welfare of Spanish America at heart. True, Miranda was a man with many secrets, some of which search in hidden archives, or even family confessions, may never fully disclose.

It ought never to be forgotten, in attempting to judge Francisco de Miranda, that his career and his character readily lend themselves to misinterpretation. With him the hatching of revolutions was not only an enduring and a ruling purpose, it became a profession. Miranda was primarily a promoter of revolutions and must be judged as such. If this study is at all illuminating, it shows that he was animated during his mature years by the undying hope that the independence of Spanish America, or at least a part of it, might be achieved by his efforts. This ambition was his master passion; it was as the very corpuscles in his heart's blood. Miranda was not, in the opinion of the writer, purely an adventurous soldier of fortune. Neither was he of unsullied reputation. In character Miranda resembled his compatriot and companion in arms, Simón Bolívar, in whom there was much sordid selfishness, far more than the white-souled San Martín, who was without fear and almost without reproach.

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In the present state of our information regarding the revolutionary epoch of Spanish-American history it is difficult, perhaps hazardous, to venture an estimate of the influence of Miranda. Some suggestions, however, may be made. The writer is not of those who would characterize Miranda as merely a shifty adventurer, neither does he conceive of him as a pure patriot. He was a unique personality; he was a promoter and agitator, a professional revolutionist, possessing some of the traits of both the needy adventurer and the exalted patriot. As has been indicated, Miranda was one of the first men of his age to point out and to emphasize the significance of the political dependence or independence of the colonies of Spain in America to the titanic conflict which was being waged between France and England in the Old World. He seized every possible opportunity or pretext to urge the cause of his native country and to plead for aid in the revolutionizing of that vast domain. The persistent and long-continued activity of Miranda doubtless stimulated the interest of European cabinets in the Spanish-American people. It probably had some influence in shaping the policy which has given to England rich fields for commercial conquest.

The romantic and thrilling exploits of Miranda furnished a theme for discussion and an example for filibusters and revolutionists in both Europe and America. Some of Miranda's companions indeed later distinguished themselves in revolutionary enterprises. Madariaga, Gual, Macgregor, and others, who had endeavored to aid Miranda in his ill-fated attempt to establish a republic in Terra Firma, subsequently emerged as leaders in the fratricidal conflict which so long devastated the northern part of Spanish America. Bolívar caught the mantle which fell or was torn from the shoulders of Miranda. After many bloody struggles and dismaying defeats, he became the so-called "liberator," virtually a monarch over a large part of Spanish America. He in part successfully consummated some of the designs which had been originally entertained by his less fortunate fellow-countryman. In the judgment of the writer, Miranda must be ranked below Bolívar as regards enduring military and political achievements. As a promoter of revolutions, however, Miranda occupies a niche which is unique in Spanish-American history. In some respects he is comparable to Samuel Adams, the man of the town meeting; in others he is incomparable. Despite the encomiums of some Spanish-American writers, who have placed Miranda on a level with the greatest revolutionary leaders of North America, the average student of American history would unhesitatingly inscribe the name of Miranda far below that of Washington in the Pan-American temple of fame.

The life epic of Francisco de Miranda is not a mere biographical sketch. The nimble and quick-witted creole represents a type. He had

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forerunners, associates, and successors; men like Don Juan, Caro, San Martín, Bolívar, William Walker, and Lopez. Miranda is the incarnation of the idea, which animated many early Spanish-American revolutionists during at least a part of their career, that the Spanish Americans could not alone successfully revolt against the tyrannical Government of Spain, but that the aid and the protection of one or more of the great powers was imperatively necessary. The power to which many looked longingly was England. Beyond doubt Miranda embodies the aspirations of many unknown, nameless or almost forgotten, fellow-countrymen who desired to rid themselves of the rule of the mother country. The story of Francisco de Miranda, the prince of filibusters, the chief of the apostles of Spanish-American emancipation, the first of a long line of military adventurers that has not yet ended, is a fragment of the history of the attitude of some of the great world powers toward Spanish America. The life of this notorious and distinguished son of Caracas is also an introduction to the early history of the Republic of Venezuela, which still cherishes his memory as one of its founders.

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CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

This bibliography is not exhaustive. It does not even include all the books or articles containing material relating to the general theme which the writer has examined, but merely those which it is believed would be found helpful. In the attempt to make a scientific classification certain books or articles of a general character have been relegated to the list of secondary accounts, which, in view of the material occasionally found in them, can sometimes be utilized as sources. Again, there are some kinds of material which partake of the character of both sources and secondary accounts. No hard-and-fast line, therefore, can be drawn between these two classes. In general, no critical evaluation has been made of standard works, for the writer has confined his comments to published or archival material regarding which he believes himself to have some knowledge that, for lack of a better term, may be called "expert." Where rare books or pamphlets or papers have been used reference is given to at least one repository where they are available. An attempt has been made to render the footnotes of the preceding text less cumbersome by the use of abbreviations for both the published and the manuscript material. These abbreviations, both general and special, are indicated in the following list.

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years, London, 1810. Antepara. (British Museum, Library of Congress, Library of Brown University.)

This book, issued under the direction of Miranda, is one of the most valuable printed sources dealing with him. It consists mainly of a reprint of the review of Viscardo y Guzman's Lettre aux Espagnols Américains in volume 13 of the Edinburgh Review, with some justificatory documents. The writer tested all of these documents he could test and found them authentic in every case. They were evidently taken from Miranda's archives. The comments on these documents, however, are sometimes misleading. Further, documents which would give a different view of Miranda than that desired are not printed. The book must be used with care.

Benton, T. H., Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, sixteen volumes, New York, 1857–1861, volumes 3 and 4.

These relate to the expedition of 1806.

(Biggs, J.,) The History of Don Francisco de Miranda's Attempt to effect a Revolution in South America, in a series of letters * * * by a gentleman who was an officer under that general, to his friend in the United States. To which are annexed, Sketches of the Life of Miranda and Geographical Notes of Caraccas, Boston, 1810. Biggs.

There are several editions of this book and the author's name does not always appear on the title-page. The author was one of Miranda's followers in the expedition of 1806. The account of Biggs is the best single source on the expedition. Although it becomes prejudiced against Miranda as it proceeds, yet, tested by manuscript and printed material, it is generally trustworthy. As Biggs was not captured by the Spaniards, his narrative is much more complete than that of either Sherman or Smith.

Blanco, J. F., Documentos para la Historia de la Vida Pública del Libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia, publicados por disposicion del General Guzman Blanco, * * * fourteen volumes, Caracas, 1875–1877. (Wisconsin Historical Library, British Museum, Library of Congress, Library of Yale University.) Blanco, Documentos.

This is a most valuable collection of documents relating to the Spanish-American revolutionary era. Some of the material found in the first four volumes relating to Miranda is not otherwise accessible.

Bolívar, S., South American Independence, speech * * * on the installation of a new congress of Venezuela, 15 February, 1819, London, 1819. (British Museum.) Bolívar, South American Independence.

This contains a hint of Bolívar's ideas regarding the application of the Constitution of the United States to Venezuela.

Bowring, J., The Works of Jeremy Bentham, eleven volumes, Edinburgh, 1843, volume 10. Bowring, Works of Bentham.

This contains a small amount of material regarding Miranda's relations with English people during the latter part of his career.

Burke, W., Additional Reasons for our Immediately Emancipating Spanish America; deduced from the New and Extraordinary Circumstances of the Present Crisis; and containing valuable information, respecting the late important events, both at Buenos Ayres, and in the Caraccas; as well as with respect to the present disposition and views of the Spanish Americans; being intended as a supplement to South American Independence, London, 1808. (British Museum.) Burke, Additional Reasons.

A plea for the emancipation of Spanish America by England; Miranda to be used to influence his countrymen. A sketch of Miranda, which is not without errors, is given and a justificatory account of the expedition of 1806. The latter is based in part on the account in the Annual Register for 1807. Perhaps the

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most valuable material in this pamphlet is the translation of Viscardo y Guzman's Lettre aux Espagnols Américains. The treatment of Miranda is sympathetic and partial.

Burke, W., Derechos de la América del Sur y México * * *, Caracas, 1811. (Library of Congress.)

Burke, W., South American Independence; or, the Emancipation of South America, the Glory and Interest of England, London, 1807. (British Museum.)

This is an argument for the emancipation and independence of Spanish America by England which incidentally refers to Miranda.

Caracas, La Universidad de, La Intolerancia Político-Religiosa Vindicada, ó Refutacion del Díscurso que en favor de la Tolerancia Religiosa publicó D. Guillermo Burcke en la Gaceta de Caracas del martes 19 de febrero de 1811, número 20, México, 1826. (Library of Congress.)

Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the late General Miranda: Part the First, London, 1828. (Lenox Library.) Catalogue of Miranda's Library.

This is a catalogue of some of Miranda's books which were advertised to be sold at auction by a Mr. Evans in London on July 22, July 23, and July 24, 1828. The collection of books is quite miscellaneous; the chief classes are histories of European countries, masterpieces of European literature, voyages and travel in various parts of the world, books on art and art galleries, and "A Fine Collection of Spanish Books, particularly relating to North and South America." [a]

Champagneux, L. A., Œuvres de J. M. Ph. Roland, tome second, Paris, An VIII. (British Museum.) Champagneux, Madame Roland.

With this is printed an account of the experiences of Champagneux and Miranda in the prison La Force.

Chauveau Lagarde, Plaidoyer pour le Général Miranda, Accusé de haute trahison et de complicité avec le Général en chef Dumouriez, Paris. (1793.) (British Museum.) Plaidoyer de Chauveau Lagarde.

In this defense is given some information about Miranda's early life which is not entirely correct. It is probable that this information was derived in part from Miranda himself.

A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., secretary, first, to the Council of State, and afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell, seven volumes, London, 1742, volume 3. (Wisconsin Historical Library.) Thurloe, State Papers.

Coleccion de Documentos relativos á la Vida Pública del Libertador de Colombia y del Perú, Simón Bolívar, para servir á la Historia de Independencia del Sur-américa. tomo primero, Caracas, 1826. (Library of Yale University.)

There is very little in this relating even indirectly to Miranda.

Copie de la Lettre du Général Miranda aux Commissaires députés dans la Belgique, 1793. (British Museum.)

Correspondance de Napoléon Ier. publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III, thirty-two volumes, Paris, 1858–1869, volume 17. Correspondance de Napoléon.

Some dispatches are found which show in part Napoleon's designs with regard to Spanish America in 1808.

Correspondance du Général Miranda avec le Général Dumouriez, les Ministres de la Guerre, Pache et Beurnonville, depuis janvier 1793, Paris. (1793?) (British Museum.)

These relate to Miranda's military career in France.

Davis, M. L., The Private Journal of Aaron Burr, during his residence of four years in Europe; with selections from his correspondence, two volumes, New York, 1858. Davis, Journal of Burr.

[a] Title-page.

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Davis, M. L., Memoirs of Aaron Burr with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence, two volumes, New York, 1837. Davis, Memoirs of Burr.

Depons, F., Travels in South America, during the years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804; containing a description of the Captain-Generalship of Caraccas, and an account of the discovery, conquest, topography, legislature, commerce, finance, and natural productions of the country; with a view of the manners and customs of the Spaniards and the native Indians, translated from the French, two volumes, London, 1807. Depons.

There is more than one English translation of this work. A copy of the French edition is in the Library of Congress. When tested by material in the Spanish archives this remains the best printed source on conditions in present Venezuela at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Depons was an agent of the French Government in Caracas for several years and had exceptional opportunities for observation. Depons, however, is sometimes lenient in judging the Spanish colonial régime.

Dexter, F. B., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College, three volumes, New York, 1901. Stiles' Diary.

This is one of the few contemporary sources noting Miranda's visit to the United States at the close of the Revolutionary war.

Díaz, J. D., Recuerdos sobre la Rebelión de Carácas, Madrid, 1829. (Library of Congress, Library of Yale University.) Díaz, Recuerdos.

These are the recollections of a royalist, suggestive, inclined to trust tradition, and naturally prejudiced against the independents.

Duruy, G., Mémoires de Barras, Membre du Directoire, publiés avec une Introduction générale, des Préfaces et des Appendices, four volumes, Paris, 1895 and 1896, volume 2. Mémoires de Barras.

Eustace, J. S., Le Citoyen des États-Unis d'Amérique * * * à ses Frères d'Armes, Paris, 1793. Eustace, Le Citoyen. (British Museum.)

In this pamphlet an attack is made on Miranda. Some of his statements are criticized and some allusions are made to Miranda's experiences in America.

Extrait du Procès-verbal des Délibérations du Comité de la Guerre, séance du lundi 8 avril, huit heures du soir. Interrogatoire du Général Miranda, Paris. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Ford, W. C., Writings of George Washington, fourteen volumes, New York and London, 1889–1893. Ford, Writings of Washington.

No hint of Miranda can be found in any of these volumes.

Ford, P. L., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ten volumes, New York and London, 1892–1899. Ford, Writings of Jefferson.

A few of these volumes contain material on Spanish America during the period under consideration.

Gage, T., A New Survey of the West Indies: or the English American, his Travels by Sea and Land * * *, London, 1677. (Wisconsin Historical Library.) Gage, New Survey.

This is a discussion of the West Indies and of the adjacent Spanish continent.

Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, P., Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de Otros Sucesos de las Indias, three volumes, Madrid, 1904, 1905.

An account of one of the earliest disturbances in Spanish America.

Gurwood, J., The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, thirteen volumes, London, 1834–1839, volume 4. Gurwood, Despatches of Wellington.

Hamilton, S. M., The Writings of James Monroe, including a collection of his public and private papers and correspondence now for the first time published, four volumes, New York and London, 1898–1900.

Holstein, H. L. V. Ducoudray, Memoirs of Simón Bolívar, President Liberator of the Republic of Columbia; and of his Principal Generals; secret History of the

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Revolution, and of the events which preceded it, from 1807 to the Present Time * * *, Boston, 1829. Ducoudray Holstein, Memoirs of Simón Bolívar.

In these memoirs are given some suggestive reminiscences and traditions of the Miranda era. It is more valuable for the period of Bolívar's activity.

(Junius), A Jean Skei Eustace, Se disant Citoyen des États-Unis d'Amérique, et Général de Brigade des Armées Françoises. (British Museum.)

This pamphlet is a reply to Eustace which defends Miranda. Some data are given which indicates that perhaps the writer had access to Miranda's papers. It is strongly prejudiced in favor of Miranda.

Kerner, J., Das Bilderbuch aus meiner Knabenzeit, Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1786 bis 1804, Stuttgart, 1886.

King, R., The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, comprising his letters, private and official, his public documents, and speeches, six volumes, New York, 1894–1900, volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4. King, Correspondence of King.

This is one of the most important sources, 1798–1806, for Rufus King was a very confidential friend of Miranda, and when minister of the United States to England was also on good terms with the English ministers. At times, however, King showed an enthusiastic leaning toward Miranda's designs.

Letters and Other Writings of James Madison, Fourth President of the United States, in four volumes, published by order of Congress, Philadelphia, 1865, volume 2. Letters of Madison.

There is a small amount of material relating to Miranda in this collection. The more complete publication of Madison papers edited by G. Hunt has not yet reached the Miranda period of 1806.

Lettre du Général Miranda * * * Au quartier général d'Anvers, le 4 décembre 1792, l'an 1er de la république française * * * (1792?). (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Le Général Miranda à la représentation nationale, à la Force, les 13 et 15 Nivôse, Paris. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Lettres des Généraux Miranda, d'Arçon, et Valence au Ministre de la Guerre; Imprimées par ordre de la Convention nationale. (British Museum.)

Lodge, H. C., The Works of Alexander Hamilton, nine volumes, New York and London, 1885–1886, volume 8. Lodge, Works of Hamilton.

Some documents are printed showing Hamilton's attitude toward Spanish America.

Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore, [British] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part III; Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part V; Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore; London, 1892, 1896, 1899. Dropmore Papers, I, II, III.

This publication consists of some of the papers of Lord Grenville which illustrate English policy. It contains very little relating to Miranda. It is not complete and, unfortunately, the owner of the manuscripts refuses to allow historical students access to them because of the personal, private, and confidential character of many of the papers.

Mémoires du Général Dumouriez, avec une introduction par M. Fr. Barrière, two volumes, Paris, 1862, 1863. These are part of the Bibliothèque des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le 18e Siècle, avec avant-propos et notes par M. Fr. Barrière.

Mier Noriega y Guerra, J. S. T. de, Carta de un Americano al Español sobre su número XIX, London, 1811. (Library of Congress.)

Minutes of a Court Martial, holden on board His Majesty's ship *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth Harbor, on Friday, the 6th day of March, 1807, and continued, by adjournment, till Wednesday, March 11, following, for the trial of Capt. Sir Home Popham, including a complete Copy of his Defence, taken from the Original, London, 1807. (Library of Yale University.) Popham's Trial.

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This report of the trial of Capt. Sir Home Popham for attacking Buenos Ayres is valuable as indicating English policy toward Spanish America, 1806, 1807.

Miranda à ses Concitoyens. Discours que je me proposois de prononcer à la Convention Nationale, le 29 Mars dernier, le lendemain de mon arrivée à Paris (1793). (British Museum.)

In this Miranda defends himself against certain charges.

Miranda aux représentants du Peuple François. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Morris, A. C., The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, Minister of the United States to France; Member of the Constitutional Convention, * * *, two volumes, New York, 1888.

Opinion du Général Miranda sur la Situation Actuelle de la France, et sur les remèdes convenables à ses Maux, Paris, an troisième de la République Française. (British Museum.)

In this pamphlet Miranda presented his ideas regarding the French Government.

Pallain, G., Le Ministère de Talleyrand sous le Directoire, Paris, 1891. (Library of Harvard University.) Pallain, Le Ministère de Talleyrand.

In this diplomatic correspondence of Talleyrand can be found some indications of his attitude with respect to Spanish America.

The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803, volume 32 (1789–1791), London, 1816.

This volume contains the debates in the English Parliament on the Nootka Sound dispute.

Poudenx (H.), et Mayer (F.), Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire de la Révolution de la Capitainerie Générale de Caracas, depuis l'abdication de Charles IV jusqu'au mois d'août 1814, Paris, 1815. (Library of Harvard University.) Poudenx et Mayer, Mémoire.

A very rare, valuable, and suggestive memoir on the early Venezuelan revolt, but somewhat prejudiced against Miranda.

The Proceedings of a General Court Martial, held at Chelsea Hospital on Thursday, January 28, 1808, and continued, by adjournment, till Tuesday, March 15, for the Trial of Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, Late Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in South America. Taken in shorthand by Mr. Gurney, With the Defence. * * * also all the Documents produced on the Trial, two volumes, London, 1808. (Library of Yale University.) Whitelocke's Trial.

This account of the trial is especially valuable, as it contains in the appendix the instructions given by the English Government to its military commanders regarding Spanish America in 1807. Another edition found in the Library of Congress does not.

Proclamation du Général Miranda, portant ordre à tous les commandants temporaires de donner assistance au citoyen Chépy, agent de la république française dans la Belgique, et commençant par ces mots * * *, Bruges. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Réponse à une Affiche, signée le Baron; pour le Général Labourdonnaye. (British Museum.)

This contains some material on the siege of Antwerp.

Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, * * *, Ottawa, 1889.

Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, * * *, Ottawa, 1890.

There are some fleeting references to Miranda in the diary of General Haldimand found in the report for 1889.

Robinson, W. D., A Cursory View of Spanish America, particularly the neighboring Vice-Royalties of Mexico and New Grenada, chiefly intended to elucidate the policy of an Early Connection between the United States and those countries, Georgetown, 1815. (Library of Yale University.)

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Robinson had considerable knowledge of conditions in the northern part of Spanish America; his argument is directed against England, but he is prejudiced against Miranda.

Rojas, A., Miranda dans la Révolution Française, Recueil de Documents authentiques relative à l'histoire du Général Francisco de Miranda pendant son séjour en France de 1792 à 1798 * * *, Caracas, 1889. (Library of Yale University.)

In the preface to this collection of documents, published by the order of the Government of Venezuela, can be found some Venezuelan appreciations of Miranda made in the centennial year of the outbreak of the French Revolution. The volume also contains some favorable judgments of historians on Miranda's career in France. It contains many of the documents in pamphlets which are mentioned separately in this bibliography. Some material was evidently reprinted from Antepara. The text of some of the documents does not always agree in minor details with the originals which are preserved in the French archives. The book is important for the study of Miranda's career in the French revolution.

Rojas, A., Miranda en la Revolución Francesa, Colección de documentos auténticos referentes á la historia del general Francisco de Miranda durante su permanencia en Francia de 1792 á 1798 * * *, Edición Castellano, Caracas, 1889. (Biblioteca Nacional de México.)

This Spanish edition of the work of Rojas contains a small amount of source material, evidently taken from Antepara, which is not found in the French edition.

Rojas, El Marqués de, El General Miranda, Paris, 1884. (Library of the University of Chicago.) Rojas, El General Miranda.

This volume is very valuable. It consists, first, of a sketch of Miranda's activity, by the editor, which is somewhat eulogistic in tone, and second, of an important collection of documents. Some of these are merely translations from the French, but there are many important papers, not elsewhere accessible, dealing with Miranda's activity in 1806 and 1810–1816. A friend of the editor informed the writer that Marquis Rojas secured the originals from a son of Francisco de Miranda, who was given the papers by the English Government.

(Sherman, J. H.,) A General Account of Miranda's Expedition, including the trial and execution of ten of his officers, and an account of the imprisonment and sufferings of the remainder of his officers and men who were taken prisoners, New York, 1808. (Library of Congress, Library of Brown University.) Sherman.

Sherman gives an account, in part, of the Miranda expedition of 1806. He was one of the officers who was captured by the Spaniards. Sherman is not much prejudiced against Miranda.

Ségur, (M.,) Count, Memoirs and Recollections of Count Ségur, Ambassador from France to the Courts of Russia and Prussia, &c. &c., translated, Boston, 1825. (Library of Yale University.) Ségur, Memoirs and Recollections.

Ségur gives some recollections of his visit to the present state of Venezuela about the beginning of 1783.

Ségur, M. le Comte, Mémoires, Souvenirs et Anecdotes; Correspondance et Pensées du Prince de Ligne, two volumes, Paris, 1859. Ségur, Mémoires, Souvenirs et Anecdotes.

This contains some material on Miranda's visit to Russia in 1787.

Smith, M., History of the Adventures and Sufferings of Moses Smith, during five years of his life; from the beginning of the year 1806, when he was betrayed into the Miranda expedition, until June, 1811, when he was nonsuited in an action at law, which lasted three years and a half, to which is added a biographical sketch of General Miranda, Brooklyn, 1812. (Boston Athenæum.) Moses Smith.

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There is more than one edition of this book. It is a very interesting account of the experiences of one of Miranda's unsophisticated followers in the expedition of 1806. It is free from undue prejudice.

Smith Papers, [British] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX, London, 1891. Smith Papers.

These are published from the papers of the private secretary of William Pitt and contain a very few brief references to Miranda.

Sparks, J., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America, from the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 10th September, 1783, to the Adoption of the Present Constitution, seven volumes, Washington, 1833, 1834, volumes 5 and 6. (Library of Yale University.) Sparks, Diplomatic Correspondence.

In these volumes there are a few references to the activity of supposed Spanish-American agitators in Europe. There is also a small amount of material relating to Miranda's participation in the Spanish attack on the Bahama Islands during the American Revolution.

The Trials of William S. Smith and Samuel G. Ogden, for Misdemeanors, had in the Circuit Court of the United States for the New York district, in July, 1806 * * *, New York, 1807. (Library of Yale University.) Trial of Smith and Ogden.

This is a report of the trial of Smith and Ogden on the charge of promoting the expedition of Miranda which left New York City in February, 1806, to attack Spanish America.

Vane, C., Marquess of Londonderry, Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry, twelve volumes, London, 1848–1853, volumes 6, 7, and 8. Correspondence of Castlereagh.

There are many valuable official papers printed in this collection showing England's policy toward Spanish America, 1806–1809.

(Viscardo y Guzman) Lettre aux Espagnols Américains. Par un de leurs compatriotes. A Philadelphie, 1799. (Library of Columbia University.)

This rare tract, which argues for the independence of Spanish America, was written by an expatriated Jesuit who died in London. It was published posthumously, perhaps under the influence of Miranda, who later circulated it in Spanish America.

Walton, W., An Exposé on the Dissentions of Spanish America * * *, London, 1814. (Library of Congress, Library of Yale University.) Walton, Dissentions of Spanish America.

Walton wrote this with a view of inducing England to mediate between Spain and the revolting colonies. In the appendix are printed some rare documents.

Walton, W., Jun., Present State of the Spanish Colonies; including a particular Report of Hispaniola * * *, two volumes, London, 1810. (Library of Yale University.)

The appendix is especially valuable. Document D, Volume II, is an English translation of Viscardo y Guzman's Lettre aux Espagnols Américains.

Wellington, Duke of, Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal, Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K. G., London, volume 6. Wellington, Supplementary Despatches. (Library of Harvard University, Library of Congress.)

This is an important collection of documents which supplements the dispatches edited by Gurwood. It contains documents showing the attitude of the English Government toward Spanish America just before the national uprising in Spain against Napoleon I.

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, twenty volumes, Washington, 1903.

There are a number of documents relating to Spanish America in this set; those relating to the Nootka Sound period are in volume 8.

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2. Newspapers and Periodicals.

Newspapers.

Note.—There is a good deal of illustrative material in the newspaper files. Its chief value lies in the letters occasionally printed, and in the reflection of public sentiment with regard to Miranda and Spanish America. A few of the files were not complete for the years examined. In making citations the writer has adopted the practice of referring uniformly to the date of the paper.

The Aurora, 1805–1807. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

The Connecticut Journal, 1806–1808. (Library of Yale University.)

The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, 1806–1808. (Library of Yale University.)

The London Chronicle, 1785, 1786; 1806–1808. (Library of Yale University.)

The London Packet, 1811, 1812. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

The London Times, 1806–1812. (British Museum.)

This is exceptionally valuable as showing at times the English attitude toward Spanish America.

Le Moniteur, 1792–1798.

A great quantity of material is found here on Miranda's activity in France.

Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, 1811, 1812. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

Relf's Philadelphia Gazette, 1811. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

The Richmond Enquirer, 1806. (Library of Congress.)

A very incomplete file of this was examined.

The Western American, 1806. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

Only a very few numbers of this were found.

The Western World, 1806, 1807. (Wisconsin Historical Library.)

Some scattered numbers were found.

The United States Gazette, 1806–1808. (Library of Yale University.)

Periodicals.

The material found in periodicals is of two kinds, first, documents secured from archives and published in such a periodical as the American Historical Review, and, second, sources found in contemporary magazines.

American Historical Review, volume 2, pages 474–, Carondelet on the Defence of Louisiana, New York, 1897.

This document, published by F. J. Turner, is a translation of a copy of a dispatch from Carondelet to the Duke of Alcudia secured from the Spanish Archives located at that time at Alcalá de Henares. It shows the apprehensions of the Spaniards with regard to the project of Genet and the steps taken to guard against it.

American Historical Review, volume 3, pages 490–, Documents on the Relations of France to Louisiana, 1792–1795, New York, 1898.

These documents are prefaced by an introductory note by F. J. Turner. They were secured by him from the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères for the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association. They are important and are supplementary to those published in the report of the American Historical Association for 1896, volume 1.

American Historical Review, volume 3, pages 674–, Diary and letters of Henry Ingersoll, 1806–1809, New York, 1898.

These were published by E. E. Sparks, who wrote an introductory note. There are also notes by J. F. Jameson. Ingersoll was one of Miranda's followers in the expedition of 1806 who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His diary takes the same course as those of Moses Smith and John Sherman. The letters deal mainly with his life in prison.

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American Historical Review, volume 4, pages 323–, Santiago and the Freeing of Spanish America, 1741, New York, 1899.

These papers were evidently secured by J. F. Jameson from the Vernon-Wager Navy Papers in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. Their main interest for this essay is that they show English sentiment toward Spanish America in 1741.

American Historical Review, volume 6, pages 508–, Miranda and the British Admiralty, 1804–1806, New York, 1901.

These are important documents illustrating the connection between the English Admiralty and the Miranda expedition of 1806. They are not always accurate copies of the papers found by the writer in the Public Record Office. Of especial value is the memorial drawn up by Popham in October, 1804. There are some helpful bibliographical notes on Miranda by J. F. Jameson, by whom the documents were secured.

American Historical Review, volume 7, pages 706–, English Policy toward America in 1790–1791, New York, 1902.

These are valuable documents secured from English archives by F. J. Turner, accompanied by a bibliographical note. Of especial value on Miranda is his letter of September 8, 1791, to William Pitt from the Chatham Manuscripts. This is the first installment.

American Historical Review, volume 8, pages 78–, English Policy toward America, 1790–1791, New York, 1903.

This is the second installment.

American Historical Review, volume 10, pages 574–, Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795–1797, New York, 1905.

These documents were secured by F. J. Turner from American, English, and French governmental archives, and illustrate the designs of Blount. They are accompanied by a bibliographical note.

The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, 1790, volume 32, London, 1808.

This contains material on the Nootka Sound dispute.

The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1806, volume 48; 1807, volume 49; 1808, volume 50, London, 1808, 1809, 1810.

These volumes contain some material relating to the Miranda expedition of 1806.

The Edinburgh Annual Register, 1808–1811, volumes 1 to 4 inclusive, Edinburgh, 1810–1813.

In the first and fourth volumes especially is found some material relating to Spain and Spanish America.

The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, for October 1808 * * * January, 1809, volume 13, pages 277–312, a review of "Lettre aux Espagnols Américains, par un de leurs Compatriotes," Edinburgh, 1809.

This review is one of the most important printed sources on the career of Miranda. It was doubtless prepared by him, or under his direction (see above, p. 426, note *a*). It illustrates Miranda's activity as a propagandist, it contains excerpts from his correspondence, and it gives a résumé of Viscardo y Guzman's Lettre aux Espagnols Américains.

The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, for November, 1811 * * * February, 1812, volume 19, Edinburgh, 1811.

This contains a few references to Caracas and to Miranda.

The Monthly Magazine, or British Register, volume 27, London, 1809.

There is an article in this regarding Miranda, signed R., pages 113–121. It consists of a series of excerpts from Sherman (pages 57–111), with but little modification except when necessary because of the omissions of parts of Sherman's narrative.

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The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal, Enlarged, volume 58, London, 1809.

There is an article in this journal on the expedition of Miranda in 1806. It is a reply to Biggs, and was evidently written by one who was prejudiced. Biggs is criticized, Miranda defended, and Spanish-American emancipation advocated. Some new material is printed, and the account of Biggs is unjustly characterized (page 306) as "a whimsical assemblage of exaggerations and contradictions."

The Political Herald, and Review, or, a Survey of Domestic and Foreign Politics; and a critical account of Political and Historical Publications, volume 1, London, 1785. (British Museum.)

This is one of the few printed sources giving evidence of Miranda's visit to London in 1785.

The Weekly Register, edited by H. Niles; volumes 1 to 4, Baltimore, September, 1811–September, 1813. Niles' Register.

There is a small amount of material in these volumes relating to conditions in Spanish America.

b. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL.

NOTE.—By far the most valuable material for this monograph has been found in archival collections in America and Europe. With a very few exceptions the search has been made by the writer personally, which has enabled him to make the examination of the archives more thorough than would otherwise have been possible. An attempt has been made to simplify the method of citation and yet not depart too far from the style most commonly used. In general, unless otherwise stated, the number first cited in the footnotes is that of the volume, bundle, dossier, carton, or legajo. In the case of references to the Archivo General de Indias, however, the first number is the estante, the second the cajón, and the third the legajo, except in a few cases where references can only be given to the legajo.

Adams Manuscripts, General Correspondence of John Adams. These were in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Adams MSS.

This collection contains many important documents on American History, but very little relating to Miranda.

Archivo de la Catedral de Santa Iglesia, Caracas, Venezuela.

The certificate of baptism of Francisco de Miranda is found in this repository. So far as the writer was able to learn there is not any unpublished material relating to Miranda in Venezuela. The agent who examined the cathedral archives confirmed statements from other sources when he said: "There are not any unpublished documents relating to Miranda in Caracas. Everything that could be had in our archives is published in Becerra's book." It appears that in the course of the numerous wars and revolutions much of the material relating to the early revolutionary history of Venezuela has been burned or otherwise destroyed.

Collections of the British Museum, London:

1. Bexley Manuscripts. This correspondence and papers of Nicholas Vansittart, later Lord Bexley, is classified among the "Additional Manuscripts." Bexley MSS.

   The material consists mainly of letters dealing with the last part of Miranda's career. Other papers which the writer feels must have passed between Miranda and Vansittart are noticeable for their absence.

2. Additional Manuscripts. Add. MSS.

   This collection contains some miscellaneous documents relating to Spanish America besides those cited as Bexley MSS.

3. Egerton Manuscripts. Egerton MSS.

   In this collection are found many manuscripts relating to Spanish America.

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Archives of the English Government, Public Record Office, London. General abbreviation, P. R. O.

1. Admiral's Despatches.
   a. Admiralty, Secretary, In Letters. Ad. Sec., In Letters.
   b. Admiral's Despatches, Leeward Islands.

   These admiralty papers contain documents relating to Miranda's activity, 1808–1810, and to the expedition of 1806.
2. Board of Trade, Jamaica.

   In this series are found papers dealing with Miranda's visit to Jamaica in the autumn of 1781.
3. Colonial Office Correspondence.
   a. America and West Indies ..... Am. and W. I.
   b. Bahamas ..... Bahamas.
   c. Curaçao ..... Curaçao.
   d. Grenada ..... Grenada.
   e. Jamaica ..... Jamaica.
   f. Trinidad ..... Trinidad.
   g. Windward and Leeward Islands ..... W. and L. Is.

   The Colonial Office contains numerous documents of prime importance on Spanish America and many on Miranda. In the files of Jamaica, Grenada, Leeward and Windward Islands, and Trinidad were found manuscripts on the expedition of 1806. In Bahamas were found papers relating to the Spanish attack on those islands during the revolution. The most valuable single file was Trinidad, which was examined from 1797 until 1813. After 1810, however, the Curaçao correspondence became of great importance.
4. Colonial Office Transmissions, Curaçao. Curaçao Transmissions.

   This file was extremely rich in material on the Venezuelan revolt, 1809–.
5. Foreign Office Correspondence.
   a. America ..... America.
   b. France ..... France.
   c. Prussia.
   d. Russia.
   e. Spain ..... Spain.

   Scattered through the Foreign Office correspondence there is an enormous amount of valuable material relating to the affairs of Spanish America. Many important documents are found regarding Miranda, especially in the files on Spain. All the volumes on Spain, 1776–1823 (282 volumes), were examined which dealt with the period of Miranda's activity in England, the United States, and Venezuela. The search was carried beyond 1816 in the hope of finding missing papers. The other files were only examined at periods when the writer deemed it probable that material would be found there. Nothing whatever was found in Russia and Prussia.
6. Original Correspondence, War Office. War Office Intelligence.

   Here some scattered documents are found relating to Miranda and to Latin America.

Chatham Manuscripts. These are in the custody of the Public Record Office.

In these papers of the Pitt family there is an immense amount of historical material, some of which deals with America. There are some important documents on Miranda and Spanish America.

Archives of the French Government, Paris:

1. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Affaires Étrangères.

   In these archives are some documents on Miranda and Spanish America. Search was made in the files on Amérique, États-Unis, Angleterre, and Espagne. The method of citation is the same as that used in referring to the

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Public Record Office papers. There are many diplomatic documents relating to the expedition of 1806. Especially to be noticed are the copies of Madison's correspondence with Turreau, which are missing from the State Department at Washington. A number of interesting memoirs and dispatches relating to Spanish America are also found.

2. Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, section historique. Guerre.
   a. Archives Administratives. Archives Administratives.
   This contains one small bundle, "Dossier Miranda."
   b. Archives Historiques. Archives Historiques.
   Most of the material in this department deals with Miranda's military service in France, 1792, 1793. Some of it has already been published in the Moniteur and in Rojas, Miranda dans la Révolution Française. There are a few papers relating to the proposed attempt to revolutionize Spanish America in 1792. The documents are divided into two great classes, "cartons," containing the originals of the correspondence, and "registres," containing the copies or calendars of ministerial orders. The "cartons" are arranged chronologically and according to armies. The "cartons" examined were those on "Les Armées du Nord et des Ardennes," October, 1792–March, 1793, inclusive. This research was done by an agent.
3. Archives Nationales. Archives Nationales.
   This material is of a somewhat miscellaneous character, but the bulk of it pertains to Miranda's activity in France. In some respects these archives supplement those of the War Department, as the documents regarding the trial of Miranda appear to have been transferred to this repository. The most important documents on that incident have been published. There are interesting reports on the belongings of Miranda, which were seized more than once. There are a few valuable documents illustrating Miranda's designs on Spanish America. The papers examined were principally those relating to Miranda and to his relations with Dumouriez and Brissot.

Knox Manuscripts. These are in the custody of the New England Historic Genealogical Society at Boston, Massachusetts. Knox MSS.
They contain some of the correspondence which passed between Miranda and Knox. Unfortunately some of the letters which must have passed between the two men are not found in these manuscripts.

Leeds Manuscripts. These are in the possession of the Duke of Leeds, Leeds Castle, England.
They were examined for me by an official of the Public Record Office, but nothing was found relating to Miranda.

Collections of the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, Washington, D. C.

1. Cuban Manuscripts. Cuban MSS.
   These are a miscellaneous collection of manuscripts evidently taken by somebody from the Cuban archives and bought by the library from a New York dealer. Only a few documents pertain in any way to Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America. The agent of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution who forwarded the two documents relating to my theme declared that they were the only documents which he had encountered in Cuban archives on that subject.
2. Hamilton Manuscripts. Hamilton MSS.
   These contain some important unpublished documents showing the relations between Alexander Hamilton and Miranda, 1783–1798.
3. Jefferson Manuscripts. Jefferson MSS.
   These contain some unpublished documents relating to Miranda and the expedition of 1806.

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4. Madison Manuscripts. Madison MSS.

   Among these are found some interesting papers bearing on Madison's connection with the expedition of 1806.

5. Monroe Manuscripts. Monroe MSS.

   Here a few documents are found regarding the relations between Miranda and Monroe in 1797. A small amount of material was also found on the expedition of 1806.

6. Washington Manuscripts. Washington MSS.

   Some of the numerous volumes of uncatalogued manuscripts of George Washington were examined, but nothing was found.

Archives of the Mexican Government, "Archivo General y Público de la Nación," Mexico City. A. G. M.

In this repository is found part of the official archives relating to Mexico and also material pertaining to other parts of Spanish America. It is to be presumed that here may be found most of the archival material in Mexico relating to the viceroyalty of New Spain. Part of the documents have been arranged in "ramos," or branches, by methods which unfortunately were not uniformly systematic. The following "ramos" were examined:

1. Correspondencia de los Virreyes.

   This consists mainly of letters sent to the authorities in Spain by the viceroys or governing authorities of New Spain. Much material can be found on the revolts in the country and a relatively small amount on Miranda. As arranged, the papers fall into three series: Those designated as "muy reservada" (A), those not so designated (B), and papers not included in either of the above groups.

2. Historia.

   This is an extensive miscellaneous collection of documents relating chiefly to the history of Mexico. Miranda material was found in only one volume.

3. Historia de Operaciónes.

   This branch contains a large collection of documents dealing with the revolt in New Spain, 1810–1821. There are some documents relating to the revolts in other parts of Spanish America.

4. Provincias Internas.

   This is a large and miscellaneous mass of manuscripts pertaining mainly to the internal provinces of New Spain, especially Texas. Nothing was found on Miranda.

5. Reales Cédulas y Órdenes. Reales Cédulas.

   These are the volumes containing the royal orders to the viceroys or governing authorities of New Spain. A small amount of material pertaining to Miranda was found in this division.

Pickering Manuscripts. These are in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Pickering MSS.

Only a few of these documents relate to Miranda.

Archives of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, London, American Manuscripts.

These contain a few documents relating to Miranda and Cagigal.

The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. A few unpublished portions of this diary are found in the manuscript diary in the library of Yale University.

One of these contains some items on Miranda's discussions with President Stiles regarding Mexico.

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Archives of the Government of the United States, Department of State, Washington, D. C. State Dept. MSS.

1. Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

   This contains the instructions to and the reports from the diplomatic and consular agents of the United States in foreign countries. Here is found much unpublished material relating to Spanish America. The documents relating to Miranda deal mainly with the diplomatic side of the expedition of 1806 and with conditions in Venezuela, 1810–. Search was made in the papers relating to England, France, and Spain and in the "consular letters" and instructions relating to early Venezuela. The same method of citation is used as in the case of the Public Record Office.

2. Bureau of Rolls and Library.

   This contains a volume of interesting papers relating to the early Spanish-American revolution and to the attempts made by agents to get recognition or aid of some sort from the United States.

Adams Transcripts. These are in the custody of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

These are the copies of documents from the archives of France, Spain, and the United States secured by Mr. Henry Adams in preparing his History of the United States. They contain papers regarding the expedition of 1806.

Archives of the Government of Spain.

1. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. A. G. I.

   A large mass of material on Spanish America can be found in this archive. The documents found relating to Miranda deal mainly with his early career in the West Indies, with the expedition of 1806, and with conditions in Venezuela, 1810–1812. Papers were sought for under the following inventory classifications: Indiferente General; Papeles de Estado, América en General; Papeles de Estado, Méjico; Porto Rico, Someruelos; and in the Audiencias of Caracas, Buenos Ayres, Méjico, and Santo Domingo.

2. Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas. A. G. S.

   In the castle of Simancas can be found some material on Spanish America. There are a number of very important scattered documents relating to Miranda's early career. A special search was made in the Secretario de Estado, Embajada en Inglaterra, and in the Secretario de Guerra, Compañía de la Princesa, and Compañía de Aragón.

3. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. A. H. N.

   A good deal of scattered material relating to Miranda and Spanish America is in this archive in the Secretario de Estado. Most of the Miranda documents are of a diplomatic character and relate to the expedition of 1806 and to Miranda's tour through Europe.

Archives of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Bejar Archives.

These papers, now among the historical records of the University of Texas, formed a part of the "Bejar Archives" at Bejar, Texas. They relate primarily to Texas during the Spanish régime. At present these papers have been indexed to the year 1800, but beyond that are grouped only according to years. There is very little in them relating even indirectly to Miranda.

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Documentary Appendix.

Document 1.

A proposal for the revolutionizing of Mexico presented to the Government of England in 1786 by Francisco de Mendiola.[a]

Sire.

C'est au nom de la Ville, et du Royaume du Mexique, dont nous somes les representants, que nous avons prendre la Libertè d'implorer votre puissante Protection: Opprimès et vexès par la Cour de Madrid, Elle nous faire sentir Journellement par toute sorte d'impots, et mauvais traitements, Le despotisme tiranique qui bouleverse la Constitution de la Libertè qui nous est duë; et nous met dans la Case des vils Esclaves de la Cote de Guinea.

Telle est Sire, la Conduite que l'Espagne tient à notre Egard, et la reconnoissance des tous et Loyaux services que nous avons toujours rendus a l'Espagne; Nous qui l'avons toujours rendus a l'Espagne; Nous qui l'avons securrie dans la derniere Guerre, avec plus de Soixante et dix Millions de P^{tres} S. pour l'entretien de ses Armeès, tant en Amerique, qu'en Europe, et pour toute Reconnoissance, elle nous m'est dans la dure necessitè de secouer le joug qui nous opprime, par la force.

D'apres cêt Exposè, Sire, nous nous voyons forcès à prendre des mesures Convenables pour nous procurer la Libertè dont on nous prive, a l'effet de quoy, nous avons des tresors Susdisants, et au premier signal, nous pouvons mêtre sur les Armes, Quarante Mille hommes, et nous rendre maitres de tout ce Royaume.

Nous manquons d'Armes et d'autres Munitions de Guerre, necessaires pour cette grande Entreprise: La proximitè de L'Isle de la Jamayque, avec ce Royaume, nous mêt à même de nous y pourvoir de fusils, Balles, Poudre, et autres objets dont nous avons besoin; mais outres que nous avons craint qu'il n'y en eût sufisamment, peut être que le Gouverneur General, auroit fait de dificulties de nous en vendre, ne sachant pas nos veritables Intentions; Nous avons en Consequence pris le sage party d'Envoyer aupres de V. M. Monsieur D^{n} francisco de Mendiola, au Nom, et representant ce Royaume. En vertu des pleins pouvoirs que nous luy avons donnè pour traitter cette affaire, et en même temps pour nous assurer de votre puissante Protection, et faire un traitè d'Amite, et Commerce avec l'Angleterre.

Les avantages qu'il en resultera pour l'Angleterre; et son Commerce sont inconcevables; Ce Royaume Consomme annuellement. pour plus de 30 Millions de Piastres en Marchandises, que nous tirerons de l'Angleterre, par prefference; La Richesse de nos Mines, et les fruits precieux que produit ce vaste, et riche Royaume, dont le Commerce peut etre poussè au plus haut degrè dedommageront l'Angleterre de la perte de l'Amerique, et Retabliront son Commerce dans son ancienne splendeur.

Nous approvons d'avance Sire, tels arrangem^{ts} que nôtre Envoyè Mr de Mediola prendra, au Nom de ce Royaume, avec votre Majeste et ses Ministres; et aussitôt que nous aurons un Reponce favorable; nous fairons passer soudain, deux Millions de Ptres á la Jamayque, pour nous procurer les armes dont nous avons besoin.

Nous y Enverrons un agent qui sera chargè de nos affaires; et qui servira pour faire incessam^{t} paser notre correspondance, sans nous exposer qu'elle soit Intercepetè par la Cour d'Espagne.

Nous avons l'honneur d'Etre avec le plus profond Respect.

Sire

De V. M.

Les tres humbles et tres obeissantes serviteurs,

El Conde de la Torre Cossio
El Conde de Santiago
El Marq^{s} de Guardiola

Mexico 10 Nov^{bre} 1785.

[a] Chatham MSS., 345.

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DOCUMENT 2.

A proposal for the revolutionizing of New Granada presented to the Government of England in 1784 by Luis Vidal or Vidalle.[a]

Proposals made by Dⁿ * * * and Dⁿ * * * Inhabitants Creoles of the Kingdom of Santa Fee, or New Kingdom of Grenada, wealthy, being respected and wise, first Generals that said kingdom nam'd in its disputes with Spain in the Year 1780 to Don * * * in the Month of March and in the year 1783 in the Isle of Curaçoa, that in their and in the Name of the Principal Inhabitants of Said kingdom, shou'd make to the Noble English Ministry.

1ˢᵗ That The English Ministry pardon the proposals made, as they flow from hearts full of affection to his Britanick Majesty, and his faithful Subjects, and since it is to her that we implore with a Profound respect, and the most exalted veneration to grant us an Assistance (which is so just, and no Offense to her) observing the secret Aid that the Royal House of Bourbon gave in the time of Peace, to the North Americans Subjects to Great Britain n ham (?) without any proper Motive lifted arms against the Mother Country, rendering themselves free and Independents, owing to the Succors given by the Royal House of Bourbon, and relieve from so much bondage (at least over the Children) in our many years sufferings, and this Aid shall be received with the greatest Veneration, Silence, and a Perpetual obligation, Promising under the most solemn Oath, that if at any time we should Conquer, Our almost sure projects the kingdom of Sᵗᵃ Fee, The Provinces of Maracayo, Sᵗᵃ Marta and Cartagena, shall be deliver'd to His Britanick Majesty without reserving to Ourselves but our Religion, and the Same privilidges that an English Subject is entitled to, and both Religions as well Catholic as the Protestant Shall have equal Privelidges without distinction whatever.

2ᵈˡʸ That England shall dispatch for us directly under the Dutch or Imperial Flag, Ten Thousand Muskets with their Bayonets, and Cartridge Boxes, Ten Thousand Sabres, Two Hundred Swivels, Six Hundred blunderbusses of brass, to fire on horseback, Swivel Balls, likewise Musket balls, and Thirty Thousand Pounds of the finest Sort of Powder.

3ᵈˡʸ Said Arms and Ammunition of War shall be Sent to the Isle of Curaçao, under the disguise of Another Cargo, as Salt Beef, Butter &c &c and it is to be observed that the Isle of Curaçao is the proper Place since it is a very Short distance from the Coast of Baya Onda, which is in possession of Indians whom Spain never Cou'd Subject, nor have ever allowed any Spanish Vessels to trade with them, or ever Visit their Shore, Said Indians are Our friends, and it is at said Baya Onda that said Arms are to be unloaded, by reason that in Twenty four hours Ten Thousand Indians will assemble with Great ease, and in six day's March, the Arms and Ammunition Stores will be found safe in the kingdom of Sᵗᵃ Fee the Place most Convenient to give the first blow, and Sure in a short time on the City of Sᵗᵃ Fee de Bogota, where we are sure to take to Ourselves all that belongs to the Spanish Government, and send all the Judges and Spanish Officers to deliver the tidings in Spain.

4ᵗʰ That Said Arms and Warlike Ammunitions shall be Ship'd for the Isle of Curaçao with a swift sailing Brig and when we are there it will appear in the mean time that we sell the Cargo of Said Brig but Dⁿ * * * will send an express to Dⁿ * * * that he may take Shipping Immediately for the Isle of Curacao, in order to dispose it all with such Justice and Secrecy as Such an Important Subject requires, and as Soon as everything is so done, the Brig shall be sent to Baya Onda with Dⁿ * * * and Dⁿ L * * * themselves, to the end that the Arms and Ammunition may be expeditiously landed, and then Said Brig shall Continue her Voyage for Jamaica.

[a] Chatham MSS., 351.

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5th Said Arms and War Ammunition we beg humbly also to the Noble English Government to allow us to Pay them at the rate of One Ounce of Gold pr Musket Balls at 6 Dollars, Sabres at One Dollar, Swivels at 20 Dollars Blunderbusses at 8 Dollars and the Powder at One Dollar pr Pound, Said Articles will Amount to the Sum of 222800 Dollars which Sum shall be deliver'd to the Commissionary on his delivering Said Arms at Baya Onda.

6th That the Correspondence is to be by way of Curaçao, being a Short distance from those Places, Said Correspondence shall be held between Dn * * * and Dn L * * * The latter shall be in the Isle of Curaçao under the disguise of Merchant, and to have a very Swift Sailing Boat that may be dispatched to the Government of Jamaica, at any time required, according to the Advice of Dn * * * in order that the English Government may be Informed of the Minutest thing that Passes.

7th That we earnestly [ask] the English Ministry to prevent all Manner of Persons employed in Loading the Brig with Said Ammunitions or any Person or Persons that made Said Arms to Come on board Said Brig after it be Loaded, as it is conveniency that a Subject of so much Consequence shou'd be divulged, nor that Nobody know Dn L * * * and the Commissionary, that the English Government shall be Pleas'd to appoint.

8th That we kindly desire of Great Britain that Some Officers, Engineers and Troop Officers may learn the Spanish language, by reason that if Once we have the fire lit well in the kingdom of Sta Fee, we shall beg of Great Britain to send us Some of Said Officers, which will be received with Veneration, and sent without any risk to our Encampments, that thro' their Good Counsels we may enjoy in a few Years being Subjects of Great Britain, what is Certain, is that the kingdom of Lima is only Waiting our first Motion in order immediately to take up Arms and the Same Provinces of Maracayo, Sta Marta, and Cartagena these will follow Our dictates when we find it Convenient, Spain will see in a little time her Continent the theatre of a bloody War, we only beg the hight and Royal English Crown and Nation may Command us in Money or Produce that or Lands afford, that they shall find us faithful Subjects ready to serve her with Submission and regard.

I certify under Oath of a faithful friend of the English Nation that Said Proposals are the Same I was Charged with, and received by Dn * * * and Dn * * * that in their Name I should Communicate them to the English Ministry.

London 12th May 1784–

Authentic Copy.

Document 3.

Despatch of Bernardo del Campo to the King of Spain, October 8, 1789, regarding Miranda.[a]

Ya ha tiempo que avisé a V. E. el regreso de Don Francisco Miranda. Ahora anadie que habiendole hecho observar mui de cerca con todo la vigilancia posible no se le ha descubierto ni en sus discursos ni en sus pasos ni en sus conexiones y trato de Gentes cosa alguna que no sea mui regular y mui correspondiente a un joven viagero que desea instruirse y no pasar una vida frivola. Sobre todo no se ve la minor aparencia de trato directo ó indirecto con Personas del Ministerio ni la concurrencia de Generales y otros hombres curiosos; bien que acasa este ultimo y procederà de que en estos Meses se halla la Capital despoblada.

Desde luego me propuse tratarle como antes, y a proporcion que se ha ido observando lo dicho arriba me he afirmado mas en mi plan aspirando a lograr toda su confianza y por este medio penetrar el verdadero fondo de sus intentos; pues por un lado media

[a] A. G. S., Estado, 8146.

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el servicio del Rei y de la Patria y por otro el deseo de evitar todo errado concepto que fundado en falsas apariencias y acaso en equivocados o exagerados informes pudiera trahar la ruina de este joven.

En esta complicacion de cosas me he valido y me valgo de aquella sagacidad que es efecto de mis experiencias y de mi sana intencion.

Aun para exponer a V. E. todo lo que comprehendo me veo embarazado porque seria necesario entrar en una large y fastidiosa narrativa y me contentaré con formar resumen de las varios epocas y diversas situaciones en que Miranda se ha hallado y del modo en que él explica cada una.

Empezando por su conducta en la Havana jura y protesta que antes de llegar al estremo de retirarse huyendo de una violenta persecucion probó quantos medios le fueron dables para sincerarse con el defunto Señor Mnro Galvez: Se remite a las pruebas ó papales que se pasaron á V. E. antes de salir él de aqui a testigua con Personas vivas como el General Cagigal, el intendante Saavedra y otros de consideracion que fueron testigos oculares y finalmente asegura que el mismo General Galvez se do lio infinito de deber poner en egecucion las estrechas ordenes que le iban de la Corte y a él (Miranda) personalmente le hirio mucho una expresion del citado Mnro en carta confidencial en que reprehendia a su sobrino por haber empleado cerca de si en tanta confianza a un vasallo nacido en las indias. Sabe que de su proceder en los Estados Americanos han hecho montanes sin el mas leve ni remoto fundamento pues sus viages y sus ocupaciones alli se dirijieron a adquirir conocimiento de aquel Pais y de aquella Nacion que acababa de hacer tan gran papel. En prueba de la sinceridad con que procedia hizo testigo de todo al Encargado de Espana Rendon y aun alojó en su casa hasta que este Mr de la Luserna lleno a aquel Agente de España la cabeza de chismes y de historietas tan ridiculas como inverisimiles en perjuicio suyo; pero que forzaron al mismo Rendon á separarse de él sin que por su parte hubiese jamas tenido cargo alguna que hacerle.

Vino a Inglaterra con indecibles deseos de ver y examinar este Pais con admiracion suya empezó a hallar su casa llenado Generales y otros Personages; atribuyandolo en parte a curiosidad pues el ser indiano y su especie de fuga bastaban para hacerse famoso; en parte a las especies lisonjeros para él que sujetos de los Americanos Unidos habian escrito á sus correponsales aqui, en parte al movimiento que el mismo se daba para adquirir Libros, papeles, mapas, y todo genero de conocimientos y por ultimo que mirandole á él como un oficial joven, quejoso y ofendido se figurarion acaso algunos podria y querria suministrarlos noticias mui importantes ó prestarse a otros servicios. No deja de creer que entre los muchos que se le entremetian habria varios en conexion ó en empleos del Ministerio pero que ninguno se le explicó jamas en calidad de comisionado con proposiciones ni ofertas de ninguna naturaleza. El mismo se hace cargo que este tropel de visitas podria haberse hecho reparable (aun que inocentisimo en si) siendo lo peor que a él le era ya imposible negarse a las Gentes, pero acaso esto mismo le acabó de determinar a viajar por el Continente.

De aqui salió con carta mia para Berlin en donde se le franquearon otras hasta Viena; y como alli cayó en la tentacion de pasar al Egipto y Estados Otomanos aun nuestros mismos Nacionales le aconsejaron de surtirse por preferencia de pasaportes y recomendaciones imperiales y se las ajenciaron: de suerte que desde aquel punto inocentisimamento dejó en muchas partes de mostrarse como español tanto mas que llegaba á parages en donde ó no habia representacion de Espana ó el no le llevaba carta de que le resultaron algunos embarazos.

Despues de varios jiros fue a parar a * * * en donde estaba el General Ruso * * * (y con él nuestro Principe de Nassau) preparando una expedicion. Alli fué indispensable presentarse a aquel Gefe quien le agasajó a terminos de alojarle en su casa y en el mismo Quarto con Nassau. De este principio resueltó que por fuerza le llevaron a la presencia de la Emperatriz y hallandose con desnudo y sin encontrar otra cosa en el pueblo que paño blanco ó azul tubo que hacerse un vestido de capricho

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a manera de uniforme español. De su presentacion a la Soberana y de los informes dados por el General resulto asimismo que fuese extraordinamente distinguido por Su Magestad I, y por todos sus Ministros con grandisimo bochorno suyo y con sorpresa y disgusto de los Ministros extrangeros que se hallaban presentes sin que de parte de Miranda hubiese havido diligencia, solicitud ni aun deseo, aunque no podia menos de estar mui reconocido a tales finezas.

Siguiose a esto continuar su viage a Petersburgo y consiguientemente que apareciese alli como Persona intimamente introducida en la Corte sin que hubiese sido por Canal de los Ministros de España ó Francia. Este le produjo un lance dasagradable con el nuestro y la Emperatriz y sus Ministros tomaron pie de ello para asegurarle seria admitido a aquel servicio con distincion y ventaja si se hallaba en circunstancias de deber retirarse de España. El lo ha rehusado reiteradmente aunque mostrando supremo reconcimiento.

Ademas de lo dicho ocurrio otra cosa de bochorno para él pero que por mas efugios que usó no pudo precaver. Es notoria la generosidad que la Emperatriz egercita con Nacionales y extrangeros con el mas leve motivo. Para usarle con él lo tomo S. M. I, sobre si misma hablandole de que por le gran perdida que se experimenta en la moneda Rusa fuera del Pais nadie la saco y todo el Mundo se surte de Ducados de Holanda, que no siendo regular los tubiese él despues de un jiro tan largo en que Camina tan a la ligera era preciso aceptase ahora una leve expresion de parte de dicha Soberana en testimonio del gusto que habia tenido en conocerle y del aprecio quel hacia de su merito. Pero que á fin de no herir la delicadeza que él tubiese en su modo de pensar podia asegurarle no se desdeñaba el Ministro de Inglaterra (como tambien otros muchos) en admitir igual favor. En fin agosajado por este medio tan inevitable ha visto despues con dolor esparcida la voz de que estaba empeñado en el servicio de la Rusia y de que era Pensionado suyo.

En lo restante de su jiro por el Norte y ostros Paises no tiene cosa que merezca decirse.

Esto es lo principal. De sus conversaciones y confianzas conmigo pueden deducirse los puntos siguientes: 1°. Que desea seriamente ver su conducta sincerada y su honor restablecido en España aunque ya no muestra anhelo por premios y ascensos y mucho menos en lo militar. 2°. Que no bolveria a la Patria sino con la mas solemne seguridad dada bajo palabra real &ª. Que aunque no tiene empeño con Rusia le instan y solicitan y se hallan todos los Ministros de aquella Soberana con ordenes reservadas de favorecerle, protejerle y sostenerle en qualquier Pais que sea y del modo que el mismo creyere necesitar: 3°. Que aunque no duda seria igualmente agosajado por la Inglaterra para tomarle por espantajo ni se han atrevido a hacerle proposicion alguna ni jamas daria él oidos a ninguna: Finalmente que parece otro hombre del que partio aqui quatro años ha: cuya circunstancia confunde y hace recelar haya podido haber algo de malignidad ó de exajeracion en ciertas personas sobre cosas que era imposible presenciase yo mismo.

De esta narrativa que ha salido mas larga de lo que crei y de lo que el mismo Miranda escribe en la adjunta comparada con los demas informes que ahi se tubieron, formara V. E. el concepto que exija el asunto y obrará como mejor convenga; pero ruego á V. E. que quando llegue el caso de contestarme sea poniendome Carta que pueda mostrar á Miranda (para que no se retire su confianza de mi) y en otra reservada las prevenciones que requieran tal precaucion.

Celebraré en el alma ver que sea en terminos de rigorosa justicia ó por efecto de la benignidad de nuestro Soberano buelve a entrar en su rebaño esta oveja descarriada. Sino fuese asi siempre vivire con inquietud pues aunque en el dia no descubra este joven deseos ni intencion de emplearse contra su Rei y su Patria puedan de tal modo variar las circunstancias de los tiempos que empleando en servicio de otra Potencia le vayan arrastrando de una cosa en otra a medidas ofensivas a la España. Antes de ahora tengo pintado su caracter, imaginacion exaltada: luces y conocimientos mas que medianos; fervor y vehemencia en su exterior y sobre todo una actividad extra-

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ordinaria. Con tal conjunto de calidades si este joven en llegara a verse exasperado y reducido a abrazar el partido de servicio extrangero creo que preferira siempre todo lo que sea accion, movimiento y singularidad al seguir una vida quieta y indiferente.

Quedo de V. E.

Londres, 8 de Octubre 1789.

DOCUMENT 4.

Note on Miranda's map found in the National Archives.[a]

Extracto
Miranda

El Virrey de Santa Feè pidò informe al Yngeniero General de aquel reyno y de la plaza de Cartagena de Indias, à cerca de la construccion de diferentes fortificaciones proyectadas en varios puntos del Ismo de Panama por la parte de asi al Darien, para contener las frecuentes irrupciones de los Indios contra las poblaciones españoles; y la introduccion de los estrangeros por àquellos costas ya à hacer el Contrabando, ya à prestar auxilios à los mismos Indios.—

El Ingeniero responde con pleno conocimiento y como hombre capaz y de muchos años de residencia en el pais; haviendo hecho un reconocimiento general del Ismo por orden de la Corte de Madrid, y visto leido, y examinado lo mas importante de el y aserca de el; propone primeramente y como vara principal se lleve à èfecto la conquista ò reduccion de los Indios que havitan las costas y golfo del Darien, para obrar de una vez la continua cruel guerra que hacen aquellas naciones, y en precaucion de maiores daños que son de tener puedan executar un dia sobre las provincias de Cartagena y Antioquîa, las del Chocò y Panama, cuyo governador de esta ultima Dⁿ Pedro Carbonel dice en una representaciòn (la qual cita el Ingeniero como un testimonio aùthentico) que de pocos años à esta parte han parado à Cuchillo los Indios à todas los havitantes de diez y seis poblaciones y quince haciendas de aquella jurisdiccion; sin entrar en esta Cuenta los franceses que se havian colonado en diferentes puestos del Ismo y fuèron tambien degollados todos por los Indios en el presente siglio; ni otras muertes mas recientes y hostilidades de no menos consideracion.

Detalla las fortificaciones y poblaciones que combiene hacerse en donde, como, y por que razones. Descubre ò presenta el mejor y mas òportunò paso (à su juico) de la mar del norte à la del Sur que es por el punto de Caledonia entrando por el rio que desagua en el, llamado Sasardi hasta el fuerte y poblacion de del mismos nombre que establece en B. continùando desde alli por el camino que atraviera la Cordillera hasta Chueti C. y de aqui entrando en el gran rio Chucanques o Chuclimaque que en su curso toma diferentes nombres, siendo mui caudaloso, y (aunque tortuosa su corriente) todo navegable hasta salir al golfo de Sⁿ Miguel en la mar del Sur.

El transito del Sasardi à Chùeti por la montaña ò cordillera, esta diseñado por un camino en el mapa, que segun su escala parece no son mas de quatro leguas facilmente practicables.

Es mas apreciable la observacion sobre fortificar la Isla de Boca-Chica L à la desembocaduro del rio Chucanques en el mar del Sur, cuya sitùacion constituye este punto en calidad de puerta al propuesto paso: y en un recodo que forma el mismo rio haciendo en su curso una especie de retrogradacion llamado aquel parage el Salto, propone tambien una fortificacion.

Habla del famoso Rio Atrato y su facil y ùtil navigacion para la prosperidad del Comercio de las provincias del Chocò; reàvilitaciòn del lavorìo de sus ricas minas; fomento de las poblaciones que pretende se establecen en la Costa del Suerte del golfo del Darien marcadas en el mapa D. E. A. F. asi como las òtras que propone G. H. K. ìndicando algunas medios simples de atraher pobladores; uno de èllos el de

[a] Archives Nationales, F.¹ 6285, No. 5819, f. 87.

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repartir los cacaguales que plantaron los franceses en diferentes poseclones del Ismo y quidaron àlli valdìos quando el desastre referido de aquellos colonos: Siguando su plan este Ingenerìo à venir à dar en la necesidad de la Conquista, reduciendo los Indios a poblacion; estableciendo òtras de españoles para sugesion de àquellos, con fortificaciones bien situadas; y al de prevenir la introducclon de las naciones de Europa que continuamente travasan à àbirse el paso al mar del Sur; facilitandolo con la execuclon de este projecto al Comercìo de los españoles por la indicado Angostura de la Calidonla al fuerte Sasardi, continuando el camino a Chueti, y desde àlli por el Rio Chucanques o Chucanque hasta el golfo de Sª Miguel: arguyendo de mala politica el embaraso de la navegacion del rio Atrate tan util y ventajosa; y en fin mirando al intento de asegurar con el conjunto de estas providenclas la posecion de las costas de norte à sur del Ismo y del Golfo del Darien baxo el dominio español; àsi como las riquesas de aquel precioso terreno à sus pobladores, y de consiguente un recurso al comercìo en general de la misma nacion española que puede disfrutar incalculables ventajas; al paso que es el unico medio de desterrar el clandestino y tan lucrativos que por diferentes entradas hacen los estrangeros, señaladamente, y, citando exemplares recientes, por los mismos puntas dados del Rio Atrato à cuya entrada ò boca està la Isla de Candelaria con puentos mui capaces y seguros para estacionar embarcaclones de todas portes: y seguros para estacionar embarcaciones de todos portes: y por la Calidonia el mismos de Sasardi ò puerto escondido.

Este extracto parece suficiente para la inteligencia del mapa que lo acompaña; haviendose tirado de una relacion ò informe del referido Ingenìero que consta de 24 paginas, y que es lastima no tener con el todos los documentos que sita y aqui se refiera; pero que en substancia es aqui todo su contenido, ò quanta puede importarnos à nuestros ideàs: con prevencìon de que las poblaclones y fortificaciones proyectadas se marcan de color amarillo-tostada: las que ay de antiguo establecimiento son de encarnada, algunas de ellos sin nombre por que son mas bien haciendas ò corrales que no lugares, pero de todos modos son poblaclones. La Costa à la mar del norte lavada de amarillo claro, es la estencion que ocuparon escocesas quando se colonaron àlli dandole el nombre de Calidonìa ò Calcedonia el año de 1698 de donde fueron desalofados el sigte Y, es por estas immedìaciones junto à Sasardi mismo (dice el Ingenerio) que Vasco Nuñez de Balbòa primer descubridor de la de la Angostura del Ismo, fundò la Ciudad que nombrò Acla ò Acala, (de que no hà quedado ni el nombre) à donde haviendo poco despues venido por Governador de ella pedrarìas, ahorca à Balvòa; y para substraerse de ser enjuiciado por la Audiencìa de Stº Domingo teniendo el castigo de semejante asesinato, abandonò la Ciudad y se paso al Sur donde fundò la antigua Panama; sin que jamas los españoles hayan vuelto à hacer caso de repoblar la mejor posecion quisa del Ismo; opinando nuestro Ingenìero qª en este necìo abandono han consistido todo los males experimentados hasta hoy con la òbstinacion de aquellos Indios fomentada por las naciones estrangeros; las guerras que se han subcitado à causa del Contrabando; el saqùeo, abrigo, y daños de los piratas y facilidad con que pasaban del norte à sur &. &.

Tambien insigna òtra facil paso, que es entrando por el Rio Mandinga ó por el de Puerto Soriban (entre cuyos dos brazos cortan en Isla un pedaso de terreno hasta la puenta de Sª Blas) y navigando en Cañoas por qualquiera de los dos lados hasta casi al plè de la montaña; siguiendo despues un corte camino de solo tres legùas, se encuentra el rio Camisas, que entra en el rio Chepo ò Bayano, todo navegable hasta el Sur: este transito và en el mapa escrito con tinta encarnada que dice Buen paso de norte à sur.

La fecha del papel orìginal es en Cartegena de Indias 25 de Septiembre de 1782 y firmado Antonio de Arevalo.

Parece que nada, o mui poco, de este projecto se hà puesto en planta. No quiero aventurar mis reflecciones aque si por acaso Ja este papel en otras manos sirban de linterna à los durmientes: Vñ no hà menester mi telescopio. V. e.

Caro

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DOCUMENT 5.

Letter of Miranda to Alexander Hamilton, October 19, 1798.[a]

C'est avec bien du Plaisir, mon tres cher Général, que J'ai reçu hier votre Lettre du 22. Aout dernier. Vos souhaits sont déja en quelque sorte remplis, puisque on est convenu ici que, d'un Coté, on n'employera point aux opérations terrestres des Troupes Anglaises, vu que les forces auxiliares de Terre devront être uniquement américaines, tandis que, de l'autre, la Marine sera purement anglaise. Tout est applani, et on attend seulement le *fiat* de votre illustre Président pour partir Comme l'Eclair — — En Effet, le moment parait des plus favorables, et les derniers Evénemens semblent nous laisser un Champ Vaste et tranquille pour agir à notre entiére Satisfaction. Profitons avec sagesse de la nature des Circonstances, et rendons à notre Pays le plus grand Service qu'un Mortel soit capable d'offrir a ses semblables! Sauvons l'Amérique des Calamités affreuses qui, en bouleversant une grande partie du monde, menacent de la Destruction les parties intactes encore.

Mon Compatriote D. Pedro Caro qui, effectivement, avait du être le porteur de ma Lettre du 6. Avril dernier, n'a pas pu se rendre alors à New-York, un accident imprévu l'en ayant empeché; Il dirigea sa Route en Droiture vers le Continent méridional de l'amérique, dont une partie, pressée de secouer un Joug justement odieux, et ne voulant pas attendre plus longtems les secours des Puissances Co-opératrices, se disposait alors a effectuer un Mouvement insurrectionnel qui, pour n'être que partiel, aurait pu nuire aux Intérèts de la Masse entiére. Heureusement qu'ils ont consenti à ajourner leurs Démarches. Les Renseignemens, que nous avons d'ailleurs sur la situation presénte des Choses, sont du plus heureux Augure. M. Caro repart dans ce moment ci pour la mème Destination par la Voie de l'Isle de la Trinité, afin que tout soit disposé conformément aux Plans arrètés, lesquels j'aurai l'honneur de vous soumettre à tems.

Je vous prie de remettre la Lettre ci-jointe à notre ami commun le Général Knox, dont la nomination dans l'armée me fait aussi le plus grand Plaisir. Continuez toujours, mon cher ami, d'être le Bienfaiteur du Genre humain qui jamais n'a eu autant Besoin de tels appuis. Réunisons nous tous bien fermement pour opérer le Salut de notre chére Patrie, et peut-être, qu'en l'arrachant aux Malheurs que la menacent, nous sauverons le monde entier qui chancéle au Bord de l'abime.

à Vous bien sincerement F. de Miranda.

Londres le 19. Octobre 1798.

P. S.

Ayez la bonté d'offrir mes Respects au General Washington—dont la conduite ferme, et Sage, attire dans ce moment les hommages de tout le monde; et doit contribuer esentiellement à sauver notre pais.

à Londres ce 10 Novᵉ, 1798.

DOCUMENT 6.

A Spanish royal order regarding the Miranda expedition of 1806, August 8, 1806, addressed to the viceroy of New Spain.[b]

Guerra.

Exmo Sᵒʳ

Nº 82.

El Sᵒʳ Dᵒⁿ Pedro Cevallos en 29 del proximo anterior me dice lo que sigue.

"Aun quando no resulte probada legalmente la connivencia del Govierno Americano y su afectado disimulo sobre los designios del trahidor Miranda contra las Posesiones

[a] Hamilton MSS., XX, f. 220. [b] A. G. M., Reales Cédulas, 197.

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de S. M.; el mero hecho de haber salido de un puerto de los Estados Unidos una expedicion de Piratas en buques Americanos, armada y tripulada por Ciudadanos Americanos contra las Posesiones de una Nacion Amiga, constituye al Govierno de los Estados Unidos en una responsabilidad indubitable à satisfacer à la España el importe de los gastos, daños y perjuicios que con motivo de la indicada expedicion puedan haberse ocasionado. En esta inteligencia ha resuelto S. M. que por el Ministerio del cargo de V. E. se pasen las ordenes correspondientes al Capitan General de Caracas, à los Virreyes de Santa Fé y de Nueva España, y à los Governadores de Puerto Rico y de la Isla de Cuba pª que cada uno de ellos remita por triplicado una cuenta de los gastos que puedan haberse ocasionado a la Rl Hacienda ò à los particulares con motivo de la expedicion de Miranda y por razon de los preparativos que se han hecho en diferentes puntos de aquellos Dominios para ponerse en estado de Defensa contra los designios del citado trahidor; incluyendose asimismo en la indicada cuenta el importe de los daños y perjuicios que la mencionada expedicion pueda haber causada en algun punto de aquellos Dominios. Por mi parte encargo con esta fha al Ministro de S. M. en Philadelphia me remita una cuenta de lo gastado con motivo de los diferentes avisos que expidió en buques fletados para dar noticia à los Gefes y Comandantes de las Posesiones Españolas; de los designios hostiles de Miranda. Reunidas todas las partidas, se dispondrá por el Ministerio de mi cargo el hacer la correspondiente reclamacion al Govierno de los Estados Unidos para su abono; y como los Americanos tienen varias reclamaciones contra la Rl Hacienda por el importe de los daños y perjuicios irrogados à su Comercio por nuestros Corsarios y tribunales durante la guerra pasada y la actual con Inglaterra; nos serà facil establecer el principio de compensacion hasta la cantidad à que asciendan nuestras reclamaciones contra ellos.''

De rl ord^n^ lo traslado à V. E. para su cumplimiento. * * * Sn Ildefonso 8 de Agosto de 1806.

Caballero.

Sor Virrey de Nueva España.

DOCUMENT 7.

Miranda's plans for a government in Spanish America, 1808–1809.[a]

Nº 1.

Esquise de Gouvernement Provisoire.

Toute autorité émané du Gouvernement Espagnol est ipso facto abolie: Les Loix existantes resteront cependant en force à l'exception de celles dénommées ci deesus.

Comices.

Les comices seront formés par tous les Habitans nés ou établis deja dans le pays, de quelque Caste qu'ils puissent être, pourvu qu'ils ayent l'age de 21 Ans, qu'ils ayent preté serment à la nouvelle forme du Gouvernement, et à l'Independence americaine; qu'ils ayent un revenu annuel égal à 50 Piastres; qu'ils ayent nés de Pere et Mere libres; qu'ils n'exercent pas un service de Domestiques à gages; et qu'ils n'ayent souffert une peine diffamante.

Cabildos.

À la place des anciennes autorités sont substitués les Cabildoes y Ayuntamientos des differentes Villes. Ceux ci ajouteront à leur nombre un tiers de ses membres pris parmi les Indiens et les Gens de Couleur de la province; et tous devront être confirmés par les Comices Municipaux. Aucun Membre ne pourra avoir moins que 35 Ans, ni une propriété moindre que de 20 Arpens de terre cultivés. Les Indiens

[a] P. R. O., Curaçao Transmissions, 670.

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et les Gens de Couleur seront dispensés de cette dernier circonstance pour cette premiere fois seulement. Les Cabildos choisiront, parmi eux et tous les Citoyens du district, deux qu'on nommera Alcaldes, et qui (comme par le passé) seront chargés d'administrator la justice, ainsi que la police du district pendant la guerre actuelle. On aura soin que ce choix tombe sur des Citoyens d'une probité reconnue, dont l'age soit au dessus de 35 Ans, et qu'ils ayent un revenu annuel de 300 Piastres pour le moins.

Asemblées.

Les Cabildos nommerent, parmi eux et tous les Citoyens du district, un ou plusieurs membres (selon la population de la Cité qu'ils representent) qui formeront une Assemblee provinciale, chargé du gouvernement general de toute la province, jusqu'à ce que le Gouvernement Federal soit etabli.

L'age requis dans ces Membres ne sera pas moindre que de 35 Ans; et un revenu annuel de 400 Piastres. Cette Assemblée nommera deux Citoyens, parmi eux ou ceux de la province, avec la dénomination de Curacas, qui seront chargés d'activer et faire executer les loix provinciales pendant la guerre: ils auront l'age de 40 Ans et un revenu annuel de 500 Piastres.

Les loix existantes subsisteront comme par le passé jusqú à la formation d'autres. Seront cependant abolies ipso facto, les suivantes.

1° Tout impôt ou taxe personelle tant pour les Indiens que pour les autres Citoyens.

2° Tous les Droits sur les importations et les exportations du pays, et restera seulement un droit de 15 P % sur les importations et 20 P% sur les exportations. L'Entrée de toute manufacture et marchandise seront permise, ainsi que la sortie des productions du pays, de quelque èspèce qu'elle puissent être.

3° Toutes les loix qui regardent le Tribunal odieux de l'Inquisition. Et la tolérance réligieuse etant un principe de droit naturel elle sera généralement permise; le Peuple Colombien reconnoissant toujours la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine comme sa religion Nationale.

Milice.

La Milice, ainsi que toute la force armée, sera mise sous la direction d'une Citoyen, que sera nommé par l'assemblee et confirmé par le Comices de la Province. Il portera le titre d'Hatunapa (Generalissimo) des armées Colombiennes, et son autorité ne durera que pendant la guerre, ou jusqu'à la formation du gouvernement fédéral. Son devoir principal sera l'organisation de l'armée et le defense du pays; et à cet effet il proposera tous les officiers à la sanction de l'Assemblée.

Celle ci nommera trois Personnes avec lesquelles il puisse consulter sous le secret, les affaires appartenantes à sa charge et lui tenir lieu de Conseil.

Les fonds necessaires pour l'entretien, le mouvement, et le logement de l'armée seront prèlevés par requisition du Gen! en Chef, jusqu'à ce que l'Assemblée puisse faire un arrangement definitif sur cet Objet. L'Hatunapa reste responsable de l'Administration de tous ces interets, ainsi que de l'employ qu'il fera de ses pouvoirs: le gouvernement ayant le droit de se faire rendre Compte à la sortie de sa charge.

Clergé.

Le Clergé sera pendant la guerre sous la direction d'un Vicaire General et Apostolique, qui sera nommé par l'assemblée; les Curés de toute la Province seront aussi nommés, ou confirmés au moins, par leurs paroissiens respectifs.

Réglement.

Tous les etrangers qui ne sont pas etablis, ou mariés dans le pays avant la declaration de notre Independence ne pourront pas jouir des droits des Citoyens americaines,

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à moins que de faire une residence de 6. années consecutives dans le pays, ou de servir trois Campagnes dans les armées americaines. La Législature pourra cependant, dans des Cas particuliers, accorder ces droits en faveur de ceux qu'elle le jugera convenable.

Ceux des Habitans de toute espece, qui refuseront de preter le serment de fidelité, seront tenus de se retirer dans l'interieur du pays, au lieux designés par le gouvernement, pendant la guerre seulement. Et ceux qui demanderont à sortir du pays, auront la permision sans delai. La Propriété foncière, ou autre, qu'ils pourront laisser sera fidelement administré pendant leur absence, sauf à deduire les frais simples d'administration, ainsi que l'impôt général. À la Paix ils seront libres d'entrer dans le pays, en qualite d'étrangers, et seront mis en possession de leurs biens. Ceux qui auront porté les armes volontairement contre leur patrie, en seront exclus à perpetuite.

Tout Citoyen qui ayant preté le serment de fidelité au pays, ait eu le malheur de le violer, sera poursuivi par devant les Magistrats, et puni séverement conforme aux loix de l'etat.

N° 2.

Esquise de Gouvernement Federal.

Sont Citoyens Americaines, 1° tous ceux qui sont nés dans le Pays de Pere et Mere libres: 2° tous les etrangers, qui etant etablis et mariés dans le Pays, preteront serment de Fidelité au nouveau Gouvernement; ou qui n'etant pas mariés feront plus de trois Campagnes pour l'independence americaine: Autrement ils resteront dans la classe d'etrangers. La Legislature pourra cependant, dans des Cas particuliers, accorder ces Droits, à ceux qu'elle le jugera à propos.

Comices Americains.

Ces Assemblées seront composées de tous les Citoyens Americaines, qui auront outre les qualités requises par la Constitution un propriété territoriale de 10 Arpens de terre cultivés pour le moins; et être agé de plus de 21 Ans. Le Gouvernement aura soin de distribuer à chaque Indien (qui n'aura pas de proprieté suffisante) dix arpens de terre pour ceux qui sont mariés et cinq dits aux celibataires.

Ceux des Citoyens à qui manqueront ces qualités ne pourront pas voter dans les Comices, mais ils ne jouiront pas moins des autres droits, restant dans la Classe des Citoyens passifs.

Corps Municipaux (Cabildos).

Ils seront formés par un certain nombre de Citoyens choisis par ceux du district; et formeront un Corp d'Electeurs pour la representation Nationale.

Leur devoirs principaux sont, la police et administration interne des Villes; ainsi que la nomination des membres qui doivent former Assemblées provinciales. L'age ne pourra pas être au dessous de 35 Ans, et ils doivent avoir un revenu annuel de 500 Piastres pour le moins.

Assemblées Provinciales.

Ces Assemblées sont composées d'un certain nombre de Membres, choisis parmi les Citoyens actifs de l'Empire Americain.

Leur devoir sera de veiller au salut et à l'administration des Provinces. À cet effet elles pourront faire des Loix administratives, que ne s'etendent au delà de la province, et qui dans aucun cas ne pourront pas entraver la marche des Loix generales: À cet effet elles seront soumises au Corps Legislatif, qui sans retard et pendant l'Année, devra le retourner avec sa sanction pour être mises à execution; ou les rejeter en transmettant aussi les motifs qu'ont donné lieu au rejet.

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Ils nommeront parmi tous les Citoyens americaines, ceux qui doivent composer le Corps legislatif, et auront le droit de Petition envers ce même Corps. Leur age ne sera pas moindre que de 30 Ans, et ils auront une propriété foncière de 100 Arpens de terre au moins.

La durée de ces autorités sera d'un Lustre, ou cinq Ans. Ceux ci eliront egalement, deux Citoyens parmi ceux de l'Amerique, qui exerceront la charge de pouvoir executif dans la Province, pendant cinq ans. Leurs titre sera Curacas, l'age requise sera au dessus de 40 Ans, et ils devront avoir une propriété foncière pas moindre que de 150 Arpens de terre cultivées.

Corps Legislatif.

Le Corps legislatif sera compose de representans nommés par les differentes Assemblées provinciales, (Amautas) en nombre proportionel à celui de la population de la Province. Ils seront choisis parmi tous les Citoyens de la province qui les envoie: Ils devront avoir une propriété foncière de 150 Arpens de terre au moins, et l'age de 35 Ans. Cette Assemblée s'appellera le Concile Colombien et aura seule le faculté de faire des Loix pour toute la féderation Americaine.

Ces Loix passeront à la simple majorité des suffrages; mais elles devront être sanctionnés par le Pouvoir Executif, qui aura le droit de renvoyer le projet de loi, en ajoutant ses observations; et si apres ceci, le Concile vote la même loi à une majorité de deux tiers de ses membres, le pouvoir executif sera tenu de se conformer; et la faire mettre à execution sans delai, comme loi gouvernative de l'Empire.

Si les deux tiers du Concile, trouve qu'une loi constitutionelle quelconque doit être reformée, ou changée, le pouvoir executif sera tenu de la faire transmettre au differentes Assemblées Provinciales pour prendre leur Assentiment, et si les trois quarts de ces Assemblées la sanctionent, elle sera approvée et mise à execution. Les Assemblées vice versa pourront avoir l'initiative, et dans ce Cas si les trois quarts du Concile l'approuve, elle deviendra loi Constitutive egalement, et sera mise en Activité.

Pouvoir Executif.

Ce Pouvoir sera nommé par le Concile Colombien qui choisira parmi tous les Citoyens de l'Empire, deux Citoyens, qui ayent un age au dessus de 40 Ans, une propriété foncière de 200 Arpens de terre; et qui ayent exercé deja une des grandes charges de l'Empire pour le moins. La charge durera pendant deux Lustres, et la même personne ne pourra pas être re-elu qu'après un intervalle de dix ans.

Leur titres sera Incas, nom venerable dans le Pays.

Un des Incas restera constamment auprès du Corps legislatif, dans la Ville Federale tandis que l'autre parcourra les Provinces de l'Empire.

Les Incas nommeront egalement deux Citoyens pour exercer la charge de Questeurs, ou Administrateurs du Tresor Public; deux autres pour celles de Ediles, qui seront chargés principalement de la confection et reparation des grandes routes de l'Empire &ca; et six autres avec le titre de Censeurs qui seront chargés de faire prendre le Census de l'Empire, de veiller à l'instruction publique, et au maintien des Moeurs. L'Age requise pour ces charges sera de 45 Ans pour les Censeurs et de 40 pour les autres et la durée d'un Lustre seulement.

Il y aura plusieurs Questeurs dans les Provinces et aux Armées qui seront absolument chargés de la perception du revenu public, du payement des Armées &ca, le tout conformement aux Loix et aux reglemens de l'Empire.

Dans toutes les Provinces il y aura aussi d'Ediles, qui comme ceux de la Capitale seront chargés du soin des Villes, des Edifices publics, Temples, Aqueducts, Cloaques, &ca, ainsi que des Marches publics, des Poids et Mesures &ca reviseront egalemente les Pieces dramatiques, avant d'etre representées, et auront seuls la direction des Jeux et Fêtes publiques.

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Les Censeurs auront aussi des subdelégués dans les Provinces qui seront chargés d'enrôler tous les Citoyens selon la forme prescrite par ceux de la Capitale. Et ce Census etant transmis ponctuellement tous les cinq Ans, le Gouvernement aura un Etat exact de la Population de tout l'Empire. Ils examineront en outre si un Citoyen ne cultive pas bien sa terre, si on vit trop long temps sans se marier, si on s'est comporté avec Courage à la Guerre &c &c.

Les Incas seront responsables à la Nation pour tous les Actes de leur Administration; et malgré que leurs Personnes soient sacrés et inviolables pendant le temps de la Magistrateur; ils pourront cependant être recherchés après, par devant la haute Cour nationale.

Le Pouvoir Executif est essentiellement chargé de veiller á la suretè de l'Empire. Il pourra par consequent faire la guerre defensive en Cas d'attaque contre un Ennemi quelconque; mais ne pourra pas la continuer sans l'assentiment du Concile. Il ne pourra dans aucun Cas declarer la guerre que par la Volonté du Concile; ni etant declaré la porter hors du territoire de l'Empire qu'en prenant l'Assentiment du Concile.

Dans des Cas extremement difficiles le Concile decretera la nomination d'un Dictateur (avec la même puissance qu'il avoit à Rome; et la charge expirera au bout d'un An, s'il n'a pas donné sa démission avant ce tems) et les Incas noméront la Personne qui doit exercer cette Charge sacrée, il aura 45 Ans pour le moins devant avoir deja exercé une ou plusieurs des grandes Charges de l'Empire.

Pouvoir Judicaire.

Ce Pouvoir sera composé des Juges chargés de presider les differens Tribunaux de Provinces. Ils seront nommes dans les Comices des Provinces respectives, et au nombre que le Pouvoir Executif jugera convenable, en se concertant pour cet effet avec les Assemblées provinciales pour savoir le nombre des Tribunaux, qu'il seroit necessaire d'etablir dans chaque Province. L'Inca donnera son Assentiment, ou rejetera la nomination des Juges par les Comices; et dans ce dernier Cas il renverra son rejet au Concile, qui le confirmant, alors les Comices doivent faire une nouvelle election. Si le Concile ne confirme pas le rejet, le Juge reste legitimement élu, et sera mis en possession de sa Place: Les Juges avoir les qualités d'un Citoyen actif, et l'age de 40 Ans au moins.

Ces Charges sont inamovibles et à Vie, à moins qu'il n'y ait pas prevarication; et alors ils seront accusés par devant le Concile; qui ayant examiné les Charges pourra seul les porter par devant la haute Cour National (seul Tribunal competent pour en Juger) ou rejetera l'accusation comme insuffisante.

La forme des Tribunaux et les Sentences par Jury, sera conforme en toute à ceux de l'Angleterre et des E. U. de l'Amerique. On nommera d'abord un Jury especial, jusqú à ce que la masse des Citoyens soit plus au fait de la Liberté.

Toute affaire Civile ou Criminelle, sera jugé par eux seulement.

Le Pouvoir Executif nommera la haute Cour Nationale, qui sera composée d'un President et deux Juges, pris parmi les Juges nationaux. Cette Cour servira à juger les affaires qui tiennent au droit des Gens, au traités avec les Puissances étrangeres, et finalement jugera tous les Magistrats et autres qui seroient accusés de prevarication, ou de tout autre crime d'Etât.

Culte.

La Religion Catholique, Apostolique Romaine, sera la Religion Nationale; et la hyerarchie du Clergé Americain sera reglée par un Concile Provincial qu'on convoquera à cet effet. La parfaite tolerance etant admise par le Constitution, aucun Citoyen ne sera jamais inquiété sur ses Opinions religieuses.

Les Pretres et Ministres de l'Evangile, ne pourront pas être aucunement troublés dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, et seront à cet effet exclus de toute fonction Civile ou Militaire.

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La même exemption devra s'appliquer aux Agens du Pouvoir Judicaire, n'etant pas moins necessaires qu'utiles dans l'exercice de ses fonctions.

Ainsi tout Notaire public, Procureur, ou Avocat seront exclus de tout service Militaire, ou fonction Civile quelconque.

Ceux qui alieneront ses Terres, perdront le droit precieux de Citoyen jusqu'à ce qu'ils acquierent la Portion requise pour le devenir. Ceux qui negligeront la Cultivation pendant l'espace de deux années consecutives, seront egalement punis par les Magistrats conformement aux Loix.

La Ville Federale sera batie dans le point le plus central (peut-être dans l'Isme de Panama) et portera le Nom Auguste de Colombo, à qui le Monde doit la decouverte de cette belle partie de la Terre.

DOCUMENT 8.

Letter of Governor Cockburn of Curaçao to Lord Castlereagh, January 28, 1809, regarding the Revolutionary Correspondence of Miranda with Spanish America.[a]

Confidential

Gov't House Curaçao
28th January 1809.

My Lord:

I feel it my duty to lose no time in informing your Lordship that on the 23d Inst. Captn Fyffe, comdg. His Majesty's Naval forces at this Island, waited upon me with a packet addressed to the Marquis del Toro at Caracas; which he had that morning received by the Favorite Sloop of War from Jamaica, with advices from the Admiral desiring him to forward it by any opportunity which might occur. Captn Fyffe however being aware of certain discussions which have lately taken place at Caracas, in consequence of which the Marquis Del Toro and many principal inhabitants have been put under arrest, thought proper to apprize me of the receipt of the packet, and to solicit my opinion as to the propriety of forwarding it in the present situation of affairs upon the Main.

The occurrences detailed in my despatch to Your Lordship of the 1st Decr recurring to my mind, and sensible of the persevering and intriguing spirit of Genl Miranda, I was immediately led to surmise that the papers were from him, and of a similar nature probably to those already submitted to your Lordship in my letter above mentioned—a conjecture which was strongly fortified by the appearance and seal of the packet itself. I in consequence instantly made known my suspicions to Captain Fyffe; who entirely coinciding with me in estimating the fatal consequences likely to result, under existing circumstances; to the Nobleman whose address they bore, (it being death to hold correspondence or communication with Miranda) and the ruinous effects which would inevitably ensue to the British interests should the packet prove to be of the nature suspected, we determined to open the envelope, in the hope of finding some interior cover which might lead to a knowledge of the source from whence it came, but no second cover existing we immediately perceived the signature of Miranda affixed to an address, of which, together with its enclosures, I have now the honor to transmit a copy. Under all the circumstances we have not hesitated to detain the originals, and I have great satisfaction in reflecting that the prudence and judgment of Captn Fyffe has thus effected the interception of a document, which in the actual state of public feelings might have sacrificed the life of a most respected Nobleman, and would have tended, more than any other event whatsoever, to destroy the British and re-establish the French influence.

[a] P. R. O., Curaçoa Transmissions, 670.

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The Admiral not having been given the slightest intimation on the subject, we are not aware of the channel through which this packet may have reached him, but after the most attentive consideration of the papers contained in it (some of which Your Lordship will perceive are emanations from the early leaders of the French Revolution in the moments of its wildest fury) and comparing their contents with His Majesty's gracious declarations, and the communications which I have already been honored with from Your Lordship relative to our alliance with Spain, I cannot persuade myself that they have been submitted to His Majesty's Ministers, or that their sanction can have been obtained to such an attempt to dismember the dominions of His Catholic Majesty in America, whilst Great Britain is so nobly struggling to support His Empire in Europe. Should it however be even possible that these projects of Gen[l] Miranda are really in unison with the views of His Majesty's Government, I beg to assure Your Lordship that with the information I possess of the present state of the Province of Venezuela, I should equally feel it my indispensible duty to withhold the papers, as an act of Justice to the Marquis del Toro, and of strict attention to the character and interests of my Nation, which could only be involved in ruin and disgrace by an attempt, which at the present moment the wildest spirit of enthusiasm could not hope to succeed—and I anxiously and confidently trust therefore that my conduct may be honored with Your Lordship's approval.

Of Genreral Miranda, and his means of influencing the Spanish Main I have already presumed to submit to Your Lordship my humble opinion, but I cannot in honor omit to press upon Your Lordship's attention the dangers to which the Marquis Del Toro must be unjustly exposed, by the further continuance of Gen[l] Miranda's addresses, against which the Marquis has so strongly protested in his letter to the Captain General of the 25th Oct[r], already transmitted for Your Lordship's perusal. I venture therefore to suggest to Your Lordship the propriety of instructing Gen[l] Miranda accordingly, should his enterprise be upheld by His Majesty's Government; or of strictly enjoining him, should his measures not be so sanctioned, to abstain entirely from attempts, which in that case can produce no possible advantage, and must be pregnant with ruin to the individuals who may be misled by him upon the Main, and with destruction to the character and cause of the United Kingdom.

By H. M. S. Tweed, which sailed the night before last, I have not failed to apprize the Admiral, of the steps which have been pursued, and the motives which have influenced our determinations; should he therefore be in possession of any official instructions on the subject, I doubt not he will speedily communicate to me such information, as may enable me to shape my future conduct, as far as circumstances will admit, agreeably to His Majesty's intentions.

Having incidentally mentioned the arrest of some of the principal personages on the Spanish Main, I imagine it may be satisfactory to Your Lordship to be informed, that the disputes which led to that measure were in no manner connected with the interests of Great Britain, but originated solely in difference of opinion as to the internal arrangements and more especially the establishment of a Junta similar to those already assembled in the Mother Country. The tranquillity of the Provinces has never been seriously interrupted, and the points at issue have been referred to the decision of the Supreme Government in Europe. I take the opportunity also of enclosing the translation of a paper upon this subject, which made considerable sensation at the moment, but which has since been suppressed under the severest penalties; conceiving that Your Lordship may possibly hear of its publication, and that the possession of it may consequently be desirable.

* * * * * * * * *

Jas. Cockburn
Govr. and Comdr. in Chief.

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DOCUMENT 9.

Letter of Martin Tovar Ponte to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the United States, April 28, 1810.[a]

Duplicado.
Exc̃mo Señor.

Caracas Abril 28 de 1810.

Si la violenta irrupcion de los Franceses en la parte meridionál de la España ha hecho desaparecer le Gob^no q^e con el titulo de Junta Suprema Central representaba y conservaba los dr̃os soberanos del Señor D. Jernando 7° la parte meridionál del continente americano, esta Provincía de Caracas siguiendo constantemente la fé q^e le prometió desde el 15 de Julio de 1808, ha erigído en 19 del corriente otra Junta conservatoria de su soberania en todo el territorio de Venezuela; y no pudiendo yá dependér de la España ocupada p^r otro Monarca extrangero, ni esperár de alli expediciones mercantiles, debe estrechár mas sus relaciones de amistad y comercio con las Naciones amigas, ó neutrales. Esos Estados unidos se hallan comprehendido en esta Clase. El nuevo Gobierno de esta Prov^a suplíendo la falta del q^e ha sido disuelto en la peninsula de España, y la amencia de su Rey todavia cautivo en la Francia, aspira á estrechár mas los vinculos de su alianza con los habitantes del Norte de America. A este objeto terminan todas las letras q^e entregará á V. E. el Caballero D. Juan Vicente Bolivar, ó D. Telesforo Orea, vecinos de esta Capitál y destinados á esta comision. Por este medio quedará el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de America instruido del nuevo sistema establecido en Caracas y de las ventajas reciprocas q^e tendrá su Comercio con nosotros. Esperan pues nuestros Puertos con los brazos abiertos á todos los Extrangeros pacificos, q^e vengar á Cambiar p^r nuestros frutos las producciones de su industria y comercio. Y nosotros como Presidente de la Junta Gubernativo tenemos el honór de comunicar a V. E. esta noticía y de ofrecernos á sus ordenes como sus mas adictos Servidores y Amigos

Q. B. S. M.

Exc̃mo Señor, Martin Tovar Ponte,
Pre

Exc̃mo Señor Secret° de relacion^s exteriores de los Estados Unidos de America.

DOCUMENT 10.

Despatch of Domingo de Monteverde, commander of the Spanish troops in Venezuela, August 26, 1812, describing the Betrayal of Miranda.[b]

No. 7.
Exm̃o Señor

Si los que en medio de las turbaciones de Caracas, y del activo contagio de la rebelion, se han conservado ilesos, mantenido el amor de su Soberano, sufrido en sus personas y bienes, ý detestado la usurpacion, merecen de S. M. un premio correspondiente al mérito é intensidad de sus acciones; lo que fueron contagiados; pero de algun modo obraron opuestamente à la maligna intencion de los facciosos, deben ser perdonados de su extravio, y aun tenerse en consideracion sus acciones, segun la utilidad que haya resultado de ellas al servicio de S. M.

En esta clase, Exm̃o Señor, se hallan D^n Manuel Maria de las Casas, D. Miguel Peña, y D. Simon Volivar. Casas y Peña eran los q^e estaban encargados del Gobierno de La Guayra; el primero de lo militar, y el segundo de lo politíco, quando los facciosos de

[a] State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relating to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

[b] A. G. I., Aud. de Caracas, 133-3-12, in the margin of the dispatch is found this indorsement: "El Comand^te Gral de l^o Exto, de S. M. en Venezuela.

"Pone à la consideracion de V. E. el servicio hecho p^r D. Simon Bolivar y D. D. Miguel Peña, y el de D. Manuel Maria de las Casas en la prison de Franc^co Miranda pidiendo lo que expresa."

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esta provincia trataron de escaparse por aquel puerto con su Dictador Miranda, llevandose consigo los restos del erario de S. M. en los dias q. inmediatamen^{te} precedieron à la entrada de mi exercito en Carácas.

En el momento q. pisé esta Ciudad di las ordenes mas perentorias para la detencion de aquellos en la Guayra; pero afortinadmente quando llegaron aunque dirigidas con la mayor rapidez, ya Casas con el consejo de Peña, y por medio de Bolivar habia puesto enprisiones à Miranda, y asegurado à todas las colegas q. se encontraban allì. Operacion en que Casas expuesto su vida q. habria perdido si se hubiese eludido su orden; del mismo modo q. habrian corrido un riezgo Peña y Bolivar.

Casas completó su obra de un modo mas satisfactorio. Anteriormente habia desobedecido las ordenes del Déspota dadas para poner en un ponton los europeos è Islenos de aquel vecindario y echarlos a pique al menor movimiento: las dirigidas á no exigir recibos de las cantidades q se embarcasen; y las demas q. fueron su consequencia; pues con respecto a las primeras notorio es q. no lo hizo: con relacion a las segundas exigio recibos de los 22000 p^s entregados al comerciante Robertson, con cuyo paso proporcionolos reclamos q. he hecho al Gob^{or} de Curazao; y por lo que toca á las demas, sus pasos y contestaciones en el embargo y clausura q. hizo del puerto, y con el capitan de la Frag^{ta} de Guerra Inglesa la Zafiro, de que he dado cuenta à S. M. son los mejores comprobantes.

Yo no puedo olividar los interesantes servicios de Casas, ni el de Bolivar y Peña, y en virtud no se han tocado sus personas, dando solamente al segundo sus pasaportes para paises extrangeros; pues su influencia y connexiones podrian ser peligrosas en esta circunstancias. Espero que V. E. ponga en el consideracion del Supremo Consejo de Regencia, esta mediada p^a su soberana aprobacion, y para q^e si lo tiene abien, manifieste su beneficencia à los importantes servicios de Casa.

Dios que à V. E. m. a Caracàs 26 de Agosto de 1812

Exmo Sõr.

Domingo de Monteverde.

Exmo Señor Secretario de Estado

DOCUMENT 11.

Letter of the viceroy of New Spain, Felix M. Calleja, to the minister of the Indies, September 30, 1815, in regard to the designs of Joseph Napoleon on Spanish America.[a]

No 41 Reservada

Exmo Sr.

Mi antecesor el M. R. Arzobispo D. Francisco Xavier Lianza circuló en estas provincias, à consecuencia de los avisos que dió desde Filadelphia el Ministro Plenipotenciario del rey nro Sr. D. Luis de Onis, una lista nominal de los emisarios enviados à ellas para rebolucionar por el intruso Jose Napoleon Bonaparte; la misma que se recivó posteriormente por el Supremo Ministerio de Estado, gobernando esta Audiencia en el año de 1810, segun aparece de los documentos que he hallado sobre esta materia, aunque sin constancia de las providencias que se tomaron en vista de la Real Orden que la acompañó. Y llegado à mi poder la que V. E. se sirva comunicarme con fha de 22 de Mayo ultimo, incluyendo otra lista igual à las expresadas y à la que poco antes me habia dirigido desde Margarita el ten^{te} Gener! D. Pablo Morillo; le ha circulado à todas las autoridades a quienes tocar pueda su inteligencia y observancia, para que cada qual por su parte vigile sobre la aprencion de dhos emisarios y de qualquiera que se haga sospechoso de serlo; y procederé con arreglo à la misma Real ord^n. para que tengan cumplido efecto las soberanos intenciones de S. M. Sep^{re} 30/815.

Exmo. Sr. Mro. Universal de Indias.

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[a] A. G. M., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, B., 268. On the margin is found this indorsement: "El Virrey de N. E. Felix M. Calleja Contesta a Rl. ord^n con que le remitio lista de emisarios enviados p^r Napoleon para la revolucion de las Am^{cas}."

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Errata.

Page 291, for Thowenot read Thouvenot.

Page 304, for Aubrey read Aubry.

Page 461, for Truxilla read Truxillo.

Page 105, Letters of Madison. At the time of completing the essay the edition of Madison's letters by Mr. Hunt had not reached the year 1806. It now (1909) extends beyond that date, but without presenting any new material respecting Miranda.

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